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CULTURE THROUGH THE AGES

(Prof. B.N. Puri Felicitation Volume)

EDITED BY
SARVA DAMAN SINGH

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(Prof. B.N. Puri Felicitation Volume)

Edited by
Sarva Daman Singh

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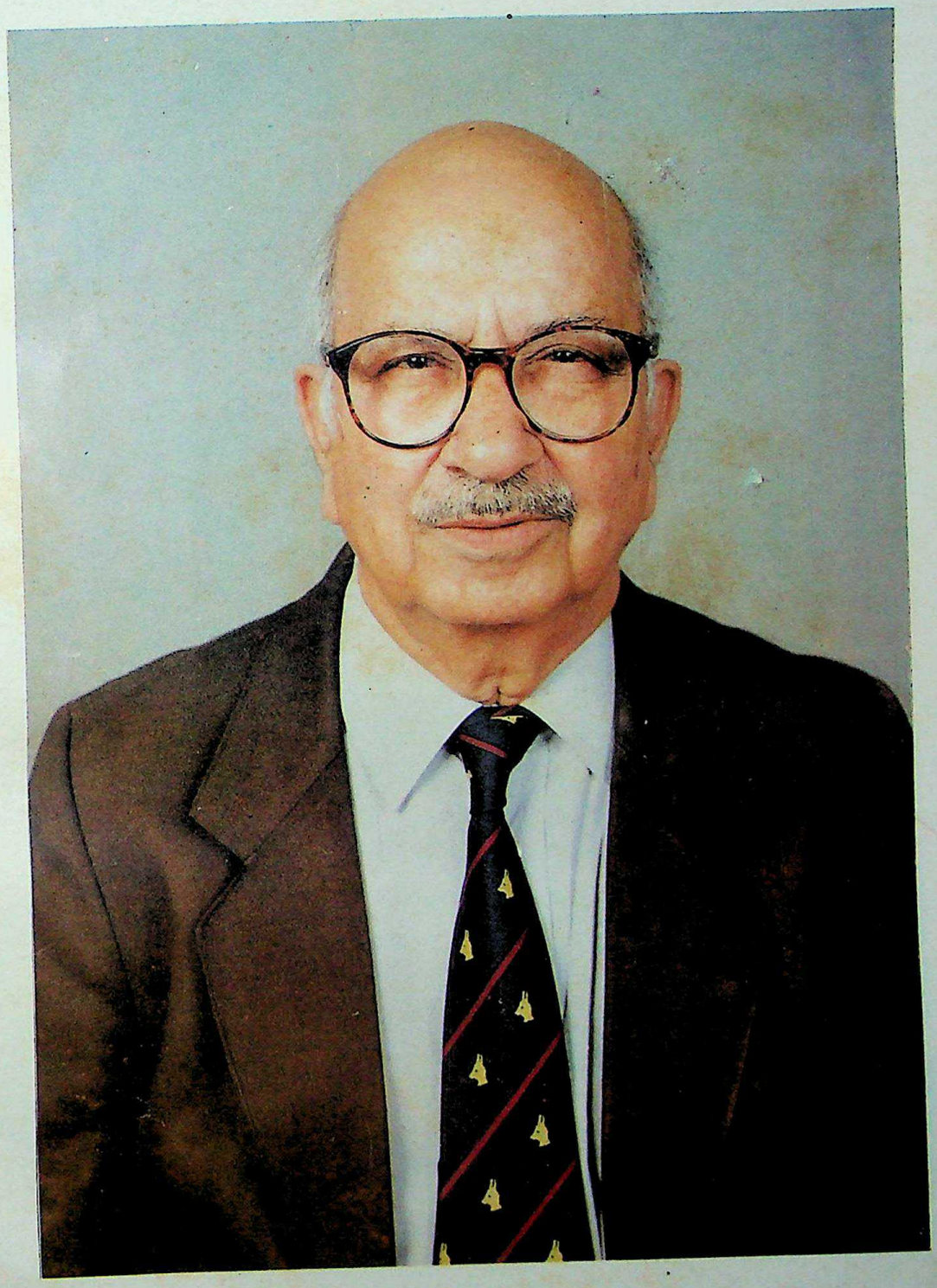

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Professor Baij Nath Puri

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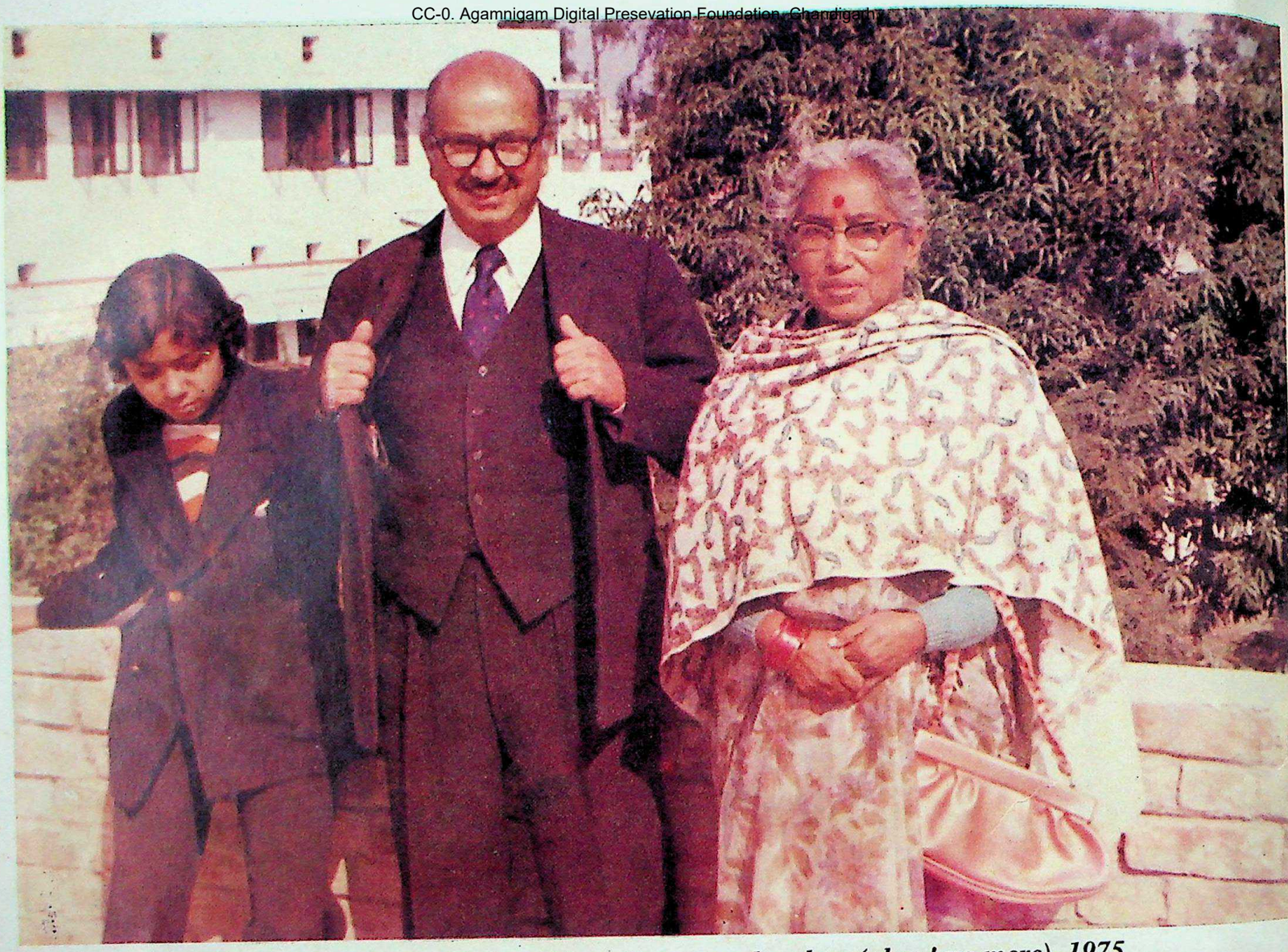

Professor Puri with his wife and younger daughter (alas ! no more), 1975

Professor Puri with Pt. Jwaharlal Nehru, 1961

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This Volume

of Papers written by

His Friends, Pupils and Admirers

in India and Abroad

is dedicated

as a Mark of Respect and Affection

to

Dr. Baij Nath Puri

To felicitate him on his

80th Birthday

Śataṁ jīva śarado dīrghamāyuḥ !

'May you live the full life of

a hundered years'!

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Introduction

The students and admirers of Dr. Baij Nath Puri planned to present a felicitation volume to him on his seventy fifth birthday; but while we have been trying our utmost to arrange a bouquet of diverse hues in a form that would make a worthy offering, his eightieth birthday might slip past us. Unfortunately, it takes much more time than we anticipate to collect research papers from scholars and process them into a book form. Despite vexations beyond mention, a spirit somewhat akin to Dr. Puri's own indomitable tenacity of purpose enabled us to put together all these papers, written by his colleagues and contemporaries, admirers and students, and students' students[1] spread across the continents, as a token of our tribute to a man who has enriched our lives by his uplifting presence and refreshing warmth; his joyous laughter and innocuous banter; and, of course, his learning vouchsafed to us in a large number of books and papers he has written and published.

We offer this Volume to him in a spirit of love and gratitude; and in the prayerful hope that he will continue to add to our knowledge of Indian history for many more years to come.

The papers in this volume deal with different aspects of the history of India, Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, from prehistoric times to the present, and are not bound by any narrow, exclusive theme. That is doubtless most apposite, as Dr. Puri's own work bears no barriers of subject, time or place. Among those who write to honour him are senior historians, as well as bright young scholars seeking a niche for themselves in the groves of Academe.

The papers are presented in a sequence dictated by chronological and thematic considerations, without division into sections that would detract from history's unbroken flow[2]; and without any reference to the status or position of the contributors.

Difficulties of diction, coupled with the stylistic diversity of transliteration and documentation, added not a little to the travails of this editorial exercise. We have tried, as far as possible, to achieve a measure of uniformity in both transliteration and documentation. If there are shortcomings in the Volume, editorial or otherwise, we plead extenuation in the constraints of time and distance to which we have been subject, and hope that our readers will appreciate what is agreeable, and overlook what is not. There is nothing, indeed, that cannot be forgiven!

Sarva Daman Singh

'Jaigarh',
Brisbane,
Australia.

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1. Some papers in this volume reflect this ancient Indian tradition or *paramparā* in their delightful recitation of the names of *gurus* and their disciples; and disciples' disciples.

2. The sporadic receipt and late inclusion of many papers put an end to any conscious attempt to impose any explicable sequence on them from No. 31 onwards. They nevertheless warmly serve the main purpose of this exercise.

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5. *INDIA IN CLASSICAL GREEK WRITINGS* (1963)
6. *INDIA UNDER THE KUSHĀṆAS* (1965)
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8. *EARLY HISTORY OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION IN ASSAM* (1968)
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18. *BUDDHISM IN CENTRAL ASIA* (1987)
19. *THE KHATRIS—A SOCIO-HISTORICAL STUDY* (1987)
20. *THE GUPTA ADMINISTRATION* (1989)
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HINDI PUBLICATIONS

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A BUNCH OF TRIBUTES

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A Letter from Mulk Raj Anand

Dear Dr. Puri

On the occasion of the celebrations in your honour, I feel that I may add my own appreciation of some of your outstanding researches in this letter.

As you know, I did not train to be an exact scholar, because of my indifferent education in Punjab University, where I could not choose Sanskrit or Pali as a language for my degree. And historical research in our country, I presume, is impossible without mastery of both these languages, which contain records of the first three thousand years of our civilization.

I have read almost everything of the past in the English language. And it is from your writings that I have had some glimpses of the prevalence of early Vedic Aryan and Buddhist cultures in North India, Central Asia and beyond.

I have become aware, particularly, of the miracle that was the spread of Buddha's Enlightenment in Central Asia by the tracks of the Silk route.

I call it a miracle, because, in those early centuries before Christ, there were thick forests, high hills and vast deserts, through which the Buddhist monks trudged their way, unafraid of the wild beasts, and barbaric peoples, who were addicted to demonology, witchcraft and blood-thirsty sacrificial rites.

You have revealed, after Marco Polo, Sven Hedin, and Aurel Stein how arduous were the journeys on the pathless land of the vast Asiatic land mass. And you have shown the establishment, in the midst of the spiritual vacuum, of illumination of the Buddha in Viharas and Stupa shrines, with imagery which might have percolated into the red eyes of cruel, ignorant men, contending against each other for daily bread, in furrowless sands.

I feel the importance of such insights in our researches has yet to be realised. Because, although the Soviet culture, after the revolution of 1917, did civilise rough peoples, yet, the earlier spread of Islamic faith from Arabia into the deserts of Central Asia had, because of the swords of armies, compounded with violence, meant that open knowledge could not percolate.

In the earlier ages, non-hurting was posed by the Buddhists against senseless murder of dacoits, tribal people and warlords.

The new dispensation, which came from Russian revolution, probably meant thought control, which is relaxing now under the pressure of man's ultimate need of light in the soul.

Perhaps, therefore, your writings, coming in the time of Panchsheel, may give to the new transition from closed society, the sense of open-eyed wonder about miracle of life itself of men and women privilged to be born in this world, facing pain of life, and seeking liberation.

The importance of cultures is in the values, such as the Buddha preached in the face of pain, so that men and women could survive in some degree of calm. His good words were the only refuge of humanity before the cruelty and injustice of the men of power!

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The re-discovery of the illuminations of the Buddha's compassion by Jawaharlal Nehru in the doctrine of live and let live, was India's gift of humility in the face of doomsday promised by the atom bomb.

It is possible that the bonds of love, with which the Enlightened One tried to link the humble people did affect some of the warring chieftains of the early centuries.

Aśoka's conversion after the battle of Kalinga was in the mind of Jawaharlal Nehru, when he suggested co-existence of different peoples in the five principles.

Maybe, his pleas did affect some men of power.

In retrospect, however, it seems that the insensate merchants of death, who have not learnt anything from two world wars, are still not affected.

But you will remember that one of the first statesmen to sign the Panchsheel was Nikita Khrushchev.

And it is now evident that Mikhail Gorbachov's turning back from fear and hate of the enemies of promise, may carry over the essence of perennial philosophy of tenderness to the hearts and minds of men and women of our tragic age to the new young.

It is possible, then, that the rediscovery of love among men, which is implied in the *Panchsheel* may, from the Soviet's insistence on disarmament, even at the cost of the miseries of change from confrontation to co-operation, will win through the recalcitrants, still lingering in the west ? Maybe Gorbachov's willing sacrifice of the instruments of power will compel those who profit from world tensions, a war every now and then, and selling arms to all sides, to disarm. And the necessity of co-existence may compel *co-discovery*.

If this happens, then your researches in the rediscovery of spread of Buddhism, will illumine the many dark minds, still embroiled in the hangovers of confusion of fundamentalist, sectional and imperial passions.

I hope your brother scholars will see in your researches on Buddhism in Central Asia how *Karuṇā* transformed the high points of the dreadful desert into many oasis of peace. And maybe, our indigent collectors of historical facts, (without meaning), will learn from Arnold Toynbee, Oswald Spengler, and Jawaharlal Nehru, to cultivate spiritual fervour. And if they pursue their researches, as you have done, to rediscover the past, with a view to teach our own fellowmen, our people may desist from copying the consumer culture of refrigeration and computers, which has already overtaken our rich, down from the Himalayas of thought to the putrid Kisch culture of money, food and sex of the skyscraper world. The standard culture humiliates man into becoming a robot, with its automatic responses to the agony and ferment of our time, through the deafening music of op, pop and cop.....! down into mechanised hell!

May I thank you for your insights

26th July 1990

Yours sincerely,

Mulk Raj Anand

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Professor B.N.Puri : A Tribute

R.S.Sharma

Dr. B.N.Puri, who has been serving the cause of historical research for more than 50 years, richly deserves the felicitation volume as a token of the recognition of his important role in promoting Indological scholarship. I first met him in 1956 in the annual session of the Indian History Congress in Agra, where he commented on the meaning of *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* in the context of my paper on Kushan polity. He is a devoted and diligent scholar who has worked almost in all fields of ancient Indian history and culture. Professor Puri has made an important contribution to the study of the political and cultural history of post-Mauryas times through his books on Patañjail's *Mahābhāya* and the Kushans. He will also be remembered for his valuable work on the Gurjara-Pratihāras in which all the relevant sources have been adequately utilised. He has also surveyed India's administrative history and its relations with South East Asia. Last but not the least, he has published an interesting autobiography which throws light on the academic and organisational problems of history writing in comtemporary times.

It seems that Professor Puri's writings have been influenced by the revivalist ideas of R.C.Majumdar, but that does not detract from his scholarship. In his early days he worked with such great scholars as D.R.Bhandarkar and R.K.Mukherjee. Although I find it difficult to agree with him on several points, there is no doubt that he is one of our most eminent scholars. He may have sharp differences of opinion, but he does not carry any rancour in his heart. Professor Puri is an immensely likeable person. He is extremely kind and affectionate to his colleagues, friends and students. Though I am fairly junior to him, I have enjoyed his love and affection in a large measure. I really feel happy and honoured in being associated with the felicitation volume prepared in his honour. I wish Professor Puri many happy years of continued dedicated service to the cause of Indian history.

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Professor B.N.Puri

Upendra Thakur

It has been my great privilege to be closely associated with Professor B.N.Puri for well over twenty years. A distinguished Indologist whose scholarly attainments are facts too well known, Professor Puri, though pretty senior in age, experience and learning, has been like an affectionate perceptivity of mind and his never failing courtesy are things which is impossible to forget. It would not be an exaggeration to say that he is one of the very few Indologists of India who have enriched the domain of early history and culture of South -East Asia and East Asia, besides the various branches of Indology through his outstanding contributions. His latest work a unique 'historical biography' presents for the first time a critical assessment of historical writings in India in general and that of Indian historians in particular.

Sharp-tongued and awfully outspoken, Professor Puri always calls a spade a spade without caring for the consequences. Undeterred and always consistent in his behaviour and approach, he would in no case compromise with his principles for any worldly gain whatsoever. A seasoned orator and linguist, a veteran teacher and researcher, ever ready to admit his mistake and steadfastly adhering to truth, he is in fact one of the few scholars with whom it is a real pleasure to differ because there is nothing astute, mean or selfish in him whether he defends a cause or opposes it.

With these words I offer my humble and most respectful felicitation to this doyen of Indian historians.

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Dr. B.N.Puri—A Good Friend

B.P.Sinha

I have known Dr. Baijnath Puri for 35 years. Before that I knew him from his books on the Gurjara Pratihāras and the Kushānas. His range of scholarship is very wide from political history, administration, religion, to India's contact with the outside world. Today, he is literally the oldest Indologist towering over his colleagues. I have become both a friend, and so to say a fan of his. He is a fine gentleman and a very good friend. We enjoyed his company and generous hospitality for more than a week at Mussoorie, where he was Professor of Ancient Indian History at the National Academy of Administration. He is not only a prolific writer, but also a very eloquent and forceful speaker. He can keep, by his witty remarks and persuasive delivery, the audience totally captive even in difficult circumstances. At the Silver Jubilee seminar of the department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, he was addressing the fully packed auditorium where as many as three Vice-Chancellors were present; suddenly some crackers burst, a hanging picture in the hall fell down, and we were all confused, terrified and restive. I was totally confused, fearing the worst. But Dr.Puri went on in his sonorous loud voice addressing particuarly the students in such a confident manner as if nothing had happened. The brewing storm subsided and he gave me the courage to go through the entire celebrations extending to three days with complete composure. The success of the celebrations was very much due to Prof.Puri's handling of the situation. I will never forget the good that he did to me then.

Dr. Puri is a scholar of international fame and is on many international committees even today for furthering researches in Indian history. And today at 77, he is working as a young research-scholar of 25 bubbling with energy and ever ready to listen and contribute to seminars where both of us have participated. Outside the seminar in drawing-rooms, dining halls, coffee parlours and tea-corners, he is instinctively at the centre of the table exchanging happy past memories and anecdotes about members of his faculty, past and present. Seeing him so fresh and relaxed when he bears in his heart the permanent anguish of the tragic death of his young and very promising daughter—Belu—is exemplary. But personal tragedy has in effect spurred him to more vigourous academic activities as if in hot pursuit of some mission in his life—to give as much as he can in he time given to him by his Master to the world of Indian history writing.

I wish him to live the whole span of life—100 years.

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Fragments from Fading Memory

M.N. Das

Early in 1970, I received a letter of request from Dr.P.N.Chopra, then the Chief Editor of the Indian Gazetteers, to join hands with him to write book entitled "Social, Cultural and Economic History of India". I gave my willing consent, and when I met him in New Delhi to decide upon the division of labour, I was given the modern period to write, Dr. Chopra himself took the medieval period, and a third gentleman, whose name I forget, was offered the ancient period.

It was a project to be finished within a time-limit. I submitted my script in time, so also did Dr.Chopra. But, the author of the ancient part declined to write at the very last moment because of personal problems. On the other hand, the publishers would not wait. A confident Dr.Chopra told me that he would request Dr.B.N.Puri to write on the ancient period and assured me that he would submit the script much before the new deadline, an erudite scholar as he was and an authority on ancient history. I had not seen Dr.Puri before, though I had heard his name as an eminent historian. Chopra's words of praise delighted me to think that I would be associated with a renowned scholar of the stature of Dr.B.N.Puri in that small venture.

The book saw the light of day in 1971, published by McMillan & Co., but I had to wait for six more years to see Dr. Puri in person.

In 1977, I prevailed upon the authorities of my University to invite the Indian History Congress to hold its next annual session in Bhubaneswar in December. The Congress met, and I got the opportunity to see my esteemed co-author in my own campus. It was a difficult session for one reason or the other. Some of the leading historians were seen in opposite moods on certain basic issues and a controversial debate appeared imminent during the general session of the Congress. Rather in a heated atmosphere, stood up Dr.B.N.Puri to present his views on the point or points which had resulted in the controversy. His discourse centred on the theme—whether history should go by facts or should be coloured with the so-called ideological overtones to affect the Truth, partially if not wholly ! His arguments were so convincing, so boldly presented and so definitive that most delegates in that 1200-member session admired his contention and were moved by his words of conviction.

Some members of the opposite school of thought came forward with their views. I, as the local secretary of that session, felt obliged to adopt a middle-path because of my delicate position as a delegate of the host University, though of course, like many others I too supported the views of Dr. Puri. At the end of the session, Dr.Puri came to me straight and with his authority as an elder historian challenged me saying, "What was the reason or compulsion for your becoming so apologetic in your talk" ?

I kept quiet. At the same time, I felt immensely impressed that it is only a principled historian like Dr.B.N. Puri who can uphold and defend the sanctity of the basic values of history against the invasion of doubtful approaches, arising out of various influences.

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During those brief days I formed my opinion of Dr. Puri as a man of strong convictions, stern and fearless, a kind of awe-inspiring individual. I could not know whether he liked me or not, but as for me, I became an admirer of his noble self, more for his striking individuality than for other qualities of which I was not aware.

At last came a chance to discover the hidden softness in the stern man within the next few years. I had gone to Lucknow University to conduct the oral examination of a Ph.D. candidate and, after the work was over, I wanted to visit Dr.Puri in his house to pay my personal regards. Living in retirement from service, yet working as a friend, philosopher and guide to many senior as well as young promising scholars, the learned professor had made his residence like a centre of research for others. The hours I spent in house brought to my mind a new picture of the man. There was an inner flow of human affection and attachment towards all within the hard exterior of his character. He was at that time erecting a library in his own house for the use of scholars. Busy in research all the time, writing profusely and ceaselessly, Dr.Puri worked like a source of inspiration to a new generation of scholars around him. He was a kind-hearted patron to those who came to him for help and guidance.

That evening I also got a glimpse of the philosopher in him. All that happens to pass in one's mundane existence need not touch the inner being of the self—he taught me.

I salute this man of honour and dignity and pray for his long life and health and happiness.

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Dr. Puri As I Know Him

R.K. Trivedi

I consider it a privilege to have been invited to make a contribution to this volume, first because my good friend Dr.Puri, who has earned international acclaim in the field of History, belongs to my own Alma Mater; and secondly because he was my esteemed colleague at the National Academy of Administration at Mussoorie for a few years, when I had an occasion to come in close contact with him.

In 1958, when I was acting as the Principal of the IAS Training School, at the Metcalfe House in Delhi, I was asked by the then Home Minister, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, a great statesman and visionary, second only to Sardar Patel, to work out a scheme for the joint training of IAS, IFS and other Central class I officers, as a first but major step to break down the psychical barriers between senior officers so that, unaffected by narrow departmentalism, young officers may develop the right attitude from the very start of their careers to consider themselves as parts of the same organism striving to join hands in the great endeavour to build India through the services. I worked out a project which resulted in the setting up of the Academy after amalgamating the IAS Staff College at Simla and the IAS Training School at Delhi, and after a complete reorientation of the substance and form of training for the Higher Civil Services. Thanks to Panditji's approval and encouragement, the National Academy of Administration was not only speedily established on September 1, 1959, but it also became a premier training centre in the country, saddled with the additional responsibility of co-ordinating training programmes of all the Govt. of India's training establishments.

While recasting the syllabus, if I may restrict myself only to History, we were quite clear that the new Department of Indian History and Culture should not be a mere replication of University curriculum, but should be so designed as to develop a sense of History or a historical perception which makes it possible for the probationer to appreciate the Indian ethos including the values that guided the freedom struggle or laid the foundations of the Indian Constitution. Quite obviously the important thing was to get the right person for the job. Initial attempts failed, but fortunately Sri Aditya Nath Jha, the first Director, and great scholar-administrator, was able to persuade, in consultation with UPSC, Dr. Puri to accept the assignment. Indeed, if the Academy has now been placed on the International training map, it is primarily because of the untiring efforts of successive Directors and the distinguished faculty comprising such eminent scholars as Dr. Puri, who by joining the Academy in the formative years not only set high standards of teaching but also laid the foundations for the future growth of the Centre. The very first batch, in its end-of-course comments, placed Dr. Puri's efforts almost at the top of the successful guides amongst the Faculty members.

Dr. Puri was my next door neighbour, and I still recall with pleasure my long tete-a-tete with him on a variety of subjects which not only reflected his deep scholarship but also gave proof of his sterling character which shaped his thought and behaviour. I found that he differed from the other faculty members in two ways. First, he was not inclined to rest on his past record; secondly,

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like a good teacher, he was always acting as a good student. He devoted all his spare time to serious research and studies. The pristine precincts of the Academy, its fine Library, the salubrious climate of Mussoorie and above all the daily intellectual intercourse with perhaps some of the best young brains of the country, provided the necessary inspiration and stimulation to him to churn out widely acclaimed works like *History of Indian Administration* and many other outstanding books. His work on *Secularism in Indian Ethos* deserves to find a place on the book-shelves of all thinking Indians.

Recently, I have had an occasion to visit Dr. Puri's book-lined Library. This perhaps explains as to how he maintains his intellectual alertness and his spirit of enquiry in the companionship of the great writers and thinkers. Dr.Puri is not only making use of his excellent collections but has in his usual magnanimity ensured that it passes on to the Nehru Museum, Delhi, so that posterity is able to make use of his treasure in the intellectual growth of the nation.

As a person, Dr.Puri personifies the best of Lucknow 'Tahzib', and even as I conclude, I cannot help saying that the elements are so mixed in him that he truly symbolizes the 'whole' personality in the Bergsonian sense. '*Jīvet Śaradaḥ Śatam*' will for ever be my prayer for him, so that he may continue to extend the frontiers of knowledge as here-to-fore.

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A Scholar and a Gentleman

T.N. Chaturvedi

I had heard about Dr. B.N. Puri when he was in the Department of History at the University of Lucknow, and seen some of his books. But it was in 1961 that we really met at Ajmer, where I was the Collector and District Magistrate, and had a long, wide - ranging discussion.

He was accompanying a group of IAS probationers from the National Academy of Administration now known as Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration. The meeting left me with the impression that Dr. Puri was not only an exceedingly knowledgeable person, but also one with sincerity of purpose and deep commitment.

It was in July 1967 that I joined the National Academy of Administration as Joint Director. This was the beginning of a more intimate relationship. The official residence allotted to me was quite close to Dr. B.N.Puri's residence. From my own house I could see that very early in the moring he would start his academic work after making his tea. I found that he was very disciplined in his habits and mode of work. Not a single day would pass without his having written a few pages according to a planned programme. This accounts for his voluminous contribution to historical research.

His academic horizon as a scholar has been vast and expanding. A man of erudition and intellectual integrity, his conscience is the only guide in his life and scholarly work. At the Academy, he was popular with probationers and colleagues. He actively participated not only in academic and literary but extra curricular activities. That is why even today Dr. Puri can rely for friendly contacts on his old probationers, now occupying senior positions in different sectors of administration in the country and even outside. He would advise probationers on many personal and delicate matters and give them a balanced perspective on life and administration.

I found him to be a sage counsellor to members of the academic staff who were insistant about lectures or other academic pursuits. He has the knack of helping others by building on the strength of individuals. Due to his transparent sincerity of purpose, nobody would take umbrage at his suggestions or comments. During the period I was there, the Academy had three Directors of different aptitude and outlook, but he commanded the confidence and respect of all. As there were quick changes, I had to work as Director for long periods, and I found that, whether in academic/ staff meetings or individual discussions, Dr. Puri would express his views with force and without fear or favour on the management of the Academy. He has written in his memoirs about the Academy as a shrewd observer and participant, and it is worthwhile for anybody to go through them.

If I remember correctly, a few months after I left the Academy, Dr. Puri decided to return to his *Alma Mater* as Professor of Indian History and Culture — a natural desire of any genuine scholar. Because of his reputation for scholarship, Dr. Puri has been in great demand for public lectures. He has been a frequent invitee and participant at international conferences. It is a matter of happiness that he found time to write in Hindi on archaeology and ancient civilization and its

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spread outside India. These works have enriched the universe of language and historical research in Hindi.

Dr. B.N.Puri's three volumes on the administrative history of India are monumental. I have been deeply impressed by his meticulousness in the matter of footnotes and references. He always checks and crosschecks his sources. This is a great help to a researcher or any inquisitive reader. I have always learnt something new whenever I referred any historical issue to him. He gives facts and is fearless in his interpretation and conclusions.

Apart from English, Hindi and French, he has a good command of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Urdu and thus makes imaginative use of original sources.

Though helpful to all and easily accessible to researchers, Dr. Puri knows how to maximise his limited time. He has profound love for our cultural heritage. Not only is he meticulous in his every day routine and work, he is systematic in his reading, maintaining newspaper clippings, etc. He has a very sizeable but select personal library, with rare reference books classified properly and arranged neatly. It is a treat to see him in his study at his residence, picking up a book and dilating on a point under discussion.

The preservation of this valuable library is one of his principal concerns at the moment. He delivered a series of lectures on the evolution of Indian administration as part of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, which were well received.

I vividly recall the interest that Smt. Indira Gandhi evinced when Dr.B.N.Puri presented her a set of his books dealing with ancient history and civilization. She expressed a desire to see him again but that was not to be. It is a pity that Dr.B.N.Puri has not always got the recognition from official quarters that he derserves as a historian. Though sociable, he believes in ploughing a lonely furrow. He does not belong to any academic coterie. He does not try to curry favours or please the powers that be. Academic honours have come to him without his seeking them. He is a firm believer in the gospel of *Gītā* that efficiency in action is Yoga, and it is action alone that is his concern and not the fruits thereof.

He is a man with values, vision and intellectual integrity. In his academic pursuits and involvements, as witnessed for some years, Smt. Puri has been his genuine helpmate in her own silent way. Despite a staggering blow in the tragic demise of their youngest daughter in an unfortunate accident a few years back, both have exhibited and maintained remarkable poise, equanimity of mind and faith in God's Grace.

It is a matter of considerable gratification and honour to me to write a few words by way of tribute to Dr. B.N.Puri, an eminent historian, an erudite scholar and above all a great gentleman. I fondly remember my association with him over the years. It is always a pleasure to hear his voice on phone or to meet him as and when he sometimes drops in during his visits to Delhi.

May God grant many more years of healthy life to him in the service of society and scholarship.

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Dr. Baij Nath Puri — A Biographical Tribute

Sarva Daman Singh

As an old student and colleague of Dr. Baij Nath Puri for many years, my task in penning this portrait is made doubly difficult by the reciprocity of affection that governs our relationship. I should not indulge in uncritical encomium, which would be construed as an exercise in anaemic adulation; nor should I embark upon an unwarranted spree of iconoclasm, which would be interpreted as an act of heresy. He is entitled to our admiration and ungrudging gratitude for the incredible amount of unceasing, self-immolating labour with which he has complied his works issuing out of his study in an unending succession of titles. Nothing daunts him, the past, present or the future; the ancient, medieval or modern; the East or the West; everything is grist to the mill of his churning, shifting, collecting, collating and commenting juggernaut. His sweep is encyclopaedic; his surveys exhaustive; his footnotes heavy with references and annotations. Amazing application; profound patience; dour dedication ! He writes like a man with a mission; a man always in a great hurry. Words tumble out of his pen in a rush of profusion. There is little attempt at painful brevity, for that might detract from clarity; and no apology for repetition if the importance of the point he is making warrants it, 'owing to the sweetness of the meaning thereof', *tasa tasa athasa mādhūratāya*, as, perhaps, the great Aśoka would say!

His autobiography, *The Changing Horizon*[1], is an often moving record of his upbringing, education and vicissitudes of personal fortune. He calls it a "scrutiny of the self in the context of outside happenings''; and provides an intersting account of men and matters and changing values over a period of more than sixty years. The solemn statement in his Preface that "the account is free from bias and prejudice"[2] is the expression of an aspiration that is laudable but irrealisable.

Born on 25th of January, 1916, in a Khatrī[3] household, Baij Nath Puri was the youngest of his parents' children four daughters and two sons. His grandfather died on his pilgrimage to Badrikā; his father gave up his studies when in Class IX, owing to financial difficulties, and set up a money-lending business with five hundred rupees given to him by his rich aunt around 1900; and soon established himself as a respectable member of his community. Dr.Puri provides delightful descriptions of his childhood in a traditional Khatrī family. He furnishes true-to-life pen-pictures of his grand-mother, father and mother; and reveals the pressures, reponsibilities, hopes and fears, joy and sorrows of three generations living under the same roof in a joint family. He touches on the often trying relationship between the mother-in-law as the peremptory matriarch and her submissive daughter-in-law; and describes his mother as a "short-statured, good-natured, extremely beautiful and homely but uneducated, simple and docile lady", who was "the Hindu ideal of a wife" under the domination of her old mother-in-law.[4] His grand-mother retired to Vārāṇasī later; but "kept her gold ornaments till her death in 1939". "This old lady would use pure ghee— clarified butter— for massaging her bald head and limbs". Old and even young widows among the orthodox, specially in Bengal, were expected to keep their heads shaven.

Dr. Puri provides priceless accounts of the customs and conventions observed in ceremonies;

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of superstitions, religious restraints and resolutions; as well as tolerance and co-existence in a pluralistic set-up.

The influence of his parents and "the family background with strong religious links" moulded his life-style, and "fortified his unflinching faith in God" as well as devotion to truth and honesty.[7] His first school was a *pāṭhśālā* endowed by the Jainas. He describes how the initiation of boys into study at another school was accompanied by blaring bands and sweets distributed to the young and old[8]. He tells us how his father would wake him up at 4 in the morning, the ideal time for study, and that he would perform *daṇḍas* and *baiṭhakas* to keep himself physically fit.[9]

He witnessed death for the first time in 1926, when his mother's grand-mother, over a hundred years old, passed away. He describes the obsequies[10] and wonders about "cremation or burial complete—assimilation of the part with the whole, or resurrection on the day of judgement".[11]

He recalls his elder brother's marriage and the groom's party travelling by train and bullock-carts to the bride's place; and the weeping bride embracing every member of her family before leaving for her husband's home.[12] He remembers the commotion sparked by the Simon Commission in 1928; its boycott by the Indian National Congress; the *haṛtāls* and the atrocities of the police.[13]

A difficult science teacher in secondary school made young Baij Nath switch over to commerce, which thwarted his initial ambition to become a doctor of medicine, fulfilled by proxy in later years in the career of his son.[14] He passed his High School Examination in 1931; and had "no excuse for not securing even a second class".[15] In retrospect, he attributes it to "inadequate personal application and domestic factors"[16] ; and with remarkable candour tells us that he "had to face the same music in life later on as well at the Intermediate and Graduate level with no regrets, and every time followed by a grim determination to forge ahead despite numerous diversions and difficulties".[17]

In July, 1931, he joined the Lucknow Christian College to study English, History, Economics and Civics for his Intermediate Certificate. Life in College was different, where he had to take tea prepared by Christians and Mohammadans (*sic.*).[18] At home, he had not even tasted onions or tomatoes in his childhood. "I could not get food in the kitchen without a bath and visit to the family temple ... I could not put on any upper cloth while taking meals".[19]

He tells us that felt caps were worn by boys out of respect for their teachers ; but that were given up in the thirties. The Government had banned Gandhi cap and *Kurtā* in schools. Puri became interested in the teachings of Christ, though he did not read the *New Testament* given to him as a gift.[20] He is now aware of the "need for a unified religous system based on certain universal principles and moral values."[21]

He cleared his Intermediate Examination in 1933, "without improving" his division. He now thinks that he "prepared too many notes by reading several books on a subject for which the close study of one would have been enough."[22] He "was neither a poet nor an original thinker", but did believe in the "sedulous ape" for securing a niche in the guild of writers.[23]

In 1933, he joined the Lucknow University to study for Honours in Ancient Indian History, with English and Political Science as his subsidairy subjects. He gives us a valuable account of

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the Lucknow University[24] ; of its foundation with the blessing and encouragement of Sir Harcourt Butler; of notable personalities, conflicts and politics. The pen-portraits of his teachers are very interesting. Some of them also figured in the story of my education at the University. The great Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji looms large in his narrative as a "brilliant writer and an eloquent speaker, original in thinking and equally forceful in presentation." A staunch patriot and during Puri's days as his student, he was Professor of History at the Lucknow University and Leader of the Congress Party in the Upper House of the Bengal Legislature at the same time. After independence, in the fifties, he remained a nominated member of the Rājya Sabhā for a full term of six years. Dr. Puri tells us that the boys kept their distance from the girls, not many in number, for fear of provoking the displeasure of their teachers ;[25] and that Radha Kumud Mookerji was very particular about the dress of his students, who had to wear *kurtā* and *dhotī* to his class. Puri regret that he could never join the Professor's inner circle.[26]

Puri tried to do his M.A. in History and LL.B. simultaneously, which was then allowed by the Lucknow University; but twice came to grief in clearing LL.B. Previous, as this kind of study in different disciplines was bound to detract from his performance in both. He also took part in the University Union, and represented the Faculty of Arts on its Executive Committee. He passed his M.A.Examination in Ancient Indian History and Culture, securing a high Second Division in 1937 and his LL.B. in 1939.[27]

He was engaged to Kanaklatā just before his M.A.Examinations, and married her on 22nd of May, 1937. He tells us that he had little choice in the selection of his life-partner; and philosophises that there is "something good in arranged marriages", and, in any case, "there could be no escape from it."[28] During the years between 1937 and 1945, he switched over "alternatively from law to research" ; failed to secure a temporary teaching position in History at the Lucknow University in 1938 ; was articled to Barrister B.K.Dhaon to learn the tricks of the legal trade; and survived on thirty rupees a month paid to him by his father as his pocket money. The barrister paid him nothing.[29] His wife spent much of her time with her own parents ; and he had to seek his parents' permission to visit his "in-laws". He points out that men met their wives in discreet privacy akin to secrecy in joint families ; any exhibition of connubial closeness or cupidity in the presence of elders was considered quite indecorous and unseemly.[30]

Puri took up research on the Kuṣāṇas at the Lucknow University ; and read his first paper at the Indian History Congress session at Calcutta in 1939 entitled "An Examination of the Titles of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas", the paper was well received, and praised by K.A.Nilakantha Sastri. At Lucknow, though, he received little encouragement from his teachers; and was even denied an official supervisor. Pressing personal and financial difficulties deterred him from going elsewhere. He paid two visits to Calcutta, where D.R.Bhandarkar allowed him to use his personal library. He had regular discussions with him on the content and direction of his work; and Bhandarkar published Puri's papers in his *Indian Culture*. Puri also published his research paper in the *Journal of Indian History*. He also showed his work to R.C.Majumdar, who liked it; but when he submitted his thesis to the Lucknow University for the Ph.D. degree, Radha Kumud Mookerji refused even to sign his submission form. Of the three examiners appointed, Radha Kumud rejected it; V.V.Mirashi approved it; and R.C.Majumdar, despite his earlier appreciation of Puri's work, also chose to reject it.

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Puri's father, whose autocratic domination he had at times found "revolting",[31] died in July, 1943. Young Baiju, as his mother called him, was utterly "forlorn, tossing aimlessly between law and research." Loath to break up the joint family during the life-time of his mother, and until the five daughters of his elder brother got married,[32] Puri donned his black coat and tie once more to knock at the portals of Law in search of a career. He was "busy but otherwise briefless"; and the material return from his legal practice was negligible.

Then, in November, 1944, he joined the Archaeological Training School at Taxila, now in Pakistan, under the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, Sir Mortimer Wheeler. Three months at Taxila under the hard task-master provided welcome training in the current techniques of field archaeology.

He attended the Indian History Congress session at Aligarh, and read a paper on the Later Kuṣāṇas. R.C.Majumdar advised him to make use of cultural data from Aśvaghoṣa, a contemporary of Kaniṣka, and he proceeded to write two papers on "Socio-economic Aspects of the time of the Kushāṇas". As advised by Radha Kumud Mookerji, the thesis was recast and given a new title, *India under the Kushāṇas*. It was then submitted to the University of Lucknow for the Ph.D. degree. The same examiners were appointed once more; but before the results came out, the University advertised a lectureship in Ancient Indian History, and Puri put in his application. The Selection Committee recommended his name on the basis of his publications; but the Executive Council of the University offered the position to Rama Shankar Tripathi. When Tripathi refused the offer, they finally appointed Puri, though not without stiff opposition from certain quarters; and as the Vice-Chancellor Bisheshwar Dayal Seth told him, it was a reward for his "perseverance and endurance".[33] The thesis, however, came to grief once more; and a doctorate still eluded B.N.Puri, who says: "I should take the entire blame on myself."[34]

Puri the lecturer now, describes his colleagues in his own Department and in others; and refers to the party politics, caste politics, and the waxing dominance of C.B.Gupta in the affairs of the University.[35] He had certainly not given up on his determination to gain a doctorate. He secured his admission to Exeter College, Oxford, and started work on *India in the Time of Patañjali* even before he left for Oxford. Some family property was sold to meet the expenses of Oxford ; and on 10th of August, 1949, Puri set sail for England.[36]

He worked under the supervision of T. Burrow, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, at the Library of the Indian Institute; and also sought the guidance of Professor F.W.Thomas, who had already retired, but still helped Puri with regular advice. Puri met most of the Orientalists in the United Kingdom, including A.L.Basham, who was then a lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. He went on a lecture tour of Europe during the vacation, and met many of the Indologists on the continent.

F.W. Thomas agreed to supervise him during the absence of Burrow, when the latter went to India on study leave. Puri himself came home to Lucknow in July, 1950, and stayed till the middle of October, when he went back to Oxford. This was done to minimize his expenses abroad ; and the "privation" his "family had to face", including "the disposal of gold and even silver utensils", made him wonder "whether a doctorate ... was worth the money spent."[37]

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F.W.Thomas went through his manuscript, and Puri incorporated all the suggestions of his supervisor before his thesis was submitted for the D.Phil. degree of Oxford. F.W.Thomas, the supervisor, and J.Brough, of S.O.A.S., London, were appointed examiners; and the oral examination took place on 19th of June, 1951. Even though Brough told Puri that the thesis was quite good, he thought the title was "misleading" ; and therefore recommended the award of a B.Litt. instead. Though Thomas did not agree with Brough, he did not fight for Puri, whose "dreams" thus lay "shattered"; and who now went to his room to shed a silent tear . F.W.Thomas sent him a good testimonial, which said that the thesis, when published, "would be found very useful even for experts in different branches of Indology."[39]

Puri returned to India in July, 1951, and it was then that I met him at the University of Lucknow. He was assigned to teach us Ancient Indian History in B.A.II ; and we were charmed by his personality. He was a smartly dressed, short-statured, handsome man with a jauntiness about him, and had the aura of a person who had been to England, and to Oxford in particular. He came to the University in a *tonga* (light horse-drawn carriage), seated sideways on the back seat with one of his legs poised across it, the other dangling down to hold his balance with the other foot.[40] He lived in an old traditional part of Lucknow Chowk, known as Kaṭārī Tolā, in a house which stood in a narrow lane in a maze of connecting streets which, owing to their extreme narrowness, did not admit of any vehicular traffic until one came out into the main road. This was the Chowk thoroughfare lined on both sides with jewellers' and betel-sellers' shops, whose upper floors were occupied by prostitutes beckoning to the passing pedestrians from their overhanging balconies.

Puri spoke with force, and occasionally with passion where Kuṣāṇa chronology was concerned. He wrote on the board with a piece of chalk in a microscopic hand, which even if larger in scale would be difficult to decipher, to explain to us the confounded tangle of Kaniṣka's date. Young students are not instantly attracted to these vexed matters of chronology; and his enthusiasm for the subject was quite shared by his pupils who found it heavy, if not tedious. One day, he brought an Englishman to class, whom he introduced as an old friend. A.L.Basham, who was on his way to Sri Lanka to spend his study leave there, spoke to us in the ceremonial Mālavīya Hall, where our class was regularly held; but we understood little of what he said, with the pipe held in his mouth, his unfamiliar accent, and the cavernous depths of the hall devoured voices before they reached their audience. Little did I know then, that less than ten years later, I would become a student of Professor A.L.Basham at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

B.N.Puri mentioned in his talks and lectures the names of great historians he had met and known and worked with, both Indian and foreign; and we were all suitably impressed. The names included D.R.Bhandarkar, R.C.Majumdar, S.K.Aiyangar, F.W.Thomas, T.Burrow, H.Bailey, Mortimer Wheeler, and many more ! All this added to the man's glamour.

He taught us Field Archaeology in B.A.Honours III-M.A. I. Just about then, he published his *Purātattva Vijñāna* (1952),[41] which was duly recommended to us. Past failure did not dim his still steadfast resolution to acquire a doctorate, and so he proceeded to make yet another effort. He applied for the approval of new subject — *History of the Gurjara Pratihāras* once again under the supervision of T.Burrow at Oxford ; paid his fees and worked on his thesis in India, sending typed chapters to Burrow at regular intervals. Though he went through the motions of teaching, he was

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really entirely preoccupied with his research on the Gurjara Pratihāras. When his work in India was done, he sold his set of *Vācaspatam*, the Sanskrit Encyclopaedia, for six hundred rupees, to pay part of the passage money; and left for England on the 15th of December, 1953, despite grim prophesies by a couple of astrologers that he would not only fail to gain a doctorate, but also to return to India.

At Oxford, he brushed up his thesis, rewrote certain portions in accordance with the suggestions of his supervisor, and finally submitted it in early February, 1954. Before the month was out, he had his D.Phil.; and he was on his way back to India. His first attempt at Oxford had been thwarted by the roughness of Brough; his second denoted the triumph of persistence. Back home, the astrologers pontificated that will-power had defeated destiny.

Though he did not teach us in M.A.II, the *guru-śiṣya* bond of friendship between us was firmly in place. We visited him often ; and the entire family welcomes us. His elder brother was a genial gentleman, who occasionally put my knowledge of English to test by asking me to give him English equivalents of the names of Indian vegetables.

In July, 1954, I was appointed a Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Archaeology at the University of Lucknow ; and was warmly congratulated by Dr.Puri, who took me to the Registrar's office and showed me how to proceed with the process of joining the University's service. When I went to visit his family later, they offered me sweets, which he, too, always enjoyed with unfeigned delight.

Dr.Puri has described in *The Changing Horizon* the acrimony, discords and intrigues of a divided Department pulled in different directions by the seething resentments of three Bengali Readers, whose aspirations had been put on hold by the presence of Professor K.R.Qanungo, who held the only available Chair of History. Radha Kamal Mookerji, the economist, became interim Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University in 1955; and the old History Department was divided into three. C.D.Chatterji was elevated to a Personal Professorship to head the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology. I had to fight a fierce battle of survival to secure my tenure at the University. My closeness to Dr.B.N.Puri had alienated C.D.Chatterji, who did not like him. As my academic credentials were unassailable, he opposed me on grounds blatantly unacademic, which on his own later admission exposed him to ridicule. He failed; I won; and my happiness was shared by Dr. Puri.

Notwithstanding the deviousness of C.D.Chatterji, who was not above petty prejudice and material gratification, he was the most brilliant teacher I had at the postgraduate level, with a remarkable command on his subject and easy access to original sources ; but though he laid good foundations, he did not encourage us to build on them. He had also been Dr.Puri's teacher, described by him as "a frail, bespectacled lecturer, using high power, probably minus five lenses, reserved and insular", who never wrote anything substantial, and "whose talents were utilised elsewhere and by someone else."[42] Puri did what C.D.Chatterji failed to accomplish, to lead by example of dedication and tireless persistence, of redoubled application in the face of failure, until success finally came his way. Not to rest on one's oars, was his clear message. He was more of an inspiration than a labouring lecturer. He encouraged, enthused, and assisted with advice and

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words of good cheer. His hospitality was unfailing; and behind much of his success, indeed, behind it all, stood his gracious, self-effacing wife, who always provided unwavering, unquestioning emotional support, and kept him free from day-to-day household worries.

In 1957, Dr.Puri published both his Oxford dissertations. His *India in the Time of Patañjali* was published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, with a *Foreword* by K.M.Munshi, and an *Introduction* by T.Burrow. As Patañjali can be placed with a fair amount of certainty in the second century B.C., his *Mahābhāṣya* acquires special value as a source of information on the social, cultural and political history of the period. The incidental nature of this information provided in his comments on Pāṇini's *sūtras* makes it as valuable as it is credible. All kinds of topics are touched upon; and Dr. Puri extracts everything of value from the viewpoint of the historian. He also incorporates all the relevant information available from inscriptions, inscribed coins, Purāṇic king-lists and Buddhist legends, and the later play *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*. He also examines the records of the Indo-Greeks, even though they do not tell us much about Central India.

Patañjali established Sanskrit based on Pāṇini as the supreme primary language of India. His references to Puṣyamitra's horse-sacrifices signal the resurgence of the Brahmanical tradition; *nāṭaka* and *kāvya* in their classical form take shape in this period; and Patañjali's references to them are vital to the reconstruction of their early history. He mentions many which are mere names to us, and thus provides fitful glimpses of the robust literary activity of the period. Both Bhāgavatism and Śaivism come to the fore in an upsurge of *bhakti* unknown in the increasingly remote *Vedas*, and present a popular alternative to Buddhism and Jainism. The six *darśanas* crystallise; and art and sculpture celebrate religion in general, and Buddhism in particular, giving the lie to tales of the persecution of Buddhists by Puṣyamitra Śunga.

Dr. Puri deals with everything: Patañjali's time; political history; geographical data; social life; economic life; trade and commerce; education; literature and art, in an exhaustive survey of the period, which is at once trustworthy and useful. His observations are undogmatic; his conclusions cautious. He acknowledges the work of his predecessors; but his book is the first full-length dissertation on this subject. Its durability is attested by its new, revised edition that came out in 1968.

His *History of the Gurjara Pratihāras*[43], which earned him his Oxford D.Phil., also came out in 1957, with a *Foreword* by T.Burrow. The Gurjara Pratihāra dominion stood as a bulwark against the forces of division and conflict that followed its decline, facilitating the conquest of the country by Muslim invaders. Dr.Puri treats his subject "with care and detail" ; and traces the Gurjara Pratihāra origin from the region of the Arbuda mountain in Rajputana, from where they migrated and established themselves at a number of different places.[44] He devotes three chapters to the study of the Pratihāras of Kanauj, and tells us how the Gurjara Pratihāra empire was destroyed by the Turks and the Chandelas. He looks at their administration; the position of the king; the provinces and their governors; smaller units of administration, including local and civic bodies; cultural, social, economic and religious life; and the reclamation of Hindus forcibly converted to Islam. He notes the decline of Buddhism and the rise of Brahmanism, though Jainism is quite popular still in Rajputana and Gujarat. Islam steps in, but does not yet find favour except where the people are forced to accept it. The picture painted is marked by religious toleration and catholicity of outlook.

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Among his sources are the evidence of epigraphy; the works of Rājaśekhara; and contmeporary accounts of Arab writers. Literature, art and education also receive appropriate attention. Thorough and impartial, the work on the Pratihāras throws light on a difficult period of early medieval Indian history.

His publications[45] and their positive reception by the scholarly community, however, failed to win for him the Chair of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, which went to another colleague of ours, Dr. R.K.Dikshit, even though the latter had no publications to his credit. Dr. Puri's election to preside over the Ancient India Section of the Indian History Congress session in 1959 was some consolation, as a recognition of his contribution to his discipline.

Puri's *Indian History - A Review*[46] came out in 1960; and the *Preface* acknowledges some insignificant help rendered by me. Unburdened by unnecessary names and tedious detail, the history of India is here compressed into 120 pages right down to the age of Jawahar Lal Nehru; and even India's contribution to Southeast Asia receives its due mention. He emphasizes the "vital and vigorous faith of Indians in themselves" ; India's unity in diversity; her eclecticism and philosophy of universal brotherhood; and her amazing assimilative capacity. He tries to redress the balance between political, cultural and socio-economic ingredients of Indian history; and stresses the continuity of history diminished by its arbitrary division into ancient, medieval and modern; or Hindu, Muslim and British. Panikkar, though, in his *Foreword*, castigates Puri for his categorical assertion that the Mauryas were Kṣatriyas. Puri counters the criticism with the credence he places in the Pāli evidence in his *Preface*. I personally feel that debates of this nature are not really conducive to a proper appreciation of human achievement and fulfilment of India's destiny. What the Mauryas accomplished is far more important and relevant than the question whether they were Kṣatriyas or Śūdras. When I was a student, the origin of the Mauryas was an oft-repeated question in the examinations of Indian universities. I did not quite realise the impropriety of the question then; but now strongly feel that it is an extension of caste prejudices and loyalties of a later day into ancient history. So many races came to India as conquerors; and their conquests elevated them from the status of Śūdras or Mlecchas to that of Kṣatriyajas. Duryodhana's statement in the *Mahābhārata*, that a Kṣatriya is known by his deeds and not by his birth, is incontrovertibly true of Indian history.[47]

Dr. Puri encouraged me to brave a written and oral competitive examination, in which I stood first to win a scholarship earmarked for India by the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. I left for London in September, 1960; and Dr.Puri left for the National Academy of Administration soon afterwards, where he took up as Professor of Indian History and Culture of January 24,1961.[48]

I returned with a doctorate from London in November, 1962; and was promoted to a Readership in 1963. I taught Dr. Puri's daughter Aruṇā in M.A., at Lucknow, and thus paid part of the debt I owed him as my teacher. I was encouraged by him to apply for a new Chair at the National Academy of Administration at Mussoorie; the Union Public Service Commission selected me ;and I joined the Academy as Professor of Indian History and Culture in 1965. Thus we became colleagues once more; and he welcomed me and my family with great warmth.

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He used his time at the Academy to add to his publications. He wrote daily; and one day I facetiously told him how I thought he was the greatest scholar I had ever seen; he always wrote; he seldom read. We both laughed. His sense of humour enabled him to laugh at others, as also at himself. He was popular at the Academy, always affable, ever ready to share a hearty laugh and a good joke.

Dr.Puri's very first book, *India as described by Early Greek Writers*[49], his M.A.dissertation, led to another spin-off in 1963, in his *India in Classical Greek Writings*[50]. McCrindle's accounts are sorted out under different headings; there is a "brief account of the writers on India before and after the Christian era"; there is a chapter on Ceylon; and "language throughout the text is that of McCrindle".[51] Puri's notes at the end corroborate or elucidate "any point noticed in the text". It is a useful compilation of what the Greek writers have said on a variety of topics.

In 1965, he published his monograph on Kuṣāṇas,[52] who had occupied his attention for more than a quarter of a century. He told me that he regarded this work as doubtless his most mature. The *Preface* begins with necessary preoccupation with the nationality of the Kuṣāṇas. He identifies them with Tukhāras or Tuṣāras of the *Purāṇas*, and traces their origin to the peak-helmeted Śakas of Herodotus. Their supposed Mongoloid origin is not supported by their appearance on coins, in their statues, or in their dress.

According to Dr. Puri, Wima Kadphises ascended the throne in 78 A.D., and should therefore be associated with the Śaka era. He postulates a short gap between Wima Kadphises and Kaniṣka, the records of whose family use a regnal era, dating from Year 1 to 98, perhaps till the end of the dynasty. Puri suggests that A.D.144 is the initial year of this era, in as much as it eliminates the likelihood of a clash between Kaniṣka and Rudradāman.

The last chapter on political history grapples with the problems of the later Kuṣāṇas. The remaining chapters deal with administration; social life; economic conditions; education; religious life; literature; art and architecture. He culls all the relevant material from the Sanskrit Buddhist literature; examines the characteristics of Gandhāra and Mathurā art and concludes that the Buddha image appeared simultaneously in those two regions. There are appendices containing lists of inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī and Greek alphabets; and there is a useful note on Kuṣāṇa numismatics. Even though unanimity on the vexed Kuṣāṇa chronology is yet distant, Puri's work is carefully written and copiously documented, throwing fresh light on many aspects of Kuṣāṇa history.

Another small book, *Cities of Ancient India*,[53] came out in 1966; and the *Preface* acknowledges some small contribution I might have made. It is an interesting piece of work, presenting a picture of sites of political, economic and religious importance on the basis of historical as well as archaeological evidence. Metropolitan centres, commercial marts, cities on the national highways and waterways, are all included; also the cities and ports of the South, some of which served as points of embarkation for voyages to Southeast Asia and the Far East.

I resigned my Professorship at the National Academy in 1967 to resume my position at the Lucknow University, which was offered to me *in absentia* with five advance increments in the Reader's grade to lure me back to my *Alma Mater*. Professor Puri continued his work at the Academy, churning out books at regular intervals.

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In 1968, he published his *History of Indian Administration,* [54] Volume I, dealing with the Ancient Period. The integrity of the state and its survival with the maintenance of law and order depend upon its administration, as, indeed, do the happiness and prosperity of the people. Dr.Puri charts the evolution of Indian administration from Vedic times onwards, including both republican and monarchical forms of government; and examines the nature of Mauryan administration and those succeeding it. His works on Patañjali, Kuṣāṇas and Gurjara Pratihāras, all included chapters on administration, which came in handy for incorporation in this volume.

He also looks at administration in South India, and sketches three phases of its evolution under the Āndhras, Vākāṭakas and early Pallavas; the Pallavas and the Cālukyas; and Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Eastern Cālukyas and Early Colas. The last chapter is devoted to the administrative set-up of the rulers of Southeast Asia, covering both Indo china and Indonesia. Dr. Puri brings his study of the ancient period to a close in *c.*1000 A.D., as the loose administration and feudal organization of numerous warring dynasties become better comprehensible in the context of the Sultanate. We must give him due credit for producing the best available book on the subject of ancient Indian administration. And the Second and Third volumes, which appeared later, are also as exhaustive and well documented as the First.

Dr. Puri joined us again at the University of Lucknow as Professor of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, in 1971. But I left Lucknow to take up the Chair of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, and Headship of the School of Postgraduate Studies at the Vikram University, Ujjain, in 1973. Fate, however, decreed that I would leave that Chair and proceed to the University of Queensland in Brisbane, Australia, in February, 1974. I have been there since; but the brackish waters of the high seas between us have failed to dim or dent our affectionate relationship. I visit him whenever I go to India; and he gives me copies of his books that descend on the scholarly world like leaves form a majestic autumn tree. What assiduity; what resolution! aloud in the cascading titles of his books representing the range of his curiosity, and the variety of his interests ! ! !

As Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology at Lucknow University, he helped enlarge the scope of the syllabus and improve the standard of research; but the Department failed to register any growth. Only one lecturer was appointed permanently during his tenure.[55] Though I find an affectionate mention in the text [56], no other colleague merits a reference in his autobiography, which is perhaps an indication of the tension that ruffled his return, and that he somehow failed to address or overcome. On 25th January, 1976, Dr. Puri retired from his Chair at the Lucknow University.

As he rightly says in his autobiography, a professor never retires. There was a great deal to keep him busy. His *Kuṣāṇa Bibliography* appeared in 1977; and he continued to work on the second and third volumes of his *History of Indian Administration.* The death of his daughter Taruṇā (Belloo) in a road accident in January 1980, left him devastated and desolate. The youngest of their three children, she was the darling of the Puris, headstrong, bold, bright and intelligent. Her talents came forcefully to the fore as she grew up into an adolescent intellectual, possessed of impressive eloquence and bubbling self-confidence. She wrote plays and poetry and won debates; and occasionally made her father the butt of her playful criticism. Dr. Puri's own language would best convey the searing sorrow of a bereaved father :

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"I had to bid good-bye to her as I lit the pyre, effacing my own creation and reversing the process—doing what she should have done for me."[57]

I cannot forget the sight of tears rolling down his cheeks, when I first met him after Belloo's death. The grief is burnt into his soul, and will, of course, never disappear. But it spurred him into research and writing at an almost manic pace, his way of relegating it to comparatively bearable levels of semi-consciousness ! He thus sought to conquer grief with grinding work; with self-submerging preoccupation with his proliferating projects. Book after book commemorates his dear daughter as yet another offering on the altar of parental love, otherwise impossible to assuage. Such an example of fortitude in tragedy, and affirmation of life in defiance of transience is indeed as rare as it is magnificent.

A recent publication of Dr. Puri, *Secularism in Indian Ethos*[58] , deserves special notice. He explains what secularism means and recounts the stages through which thinking on the subject passed in different countries of the world, down to the present period. He goes on to elucidate how the doctrine affected the Indian character through the ages right down to the promulgation of the Indian Constitution. Secularism arose in reaction to the belief that religion must order all aspects of one's life. To be secular meant that one was not concerned with religion or God. G.J.Holyoake proposed a system of social ethics which sought to separate the state, morals, education and other civic preoccupations from religion. Dr. Puri points out that the Western concept of "neutrality of the state in matters of religion" or its "complete indifference to religion" is in sharp contrast with the positive dimension of secularism which demands equal respect for all religions, and non-discrimination in state services on grounds of religion.

The Indian secular ideal does not shun religion; it seeks unity in the moral messages of religions conducive to human fraternity, tolerance and non-violence. Dr.Puri devotes two long chapters to 'Secularism and the Indian Constitution' and 'Indian Democracy and Secularism', in which he analyses and interprets the different elements of secularism with special emphasis on the protection of minorities, religious and linguistic. He looks at the practice of discrimination in reverse in the reservations for scheduled and backward classes; and appraises legal decisions and juristic interpretations of the Articles of the Constitution with reference to individual rights and obligations and the state's interference on grounds of public order, health and morality. He examines secularism in relation to both religion and law. Article 44 of the Constitution in its 'Directive Principles' enjoins the promulgation of a uniform civil code. But ossified orthodoxy and political expediency have combined to exclude Muslims from the purview of the civil code that governs the lives of all other communities. According to M. Mujeeb,[59], cited by Puri : "The Shariat comprehends public law, criminal law, commercial law, property trusts, contracts; it is all law and not merely personal law. When the right of the state to make laws in all other spheres of life is not disputed, and the state claims no authority in matters of belief and religious observances, the demand that its legislative power should not extend to matters of personal law, does not appear to be logically very sound." If secularism signifies the freedom of faith, but separation of the state and religion, a common civil code should, I strongly feel, form the foundation of common citizenship of a secular state.

Harold Laski looked forward to the final stage of human evolution in the secularisation of

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society; and Holyoake identified it with the pursuit of truth, goodness and beauty, which would conform to the ideal of *satyaṁ śivam sundaraṁ* in the traditional thought of India. Dr.Puri is quite right when he says, as did Nehru in his writings and speeches, that the secular constitution of India is a child of history; of attitudes and policies that moulded the composite unity of India.

We must also take note of Dr. Puri's contribution to historical writing in the Hindi language. His books in Hindi deal with the discipline of archaeology; Indian history and culture; India and Cambodia; the expansion of Indian culture in Southeast Asia; and also Central Asia.

Dr. Puri looks at history, historiography and Indian historians in his autobiography. Puri's idea of history is that of a discipline that enables one to reach beyond oneself, "approximating to the ideal of freedom and human understanding, free from hatred among nations."[60] He quotes Acton to emphasize that history "helps people to rise above the pressure of time, race and environment, and live in company with the mighty minds of old which no single country or age could produce."[61] He endorses Toynbee's plea for looking upon the human race as coalescing into a single society, and looking at history in universal terms.[62]

Ibn Khaldun warned against the corruption of history by flattery of those in power. History and historians should never stoop to buttress mendacity at any level. Dr. Puri cites D.R.Bhandarkar, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, R.C.Majumdar, S.K.Aiyangar, H.C.Raichaudhuri and others to emphasize the pursuit of truth and impartiality by every historian.[63] He examines the Presidential addresses given to successive sessions of the Indian History Congress to highlight the values of the historical discipline in India. He notes Potdar's plea that the common man can no longer be neglected; and Kane's assertion that history helps determine "the fundamentals which govern a peaceful progression towards a constantly higher level of civilization and the forces that impede it."[64] He records Panikkar's concern for the study of social growth; and Sushobhan Sarkar's caution against half-baked Marxist-oriented approaches to Indian history.[65] "Though the Marxian approach does peep out today in many historical writings, sometimes it takes on a dogmatic form against which we have to guard for the sake of scientific Marxism itself."[66] History seeks the truth; and Marx is himself not categorical about the different social formations identifiable in history. "Marx and Engels ... went on exploring the possibilites of variations to the last, like true social scientists."[67] Ibn Khaldun anticipated the Marxists and materialists a thousand years ago, when he said that "the true historical reality lay in the social transformation or the study of the changes in the social life of man."[68] Change is of the essence of history, which deals basically with the transformation of things.

Marx himself realises that economic conditions do not produce an automatic, unvarying cultural effect; and that the thought of an epoch is inevitably based on its past, and cannot rise out of a void. R.S.Sharma stresses the role of production and consumption in the march of history, with everything else that they entail.[69] Dr. Puri is, however, quite upset by a text-book that R.S.Sharma wrote on Ancient India, and devotes more than three pages of his autobiography to the refutation of his "Marxist-oriented", "doctrinaire" approach, [70] which turns a blind eye to the cultural rhythm to which historical events have marched.

Economic factors are, I believe, necessarily dominant in the chronicle of the past, as indeed of the present. They help us understand and explain the trends of social development in rational terms; but they do not constitute the whole story. Humanity does not subsist on bread alone; and

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the imponderable element in the human character, apart from the intellectual that seeks an aesthetic and spiritual dimension of existence, defies all attempts at reduction of history into inelastic patterns of predictable evolution. We do not want to be historians who "predict" the past. There is much in human history that is irrational, just as there is much in human behaviour that is stupid, irrational and often economically disastrous. I cannot understand the containment of the entire historical process in a rigid framework of Marxist materialism. History, like reality, is always many-sided. Any attempt to reduce it to a forced philosophy would detract from its truth, and from its indeterminate quality (*anirvacanīyatva*). Historical writing is an exercise arising out of intellectual curiosity, and corresponds to the varying life and spirit of different ages. As Stern would have it, "conceptions of the past are compounded of tradition and temperament."[71]

Dr. Puri notes the switch from the history of kings to that of people, but does not discuss why political history was popular in the past. With its emphasis on kings and conquests, dynastic succession and supersessions, genealogies and chronology, it played an important role in the evolution of historical understanding. It provided a framework of sequential political development, which enabled the historians of society and civilization to relate them to political periods and personalities. The earlier popularity of political history cannot be entirely explained in terms of the national state or the hopes pinned on it, but has to be understood in terms of its time-frame and visible contributions made by kings and dynasties. Great men did not exist outside history; they actualized their age.[72] But the fall of kings and extinction of dynastic rule in many parts of the world has vastly expanded the scope of democracy, which has inescapably affected historical studies and highlighted the need for understanding societies and lives of ordinary human beings who make them what they are through their triumphs and tragedies, through their economy, religion and philosophy reflected in their art, literature and culture. Kings do not make countries and cultures, even though they leave their mark on them. If the evidence is there, anything throwing light on ordinary people must be properly evaluated. "Histroy is only equal to its evidence."[73] I for one have felt for a long time that political history still receives too much attention at the Indian universities, to the detriment of a proper appreciation of the country's economic, social, religious and cultural institutions. Society is "an active collaborator in the work of history-making", says Butterfield. I say it is much more than a collaborator; it is the theatre, actor, conditioner, all rolled into one.

Historians must correlate the social, economic and political strands, of history without any dogmatic, preconceived conformity to a rigid pattern of unfoldment which may be at variance with the truth of things. The nearest possible approach to the whole truth, which is often elusive, must remain the historian's goal. Dr.Puri is a votary of the truth, which, despite an incurable element of subjectivity in historical writing, "cannot be brushed aside." He is a firm believer in the didactic purpose of history; in the fund of knowledge and experience and guidance it may provide. He also believes that "history has a mission and obligation to lead humanity to a higher ideal and nobler future".[74] Differences of opinion are as inevitable as variations in interpretation; but the historian must not forget his purpose, which is the inculcation of "universalism, toleration and broadmindedness", and "the unity of all religions", "in the minds of the young"; and also the promotion of the security and integrity of the country.[75] The aims are unexceptionably noble and desirable, even though the material in the hands of the historian may at times prove not a little refractory in the pursuit of their fulfilment.

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Dr. Puri is a great admirer of Jawahar Lal Nehru the historian, who "succeeds in revealing a mighty procession of men, women and children of different ages and regions, all contributing to the civilization of mankind."[76] He quotes Nehru : "If India forgets its past and its vital experience, she will no longer remain India and much that has made our joy and pride will cease to be."[77] In his gaze on the past, the historian must not lose sight of the future. Knowledge of the past can help build a better present and a brighter future.

Dr. Puri is interested in the "sum total of human achievements in all aspects of life in any age or country."[78] He emphasizes the need for a holistic study of India's past, an understanding of its history in totality.[79] But we can study only what our evidence allows us to explore. As E.P.Thompson says, "only the successful ... are remembered. The blind alleys, the lost causes, and the losers themselves are forgotten."[80] The impossibility of reconstructing the past in its entirety, of ascertaining the truth in its totality, heightens the historian's responsiblity. It is given to us but to try. We can only strive for what F.J.E. Woodbridge once called "past contemporaneity". An essential, irreducible ambiguity in history seems to be in accord with the inscrutability of nature and unpredictability of humankind. Little wonder, if Mommsen is pessimistic : "history is too difficult; it cannot be learned."[81]

Baij Nath Puri the man derives strength from the *Gītā*, from Kṛṣṇa's call to duty;[82] and remembers that those possessed of fortitude and patience take sorrow and happiness alike in their stride.[83] He loves to read biographies and autobiographies. He is emotional; and can be moved to tears, as he was at Nehru's death. He loves music and poetry and also religious texts. Himself its untiring devotee, he applauds the deity of diligence.[84] To sum up, he is a man of faith undaunted by defeat or debacle, exuding confidence in self unshaken by transient failure. Steeped in tradition, proud of his heritage and history, he is a true patriot, not seeking refuge in any parochial questionable kind of chauvinism. He is a humanist believing in the university of true spirituality; in the perfectibility of man and woman despite their proneness to selfishness and intolerant bigotry; and in the equality of the human race regardless of colour or nationality. We are all animated by the same divine essence. "Love one another, recognising in the heart of each of you the same God who is being born." These words, spoken two thousand years ago, commune with the scientific field of cosmic energy and its laws. Tolerance, peaceful coexistence and respect for the religions of others, not mere sufferance, must guide and govern our actions. No where in Puri's writings do we find any obscurantist insistence on a tradition out of tune with the present. *Samavāya eva sādhu*: "concord alone is meritorious". These words of the great Aśhoka would perhaps highlight Puri's approach to religion, spirituality and morality. And yet, Dr. Puri attributes some of the ills of modern Indian society to the practice of Western secularism, which is, he thinks, negative and spiritually sterile. He commends that species of age-old Indian secularism which does not divorce religion, but promotes understanding, peace and harmony.[85] While I do not agree with the sweeping repudiation; of western secularism as devoid of morality, I also believe that secularism and religion are not incompatible and that harmony despite religious diversity is not unattainable. Thought and imagination refuse to be confined by any credal constraints; *anekāntavāda* or many-sidedness of reality has been known to India since time immemorial. Positive secularism is an essential, inalienable ingredient of Indian experience and evolution. Indeed, there is no other way for India.

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Let us quote Puri's creed in his own words : "Both God and religion are firmly integrated in my life. I have derived great solace from both. My religion is universal in the sense that I have always welcomed anything and everything from any quarter which I find interesting and helpful."[86] Conscious of universal brotherhood, we must be free from hatred for anyone, and must be able to stand by the weak and the down-trodden, in order to challenge tyranny and oppose cruelty wherever we find them.

A creature of composite culture, a felicitous amalgam of the East and West, Dr.Puri combines the warmth of Lucknow with a disciplined approach to work marked by a method, plan and purpose. The veneer of the West, the three-piece suits, the bag and the hat and umbrella, have not been able to efface the adamantine Indian core. His has truly been a life worthy of celebration — of triumph obliterating defeat; of persistence overcoming obstacles; of determination beating ill-luck. May he live long ! He has played and enjoyed cricket in the past; and as he tells us, he is still at the crease, till "God and Destiny" bowl him out ! May that not happen for many long years to come!

Tasmād asaktaḥ satataṁ karma samācara, Gītā, III. 19.

"Therefore do your duty without stopping and without attachment."

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1. Puri, B.N. *The Changing Horizon*, Print House (India), Lucknow, 1986.
2. Ibid., p.VIII.
3. Khatrīs are a trading community.
4. Puri, *loc.cit.*, p.3. On page 4, he comments on the changing attitudes today, when "the parents-in-law could at best be tolerated if found useful.".
5. *Ibid.*, p.4
6. *Ibid.*, p.6
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, p.8.
9. *Ibid.*, p.20. *Daṇḍas* and *baiṭhakas* mean push-ups and sit-ups respectively.
10. *Ibid.*, p.21. This lady gave him first-hand accounts of what she saw in the 'mutiny' of 1857, when she was thirty years old.
11. *Ibid.*, p.22.
12. *Ibid.*, pp.23-24.
13. *Ibid.*, p.24.
14. *Ibid.*, p.25.
15. *Ibid.*, p.26.
16. *Ibid.*

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17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, p.29.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 31.
21. *Ibid.*, p.30.
22. *Ibid.*, p.34.
23. *Ibid.*, p.33.
24. *Ibid.*, pp.36 ff.
25. *Ibid.*, p.42.
26. *Ibid.*, p.43.
27. *Ibid.*, p.9,65.
28. *Ibid.*, p.67. "My eldest sister negotiated my marriage proposal in a different province, of course in my own community, and my elder brother who had gone to see the girl, duly consented to the proposal on behalf of my parents."
29. *Ibid.*, p.69.
30. *Ibid.*, p.69.
31. *Ibid.*, *cf.*, p.66. To cite an example, the formalities of marriage "were performed in the course of examination days, much to my dislike and distraction."
32. *Ibid.*, p.72.
33. *Ibid.*, p.75.
34. *Ibid.*, p.85.
35. *Ibid.*, p.77 ff.
36. *Ibid.*, p.87.
37. *Ibid.*, p.107.
38. *Ibid.*, p.108.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Cf. Ibid.*, p.101, where he says : "I would go to the University in a bush-shirt, trousers, chapeau and an umbrella." The "felt hat had cost me the loss of hair on the scalp."
41. *Purātattva Vijñāna*, a Hindi title, means 'the Science of Archaeology'.
42. Puri, *The Changing Horizon*, p.46. C.D.Chatterji dictated notes on "Gupta inscriptions" to the M.A.Final class, "which have been..... the prized possession of other teachers taking up this paper subsequently."
43. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, 1957. The Second Edition was published by Munshiram Manoharlal in 1986.
44. Puri, B.N., *History of the Gurjara Pratihāras*, 1957, pp.6-7.

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45. His *Bhārata aur Kambuja*, in Hindi, also came out in 1958. A useful book with notes and references, it won him a prize of 800 rupees.

46. With a *Foreword* by K.M.Panikkar, published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1960.

47. In a paper entitled "Writing of Political History of Ancient India : New Trends and Prospects", a copy of which was sent to me, the author S.R.Goyal censures scholars for writing papers on the caste of this or that dynasty, and rightly so; but commits the mistake of doing likewise on a preceding page in his assertion that all the important dynasties of the post-Mauryan period belonged to the brāhmaṇa class. How about the Indo-Greeks, the Indo-Scythians, the Parthians, the Kuṣāṇas and many more who followed ? Were they all brāhmaṇas ? Calling the Guptas "Brāhmaṇas by caste" will not convince the sceptics, besides creating a confusion between *varṇa* and *jāti* in such a classification. A militant brāhmaṇa was a will-o'-wisp in the dark firmament of abject brāhmaṇa subservience to the ruling class and indeed to other affluent classes in society, because he depended on the latters' largesse. The insulting behaviour of a mounted guard, referred to by Goyal in the story of Mayūraśarman, is symptomatic of the general social perception of a brāhmaṇa's position, against which this man saw fit to revolt. Despite stories venting frustrations and fretting at inescapable tutelage imposed by those in political power, there has never been a class war between the kṣatriya and brāhmaṇa classes, as both have seen it to their advantage to support each other. The European conflict between kings and the church has no parallel in India.

48. Satish Chandra was one of the candidates he beat to win that chair. *Cf. The Changing Horizon*, p.121.

49. Published in 1939 ; 1966.

50. Published by The New Order Book Co., Ahmedabad, 1963.

51. *Preface*.

52. Puri, B.N., *India under the Kushāṇas*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1965.

53. Published by Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut, 1966.

54. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bahvan, Bombay, 1968. Volumes II and III, covering medieval and modern times, appeared in 1975 and 1981 respectively.

55. *Cf., The Changing Horizon*, p.141.

56. *Ibid.*, p.150. I left for the Vikram University in 1973.

57. *Ibid.*, p.164.

58. Puri, B.N., *Secularism in Indian Ethos*, Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi, 1990.

59. *Changes in Muslim Personal Law*, Proceedings of a Symposium held at New Delhi on the 9th of January, 1964, on the occasion of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi, 1964, pp.1 ff.; Puri, *Secularism in Indian Ethos*, p.220.

60. Puri, *The Changing Horizon*, p.167.

61. *Ibid.*, p.170.

62. *Ibid.*, pp.170-71.

63. *Ibid.*, pp.176 ff.

64. *Ibid.*, p.198.

65. *Ibid.* pp.200, 203-4 ; Sushobhan Sarkar's Address to the 1972 Session of the Indian History Congress.

66. *Ibid.*

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67. *Ibid.*

68. Puri, *The Changing Horizon*, p. 204.

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 205-06.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 156-60.

71. *Cf.* Stern, Fritz, *The Varieties of History from Voltaire to the Present*. Second Edition, Macmillan, London, 1970, p.13.

72. *Cf.* Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, English Translation, 1942, p.295 : "The great man of the age is the one who can put into words the will of his age, tell his age what its will is, and accomplish it. What he does is the heart and essence of his age; he actualizes his age."

73. Elton, G.R., *The Practice of History*, The Fontana Library, Collins, Fifth Impression, Glasgow, 1974.p.22.

74. Puri, *The Changing Horizon*, p.214.

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Ibid.*, p.209.

77. *Ibid.*

78. *Ibid.*, p.215. "In all aspects" is a favourite Puri phrase.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Cf.*, Stern, Fritz, *op. cit.*, p.427.

81. *Ibid.*, p.12.

82. *Gītā*, Ii. 47, *karmaṇyevādhikāraste mā phaleṣu kadācana.*

83. *Cf., Ibid.*, II. 38, *sukha-duḥkhe same kṛtvā lābhālabhau jayājayau* ; XIV. 24, *sama-duḥkhasukhaḥ svasthaḥ.*

84. He seems to me to personify the qualities of *dama, tyāga* and *apramāda*, lauded in the *Mahābhārata* and Indian epigraphy. *Cf.*, his *The Changing Horizon*, p.239, where he changes the contents of a stanza to :

'This world is one hour ,

Give its minutes to hard work and dedication."

85. *Ibid.*, p.231.

86. *Ibid.*, p.220.

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1

Social Stratification in Ancient India: Some Reflections

Vivekanand Jha

With the Indus script still undeciphered,[1] in spite of nearly sixty years of excavations and substantial evidence relating to varied aspects of life, much of the reconstruction of the social organization of the Bronze Age Indus Valley or Harappa Culture,[2] covering parts of Punjab, Haryana, Sindh, Baluchistan, Gujarat and fringes of western Uttar Pradesh,[3] during the third or second millennia B.C.,[4] is hypothetical. Though its exact relationship with the pre-existing cultures in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent has not been established so far,[5] its emergence as a result of a West Asian stimulus is being widely discounted now,[6] and it is regarded *sui generis*,[7] an indigenous development among peoples of mixed origin and diverse racial types,[8] who had resided in the Indus Valley for centuries.

Scholars have distinguished Early, Mature and Late periods, within the chronological framework of the Harappa Culture,[9] with pronounced rural traits in its Early and Late periods,[10] and a high level of urbanism in its Mature period.[11] A wide agrarian base with surplus foodgrains produced by the peasants in the countryside being stored in the granaries at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro to feed the sizeable non-food-producing urban population;[12] and extensive long-distance trade with West Asia,[13] flourishing trade with Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Central Asian region,[14] and a lively internal trade, both regional and inter-regional,characterized this period.[15] We also come across developed copper and bronze technology; a highly professional blade industry; adequate use of objects of silver, gold, precious stones and faience; crafts like bead making, shell working and ivory carving; wheel-turned, well-fired pottery, generally plain, but also often provided with a slip over which are painted designs in black pigment; hand-modelled terracottas of graceful human and animal figurines; brick laying and masonry on a vast scale; and the manufacture of exquisite seals, cotton textiles, boats, carts, etc.[16] A large number of full-time city-based specialist artisans producing a variety of articles of high artistic merit for the relatively affluent privileged strata as well as for export, their rural counterparts also engaging in crafts relating to stone, clay, shell, bone, metals and textiles;[17] and a substantial workforce comprising wood-cutters, fuel burners, grain-pounders, cantrers, street and drain cleaners, waste removers and slaves[18] are among the other distinct features of the Mature urban phase of the Harappa Culture.

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The overwhelming impression is that of a highly complex socio-economic structure with the city holnding a central and commanding position *vis-a-vis* the countryside which it dominated and exploited, and a definite stratification along class lines within the city itself with the privileged ruling elite enjoying unequal wealth, power and prestige in relation to the mass of common people.[19] There are no doubt serious differences of opinion regarding the actual composition of the ruling class. To take only a few examples, V. Gordon Childe thinks that a "ruler" dwelt in the citadels at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro; includes among the ruling class princes, priests, merchants, officials and scribes; and maintains that superstitions must have played an enormous role in consolidating and maintaining social institutions and economic arrangements.[20] Stuart Piggott, A.L.Basham, D.D.Kosambi, Bridget and Raymond Allchin, IIdikó Puskás and Irfan Habib are inclined to agree. Thus Piggott speaks of a state ruled by priest kings, wielding autocratic and absolute power, controlling production and distribution, and levying tolls and customs.[21] Basham refers to a single centralized theocratic state and continuity of government throughout the life of the civilization.[22] Kosambi pinpoints the curiously weak mechanism of violence and the use of religion as an ideology by the dominant priests to extract tribute from the traders (who were allowed freedom to amass considerable wealth on their own) and to appropriate social surplus and maintain the class structure.[23] Bridget and Raymond Allchin attest the presence of priest kings or a priestly oligarchy who controlled the religious life, economy and civil government and functioned as administrators as well.[24] Puskás locates supreme power in the priests' hands.[25] Irfan Habib underlines a combination of gods, superstitions and priests binding the rulers and the ruled alike in an awesome dread of change.[26] R.S.Sharma, on the other hand, excludes the priests completely from the category of rulers and gives the pride of place to the traders.[27] Without categorically refuting the likelihood of priests wielding power, K. Antonova, G. Bongard-Levin and G.Kotovsky also visualize the possibility of power in the Harappan cities being a republican, of oligarchic variety.[28] There is disagreement about the actual position of urban craftsmen as well. While Puskás[29] and R.S.Sharma[30] have no doubt regarding urban craftsmen being a part of the ruling class, Childe associates them with the modest urban dwellings of the lower strata,[31] even though they were to a large extent producing "for the market"[32] in a recent article Massimo Viadale expresses the opinion that craft production was under the political control of the urban élites of the Harappa Culture.[33] Antonova, Bongard-Levin and Kotovsky find the presence of both impoverished and prosperous artisans within the precincts of the cities.[34] The class character of the Mature Harappa Culture is, generally recognized.[35]

Stretching the evidence to make out the existence of caste and untouchability as well in the Harappa Culture, on the other hand, does not seem to have adequate basis. Iravati Karve, a sociologist, first referred to the probability of "something very like castes" at Harappaa and a street exclusively occupied by a "caste-like group" which had specialized in pounding rice there.[36] She also loosely spoke of untouchability as a characteristic of the caste structure from top to bottom.[37] Following her, S.C.Malik, another sociologist, imagined the "root" of caste and the "perpetuation of caste status by birth" in Harappan society.[38] "Caste class patterns", in his opinion, developed in the socio-economic organization at Harappa and the incoming Aryans adopted them in the process of being Indianized.[39] That Malik is not at allserious about the use of the term "class" here may be gauged from his reference to "the emergence of complex socio-economic classes" comprising "the rich and the poor" in the Harappa Culture along with the clarification that "this is

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not in the sense of class consciousness or an interclass struggle".[40] And Malik's reference to caste in the Harappan context evoked from A.Ghosh, a much more perceptive, mature and balanced scholar, the apt comment that such hurling of institutions from the known to the unknown to suggest their origin and bringing them down from the unknown to the known to prove their persistence does not carry conviction.[41] Suvira Jaiswal, too, questioned the propriety of Malik's tagging caste with the existence of class differences reflected in the settlement pattern of the Harappan cities, which survived even after the cities themselves had disappeared.[42] The concentration of various crafts in specific quarters or streets being a normal feature of the Oriental towns up to the present day has been underscored by several scholars.[43] Significantly in his edited work, *Determinants of Social Status in India*,[44] which is presumed to reflect "a multi-faceted trans-disciplinary approach to the structure of society from ancient history to contemporary times in the Indian subcontinent",[45] neither Malik in his Introductory paper "Determinants of Social Status in India: Problems and Issues",[46] nor any other contributor makes a single reference to caste in the Harappan context. That Malik's view of History as a discipline in singularly narrow—almost myopic is evident from his observation in the Introduction to another edited work, *Indian Civilization: The First Phase Problems of A Sourcebook*,[47] that historical generalizations are normally arrived at by scrutinizing individual facts that are not amenable to any rational systematic analysis and that historians formulate general propositions, rather tentatively, citing a few instances.[48]

Among the serious and eminent historians Romila Thapar has supported the hypothesis put forward by Karve and Malik regarding caste and untouchability in some of her writings. Avowedly taking "the help of social anthropology" —not historical evidence —she notes the probability of caste as a pre-Aryan system and part of the social stratification in the Harappa Culture, where a small group may have preserved itself through strict endogamous marriage, claimed ritual purity and higher status, and also exercised authority in a hierarchical social set-up, based on a division of labour with the notion of pollution attaching to certain groups of menial workers.[49]She even talks of "service relationships" on the pattern of the hereditary jajmānī system and finds in caste the answer to the vexed question as to who was in authority and how that authority was maintained in the Harappa Culture.[50] The detailed reconstruction in the absence of corresponding tangible data in the material finds to support it can only be regarded as exceedingly speculative, for although the notion of ritual impurity may be exemplified by the Great Bath at Mohenjo-daro and the existence of separate quarters for grain-pounders (a non-polluting vocation in itself) at Harappa is admitted, evidence of division of labour and occupational groups on the basis of ritual purity and impurity is wanting and there is no trace of the continuity of caste and untouchability in either the Late Harappa period or their transition to the Ṛgvedic period.[51]

The material culture in the post-Harappan Vedic period (c.1500-500 B.C.), for which we have copious literary evidence in the *Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads* (they represent a sort of transition from prehistory), is glaringly different and comparatively much less advanced. This long period, too, can be divided into two distinct phases—Ṛgvedic(c.1500-1000 B.C.) and Later Vedic(c.1000-500 B.C.). The *Ṛgveda*, comprising ten maṇḍalas (books), is widely accepted as containing two broad strata of historical layers the earlier represented by Books II-VII and the later by Books I and VIII-X.

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The hymns portray the Aryans as first and foremost a warlike people driving horse-drawn chariots and using weapons of *ayas* (copper or bronze) effectively against their non-Aryan foes in the land of the seven rivers. Professional fighters organized in separate tribal groups, they continuously fought internecine wars as well. Booty or spoils of war (*lotra*)[52] formed an important means of their livelihood. They also engaged in primarily pastoral[53] and subsidiary agricultural pursuits, their agriculture being subsistence-oriented. Using ox-yoked plough (*lāṅgala, sīra*) with wooden ploughshare (*phāla*) and such other implements as hoe (*khanitra*), axe (*paraśu, vṛkṇa*), sickle (*dātra, sṛṇi*), etc., they produced *yava* (barley).[54] Leather strap for plough (*varatrā*), furrow (*sīta, sunu*), terms for field (*kṣetra, urvarā*)and ploughman (*kīnāśa*) are mentioned. Since most of the references to agriculture are found in the admittedly late Books I and VII-X and a hymn in Book IV (57.1-8), which is considered an interpolation, agrarian economy obviously stabilized towards the close of the Ṛgvedic period.

The absence of evidence for the sale, transfer, mortgage or gift of land or its disposal in any other way makes individual ownership of land at this stage doubtful. The kin-based tribe, Ṛgvedic *viś or jana*,[55] whose members were normally on the move and temporarily dwelt at one particular place, appears to have collectively owned both the cattle and the land and worked together in the fields. Iron being unknown at this stage and tilling the virgin land being by all means an arduous task, the whole tribe toiled to produce barley.

Scholars differ seriously about the use of hired extra-tribal labour, especially slaves, in these limited agricultural operations. R.S.Sharma firmly and consistently argues in his writings that slavery in the *Ṛgveda* was purely domestic; that slaves, mostly women captured in wars, were used for replenishing the depleting Aryan ranks through begetting children and for household chores; and that the *Ṛgveda* does not have any term for wages or wage-earners.[56] A.A.Macdonell and A.B.Keith[57] and Basham,[58] on the other hand, assert that the Dāsas were in many cases reduced to slavery and hence the word *dāsa* has the sense of "slave" in several passages of the *Ṛgveda*. P.V.Kane in his monumental *History of Dharmaśāstra* cites a Ṛgvedic passage referring to the gift of a hundred *dāsas* in the sense of slaves.[59] In Dev Raj Chanana's opinion the Aryans must have known debt slavery, slavery as a result of defeat in gambling and war slavery before their advent into this country; and quite a few Dāsas may have been enslaved and almost any service demanded from them.[60] Kosambi holds the view that just as cattle were herded in common and fields were tilled in common, the dāsa was also used as common tribal property in the *Ṛgveda*.[61] Romila Thapar presupposes the employment of non-kin dāsa labour in the household economy of the *Ṛgveda*.[62] According to Irfan Habib the *dāsas* worked like cattle on the field and tended the herds.[63] R.N.Nandi, too attests the use of non-kin *dāsa* labourers in barley fields.[64]

Only a few crafts were practised in the post-urban rural milieu of the *Ṛgveda*, which mentions the *karmāra* (metalsmith), the *takṣan* or *taṣṭṛ* (Carpenter), the *carmamna* (tanner) and the *vāya* (weaver). The *Karmāra* smelted the metal ore in fire (hence the designation *dhmāṭṛ or* smelter) and made household utensils, tools and weapons of copper or bronze. The *takṣan* or *taṣṭṛ* built chariots for war,[65] prepared vessels, buckets, sacrificial ladles and bedsteads of wood and engaged in carving. The *carmamna* tanned hide (*carman*) from which were manufactured bowstrings, slings, reins and bags. Cotton being unknown, the *vāya* (weaver) prepared woollen cloth. Common words for these artisans in several Indo-European languages suggest that the Ṛgvedic Aryans did not learn

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these crafts on the Indian soil. The Ṛgvedic word for potter (*kuḷāla*) has, however, no parallds in other Indo-European languages; this may indicate the adoption of local traditions in pottery.

The products of craftsmen's labour and skill do not appear to have been meant for sale or collection in the form of taxes and in view of the unavailability of surplus to suport them they probably engaged in food production as well. The evidence of a Ṛgvedic hymn composer calling himself a poet, his father a physician and his mother a grinder of corn[66] suggests that the indispensable division of labour had not advanced beyond a point and specialization had not become hereditary. In view of the usefulness of their work, the artisans were respected members of the Aryan *viś*. Characterizing their relationship with other members of the tribe as *jajmānī*[67] is perhaps too bold. The economy was not yet two compartmentalized categories; and their mutual relationship in a semi-sedentary set-up was not hereditary, subsisting from generation to generation.

Also the surplus produced in this predominantly pastoral Ṛgvedic economy was not substantial enough to undermine the broadly egalitarian tribal structure or to lead to the development of classes.[68] The Ṛgvedic tribal chief had hardly any regular or fixed source of income in the form of cereal or cattle on which he could flourish along with his priests. The term *bali* occurs in the *Ṛgveda* in the sense of a voluntary offering or present from tribesmen to their chief. Occasional exaction of tributes from the conquered people and spoils of war were the other sources of his income, but since resources were not adequate to maintain a regular army, he had to share these in periodic communal sacrifices with members of the tribe who formed the militia. The institution of mutual gifts also checked the growth of economic disparity and there was no leisured class living off the surplus of others. Differentiation within the tribe had, however, begun and the tribal chiefs and priests were not only claiming and enjoying superior ranks, they also received the major share of the spoils of war in the form of slaves, animals, weapons and ornaments and enjoyed a somewhat better economic position.

The term *varṇa* occurs in the *Ṛgveda* a number of times and is initially used to distinguish Ārya from Dāsa and Dasyu. The difference may initially have been both ethnic and cultural.[69] Although the words brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya occur fifteen and nine times respectively in the text, often in the sense of open and fluid functional categories, the word *varṇa* is never used in connection with them. Neither kingship nor priesthood appears to have depended merely on birth or heredity at this stage, and there is no evidence of restrictions as regards partaking of food or marriage. The śūdra occurs only once in the *puruṣasūkta*[70] in Book X, and that also along with the brāhmaṇa, the rājanya and the vaiśya; the two latter, too, occur for the first time here. Here the śūdra is stated to have sprung from the feet of the Puruṣa or Primeval Being, unlike the brāhmaṇa who sprang from the mouth, the rājanya who sprang from the arms and the vaiśya who sprang from the thighs. Significantly, the word *varṇa* is not used in this context. Also there is a consensus among scholars that Book X belongs to the latest stratum of the *Ṛgveda* and virtually synchronizes with the Later Vedic texts. Evidently *varṇa* in the *Ṛgveda* did not have the sense it came to acquire later. The fourfold *varṇa* system had definitely not been brought to India by any group or wave of Aryans. It was an indigenous development and was not a reality in the Ṛgvedic period.[71] Certainly contact with peoples is not tabooed and there is not even a semblance of untouchability in the text.[72]

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The Later Vedic period (c.1000-500 B.C.), information pertaining to which is based not only on the post-Ṛgvedic texts, but also on the archaeological finds of the Painted Grey Ware culture synchronizing both in time and region with it,[73] furnishes evidence of all-round material progress. Victories in wars and penetration to new areas in the east brought large tracts of Uttar Pradesh, north Bihar, parts of Rajasthan, besides Punjab and Haryana, under the political and cultural sway of the Aryans. Forests were extensively burnt and land was cleared for cultivation to meet the needs of an expanding population. Economy became primarily agrarian. Besides barley, rice, wheat, millet, lentils, several kinds of pulses, sesamum and linseed were produced. References to the use of large and heavy ploughs, to which six, eight, twelve and even twenty-four oxen were yoked, and *pavīravaṇi* or *pavīrava* in the sense of metal ploughshare occur in Later Vedic literature. The lone evidence of iron ploughshare form Jakhera in Etah district of Uttar Pradesh has, however, been assigned by R.S.Sharma[74] to the clòse of the period. It seems that hard wood (*khadira, udumbara*) ploughshares were used for deep digging to get better yield. Intensive cultivation, application of manure (*karīṣa, śakṛt* and *śakan*), practice of irrigation and better knowledge of seasons contributed to increase in production and sufficient surplus to make possible the emergence of classes. Ownership of land devolved from the tribe to families under patriarchal heads and the process of disintegration of the Aryan tribes began.

Crafts, too, proliferated. The *rathakāra*, distinct from the *takṣan*, appeared as a professional craftsman for the first time. The profession of *karmāra* became enormously important, for he began to manufacture iron (*śyāma* or *kṛṣṇa ayas*) artifacts on a modest scale about 900 B.C. or a little later.[75] Although the early use of iron was largely confined to weapons of war such as spearheads, arrowheads, etc., found at the excavated Painted Grey Ware sites, the role of iron axes in clearing forests for cultivation in thick vegetation areas of the middle and lower Ganga basin in the seventh century B.C. is incontrovertible.[76] *Ayastāpa* (heater of metal, iron or bronze) and *kośakārī* maker of sheath are mentioned in the texts; bellows appears to have been used at Atranjikhera; and two furnaces for smelting iron and forging objects from it were found at Suneri village in Jhunjhunu district of Rajasthan towards the close of the period.[77] Increase in kṣatriya or rājanya power and transformation of the Ṛgvedic tribal chiefs into relatively strong monarchs ruling over the first territorial kingdoms of the period may have been due to their exclusive possession and use of iron weapons.[78] Extensive use of bows and arrow not only in wars but also in hunting led to the development of the specialized crafts of the bowmaker (*dhanvakṛt/dhanvakāra*), arrowmaker (*iṣukṛta, iṣukāra*) and the maker of bowstring (*jyākāra*). The jeweller (*maṇikāra*) and worker in gold (*hiraṇyakāra*), too, make their appearance. The text furnish more details about leather work (*carmaṇya*). Predominance of women in weaving, dyeing, embroidery, basket making and thorn working is reflected in terms like *vayitrī, rajayitrī, peśakāri, bidalakārī* and *kaṇṭakīkārī* respectively. Washing, too, had given rise to a professional category in which both men (*malaga*) and women (*vāsaḥpalpūlī*) participated. Some of the craftsmen and craftswomen apparently belonged to non-Aryan segments. The *rathakāra*, the *takṣan* and the *karmāra* were treated with utmost esteem and consideration owing to the immense value of their crafts for wars, agriculture and general social comforts in a predominantly rural setting. The King visited their houses to perform certain ceremonies in course of sacrifices to show them respect and ensure their support. There is definitely no trace of any stigma attaching to any craft. Some of these crafts may have tended to become hereditary, though there is no textual reference of occupational *jātis* at this stage.

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Division of labour and specialization of functions evidently made definite headway during the period. Agriculture became the primary concern of the vaiśyas, the most numerous of the four *varṇas* which developed during the period. Cattle-rearing was a secondary occupation for them. Some craftsmen, too, may have belonged to this category. The period also saw the rise of the fourth *varṇa* of śūdras from the conquered aborigines and the defeated and dispossessed sections of the Aryans. Although occasionally wealthy cattle-owners,[79] the śūdras were by and large less well-off than the vaiśyas and engaged in the service of the upper classes. References to the śūdra being dedicated to toil (*tapase*) in the *Puruṣamedha* (symbolic human sacrifice) in the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*,[80] *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*,[81] and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[82] point to his belonging to the class of labourers. According to Kosambi, the new organization of society made available for the first time a supply of labour whose surplus was easily expropriated and the place of slave was taken by the śūdra.[83] In Irfan Habib's opinion, the use of heavy ploughs without iron ploughshares implied as its inevitable corollary the employment of servile labourers.[84] The brāmaṇa as a professional priest and the kṣatriya/rājanya as warrior/ruler had also emerged as specific *varṇas*, leading to the formation of the fourfold *varṇa* system during the period.

Reflecting the emerging social stratification as a result of progressive division of labour, specialization of functions and growth of surplus, the *varṇa* system was from the beginning hierarchical. With birth and heredity becoming increasingly important factors in this division of labour and specialization of functions, *jāti* (literally caste) also developed during the period, the term first occurring in Yāska's *Nirukta*[85] and being applied to waman of the śūdra caste (*śūdra-jātīyā*). *Varṇa* was in essence exploitative in nature and content. There are crude statements *to the effect* that the vaiśya and the śūdra are to be exploited for the advantage of the ruling class with the brāhmaṇa priests, active cooperation and help. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* characterizes a vaiśya as *anyasya balikṛt*, "tributary to another", *anyasyādya*, "to be eaten or lived upon by another" and *yathākāmajyeya*, "to be oppressed at will", and śūdra as *anyasya preṣya*, "to be expelled at will" and *yathākāmavadhya*, "to be slain at will"[86]. Sacrifices are consciously designed to help rulers overcome internal conflicts and to make the vaiśya and the śūdra submissive.[87] Brāhmaṇa-kṣatriya claims and counter-claims to supremacy notwithstanding, their distance from the vaiśya and the śūdra in the emerging class structure was growing. The former two joined hands to repress and exploit the Vaiśya and Śūdra. In fact, brāhmaṇa-kṣatriya collaboration is regarded as indispensable and vital for their mutual well-being and prosperity in several texts. The crucial role of the brāhmaṇas, with more or less complete control over rituals and the Vedic lore, in theoretical formulations facilitating the process of tribal disintegration and class formation is transparent. Their invaluable support to the temporal authority entitled them to gifts from the ruler, *viśamattā* (eater of the *viś*) becomes one of whose epithets. Taxes collected in kind through kinsmen (*sajāta*) of the monarch became now the primary source of extraction of the available surplus. *Varṇa* division thus approximated to class division.[88] Productivity in the pre-iron agriculture phase, however, not being high, the material basis of this class division was weak. The tribal bonds were, therefore, not completely sundered,[89] and the vaiśyas not only formed part of the tribal militia, but also received an honourable place in rituals, a *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* passage even ordaining that the *kṣatra* and the *viś* should eat from the same vessel.[90] A full-fledged class society and state with substantial appropriable surplus, regular taxation, army, administrative apparatus and monetary economy developed only when the use of iron in agriculture and crafts became common in the post-Vecic period.

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One major development in the Later Vedic period was the beginninng of the process of assimilation of forest-dwelling tribes on the periphery of the immigrant Aryan settlements. Quite a few such tribes are mentioned in the texts. Among these are the Niṣādas[91] the Caṇḍālas, the Paulkasas, the Āndhras and the Kirātas. It is not that all these tribes and many others who are referred to in later texts came into equally close contact with the Aryans. But some of those who did, and had poor material background, fared badly in the unequal encounter. In fact they were among the first peoples who became tabooed and were subsequently damned as untouchables. It is a historical fact that when untouchability first appeared in the full-fledged class and caste society of the pre-Mauryan post-Vedic times, they were the first victims to be relegated to the ritually lowest social position. I have in mind the well-known rather notorious cases of the Caṇḍālas, Mṛtapas, Mātaṅgas and later Śvapākas, Dombas and others. These were the original inhabitants of the country, who are known to have belonged to the Muṇḍa-speaking Proto-Australoid ethnic type.[92] One theory about the origin of caste and untouchability is that these were pre-Aryan institutions[93], which the Aryans themselves imbibed from them. This is simply not true.

Similarly there is no basis to suggest that the caste system in our country first originated among the Dravidians in the south and then percolated to the north.[94] The south developed the phenomenon only as a result of the impact of north Indian cultural and political contact[95]. From what we know of the Harappans and the Aryans it is clear that they cannot be equated so far as their contribution to caste and untouchability in this country is concerned. There is no positive evidence for untouchability at Harappa and the Aryans did not bring the institution, but developed it on Indian soil a few centuries after their advent.

Ideology and force were both systematically employed to slowly develop caste and untouchability in this country. The notion of pollution in relation to certain social groups was first elaborated in the *Dharmasūtras* of Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha, then in the *Smṛtis* of Manu, Viṣṇu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana, and still later in the early medieval *Dharmaśāstra* and *Nibandha* texts.[96] Even secular texts (by ancient Indian standards) like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya fell in line. Detailed rules and norms were prescribed regarding marriage, food, association and contact, and those who violated them unless of course they were materially and politically strong were in for serious trouble. One careful look at the institution of outcastes (*patita*) —they differed from the untouchables in not being permanent or hereditary in *Dharmaśāstra* literature would show that they were to be no less severely punished for violation of prescribed norms and intimate contact and association with the untouchable than the untouchable segments, till they relented and observed the rituals of penitence and redemption. They were to lose inheritance; even their wife and children were expected to disown them; and of course for the society they would simply cease to matter.

The king's *daṇḍa* (coercive authority) was to be applied for the observance of caste rules[97]; and several inscriptions bear out royal claims to follow the *Dharmaśāstra* directive in this regard. In their own way the epics and the *Purāṇas* lent support to caste norms, whose essence lay in its institutionalized inequality.[98] The brāhmaṇas and the kṣatriyas and all those who could by virtue of their power, resources and position join the èlite group and had no role in primary productive activities, benefited from the system; for its apparent rigidity notwithstanding, caste always retained the requisite amount of flexibility and an attitude of accommodation. Many foreign

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invading hordes were assimilated as higher caste groups. Even when indigenous tribes broke up, the best among them could be accommodated as priests or even as rulers.

The *Dharmaśāstra* writers employed new theoretical concepts to explain the social phenomenon. One such concept was the theory of *varṇasaṃkara*,[99] which was used to explain the status of several emerging groups and the untouchability of sections like the Caṇḍālas, the latter being simply regarded as the lowest *pratiloma* caste offspring of a hypogamous union between the fourth *varṇa* of śūdra and a brāhmaṇa woman.

The notion of *jātyupakarṣa* (upward mobility of a caste) owing to marriage in a higher *varṇa* continuously for five to seven generations[100] does not appear to have been valid with respect to the Caṇḍāla. Downward mobility (*jātyapakarṣa*) was, however, possible in the case of other theoretically *pratiloma* categories through marriage in lower *varṇa* or pursuit of an occupation prescribed for a lower *varṇa* continuously for five to seven generations. As M.N. Srinivas points out, the untouchables differ from the other low castes in that, unlike the latter, the former have no means of pushing themselves up in the caste hierarchy; and even Sanskritization does not help.

It is significant that the Sanskrit term *aspṛśya* for untouchability was first used in the *Viṣṇusmṛti*,[101] a text of the third century A.D., and the phenomenon existed for long with terms like *anta, antya, antyaja, antyayoni, antyāvasāyin, apapātra, abhiśasta*; etc.

The classical varṇa theory did not have any place for a fifth *varṇa*, though in his commentary to the *Brahmasūtra*, 1.4.12, Śaṃkarācārya (early eighth century) shows awareness of a school of thinkers who regarded the *Niṣāda* as a fifth *varṇa*; and the *Sāmba Purāṇa*. 66.10 (sixth-eighth centuries) mentions the fifth *varṇa*. Untouchability was evidently considered an integral part of the *varṇa* system.

It is not true that Buddhism tried to confront the caste system squarely or sought to destroy it.[102] Caste was denounced; brāhmaṇical superiority was challenged; divine sanction behind it was questioned; it was not permitted within the Saṃgha (Order of monks); but Buddha did not seek to weed it out from society. Caste was part and parcel of the prevailing mode of production which benfited the haves at the cost of the have - nots; and Lord Buddha was perceptive enough to broadly accept this social reality. Mahāvīra and Jainism, too, went along a similar line.

Beef-eating had nothing to do with the origin of untouchability.[103] It was not prohibited in the *Dharmaśāstra* texts until the early medieval period.

Bhakti succeeded in relaxing the rigours of caste to some extent.[104] *Lokāyata, Tantra* and the *Sahajiyas* were openly hostile to caste, and did not discriminate against the lower orders but they failed to dislodge caste from its entrenched position in organized society.[105]

That the practice of untouchability was immediately connected with excessive and abnormal notions of purity and pollution cannot be denied, but then this is also true that caste did not develop in primitive societies where these notions are found. *Varṇa* in India provided a framework for their growth and systematization and projected through them the dominant material relations in ritual terms. The ideology of purity/pollution was surely used to assign low position, segregate and hereditarily exploit a large segment of the population.

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That there was periodically stiff resistance to caste oppression, is reflected in the accounts of the Kali age in the epics and the *Purāṇas*, which show the discomfiture of the upper castes and an unusual aggressiveness on the part of the lower order,[106] but the tempo does not appear to have been sustained and continuous enough to disrupt the system.

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1. Despite numerous attempts and more than forty claims to success, the decipherment of the Indus script (the unilingual inscriptions, mostly on seals and some on amulet tablets or even as scratches on potsherds with never more than twenty and usually not more than ten symbols, are too short) remains an unresolved issue and does not shed light on the available archaeological material. In "The Study of Society in Ancient India: A Reorientation of Perspectives", Presidential Address to the Ancient India section of the 31st session of the Indian History Congress, Romila Thapar argued that the decipherment must conform to a grammatical and linguistic system and the reading of the inscriptions must make sense in terms of the context of the culture, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (hereafter *PIHC*) (Varanasi, 1969),p.26. According to Asko Parpola, who with his Finnish colleague, Kimmo Koskenniemi, has on the basis of computer-aided analysis of the Indus script produced an impressive concordance of the known inscriptions, *A Concordance to the Texts in the Indus Script* (University of Helsinki, 1982), and with Simo Parpola, Seppo Koskennieme and Pentti Aalto as co-authors written *The Decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian Inscriptions of the Indus Civilization* (hereafter *Decipherment*) (The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen, 1969), the Indus script is full of challenging problems, "Interpreting the Indus Script" in B.B.Lal and S.P.Gupta, ed. *Frontiers of the Indus Civilization (Sir Mortimer Wheeler Commemoration Volume)* (Hereafter *Frontiers*) (Indian Archaeological Society and Books&Books, New Delhi, 1984), p.191. Iravatham Mahadevan, author of the *Indus Script: Texts, Concordance and Tables* (Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1977), regards the Indus script as one of the seven pictographic scripts developed in the ancient Orient during the Bronze Age (c.3000-1500 B.C.), the other six being Sumerian, Egyptian, Proto-Elamite, Cretan, Hittite and Chinese, generally written from the right, only about 7 per cent being written from the left, having 425+25 distinctive signs and being an independent invention, "What Do We Know About the Indus Script? *Neti Neti* ('Not This Nor That')", Presidential Address to the Historical Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics section of the 49th session of the Indian History Congress, *PIHC* (Dharwad, 1988), pp.600, 604-5, 614. On the basis of his structural and analytical study of the script, Mahadevan, like Parpola and his team and a group of Soviet philologists, ethnologists and mathematicians (G.V. Alekseev, M.A. Probst, A.M. Kondratov, I.K. Fedorova, B.Ya.Volcok and N.V. Gurov) led by Yu.V.Knorozov, who too have used the computer to bring out The *Soviet Decipherment of the Indus Valley Script: Translation and Critique* (Hereafter *Soviet Decipherment*), ed, Arlene R.K.Zide and Kamil V. Zvelebil (Mouton, The Hague/Paris, 1976), maintains that the language was Proto-Dravidian and refutes S.R.Rao's theory put forward in his *The Decipherment of the Indus Script* (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1982) that the language was an archaic branch of the Old Indo-Aryan and the script evolved in two stages, the early or mature script comprising 62 basic signs during 2500-1900 B.C., and the later script containing only 20 basic signs during 1900-1200 B.C., the changeover being from a logographic-syllabic to syllabic-alphabetic script, see Mahadevan's review article in Vivekanand Jha, ed, *The Indian Historical Review* (Hereafter *IHR*), Vol. VIII, No.1-2 (Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, July 1981 and January 1982), pp.59-60, 64-66.

2. Culture, observes V.Gordon Childe in *Social Evolution* (Watts & Co., London, 1951), is an organic whole, not a mechanical aggregate of traits, p.26. Of the two most important and best known sites of the Indus Valley (both in Pakistan now), Harappa in Punjab, though smaller in size than Mohenjo-daro in Sindh, being discovered in 1921, one year earlier than Mohejo-daro, gave its name to this culture. There are still wide gaps in the archaeological material, notes A.H. Dani, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Pakistan* (Unesco, Paris, and the Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, Tokyo, 1988), p. 1.

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3. In the post-Independence period Indian archaeologists have identified more than seven hundred sites of this culture inside the country and excavated to a varying degree as many as forty of them, B.K.Thapar, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in India* (Unesco,Paris, and the Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, Tokyo, 1985), p.52.

4. Sir John Marshall first estimated the duration of the Harappa Culture from 3250 to 2750 B.C., *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (hereafter *Mohenjo-daro*), 3 vols, Vol. I (Arthur Probsthain, London, 1931), pp. 104, 106, Sir Mortimer Wheeler dated this culture in 2500-1500 B.C., "Harappa, 1946: The Defences and Cemetery R. 37", *Ancient India* (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), No.3 (New Delhi, January 1947), p. 82. In *The Indus Civilization*, 3rd edn (Cambridge University Press,1968; first published in1953), however, Wheeler modified his position and postulated the founding of the nuclear cities some time before 2400 B.C. and their enduring in some shape in the eighteenth cetury B.C., these time brackets not fitting closely and mechanically to the Indus towns and villages of all sizes and in all locations, p.125. Asko Parpola *et al* have dated the Harappa Culture in *c.*2500-*c.* 1800 B.C., *Decipherment*, p. 3, while Knorozov *et al* have dated its outer limits in *c.* 2200-*c.* 1750 B.C., *Soviet Decipherment*. Preface, p.5. D.P Agrawal plotted some two dozen radiocarbon dates including those for Kot Diji, Kalibangan and Lothal, and, based on uncalibrated dates, concluded *c.* 2200-1750B.C. as the maximum date bracket of this culture, though at the individual sites the duration of this culture might have been still smaller, "Harappa Culture: New Evidence for A Shorter Chronology", *Science*, Vol. 143, No.3609 (American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, 1964). pp. 950-51 : cf. "Harappan Chronology: A re-examination of the Evidence" in D.Sen and A.K. Ghosh, ed. *Studies in Prehistory* (Firma K.L.Mukhopadhyay. Calcutta.1966), pp.139,147.

5. A. Ghosh, ed., *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology* (hereafter *Encyclopaedia*), Vol. I (ICHR and Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1989)(a posthumously published two-volume monumental work which contains the major findings of Indian Archaeology in prehistory, protohistory and ancient historical period during the last one hundred and fifty years and encompasses information available up to 1978),p.75.

6. A.L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India* (hereafter *Wonder*), 3rd revised edn. (Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1967; first published in 1954), p.15; Glyn Daniel's Preface to Childe, *Man Makes Himself* (Watts & Co., London, 1965; first published in 1936), p. xii.

7. A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India* (hereafter *City*) (Indian Institute of Advance Study, Shimla, 1973), p. 2.

8. Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (hereafter *New Light*), reprint (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1963; first published under this title in 1934 and as *The Most Ancient East* in 1928), p. 175; *Man Makes Himself*, p. 169; *What Happened in History* (hereafter *What Happened*), reprint (Penguin, 1972; first published in 1942), p. 132; Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1950), p. 140; A.D. Pusalker, *The Vedic Age* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1951), pp/ 176, 196; Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, p.136; Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilization: India and Pakistan Before 500 B.C.* (hereafter *Birth*) (Penguin, 1968), p. 126; Raymond Allchin, " The Legacy of the Indus Civilization" in Gregory L.Possehl. ed, *Harappan Civilization : A Contemporary Perspective* (hereafter *Harappan Civilzation*) (American Institute of Indian Studies and Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1982), p. 332; K. Antonova, G. Bongard-Levin and G. Kotovsky, *A History of India*, 2 books, Book I (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979), pp. 14-16; V.K.Thakur, *Urbanization in Ancient India* (Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1981), pp. 26-27; Dani, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Pakistan*, pp. 2,55.

9. A. Ghosh places the Early and Mature Harappa periods within *c.*2700-1900 B.C.and the Late Harappa period within *c.* 1700-1000 B.C., *Encyclopaedia*, Vol. I, pp. 87,90. The most recent radiocarbon dates (without MASCA correction are *c.*2900-2100 B.C. for the Early Harappa period, *c.* 2200- 1800 B.C. for the Mature Harappa period and *c.*1800-1300 B.C. for the Late Harappa period). Applying MASCA correction, the Early and Mature Harappa periods extend from *c.*3200 to 2200 B.C. and from 2700 to 2100 B.C. respectively, K.S.Ramchandran, "Dating the Indus Civilization" in B.B. Lal and S.P.Gupta, ed., *Frontiers*, p. 539.

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10 Gregory L. Possehl, ed., *Ancient Cities of the Indus* (hereafter *Ancient Cities*)(Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979), pp. x, 47-48, 287. Though the Early and Late periods were substantially rural, according to Jim G. Shaffer, Urban centres were not absent during the Late Harappa period, "Harappn Culture: A Reconsideration" in Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization*, p. 49.

11. The new cities are spatially larger and can accommodate a much denser population than the agricultural villages that have been absorbed in them or that still subsist beside them and urbanism on a vaster scale than on the Nile or the Euphrates signified progress in terms of organic and cultural evolution, Childe, *Man Makes Himself*, pp. 14-15, 142. The Indus Civilization marked the zenith of the first period of urbanization during the Bronze Age, maintains Dani, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Pakistan*, p.1.

12. Vivekanand Jha, "Agricultural Labour and Village Artisans in Early North Indian History (up to *c.* 500 B.C.)" (hereafter "Agricultural Labour and Village Artisans"), *Social Science Probings*, Vol. I, No. 4 (People's Publishing House. New Delhi, 1984), pp. 544-46 (the article was first presented at the Indian History Congress symposium at its 45th session held at Annamalai University, Tamil Nadu, in 1984); cf. Childe, *What Happened,* p. 135; *Progress and Archaeology* (Watts & Co., London, 1944), p. 49; *Man Makes Himself*, p. 131; Ernest Mackay, *Early Indus Civilization,* 2nd enlarged and revised edn (Luzac, London, 1948; first published in 1935),pp. 132-33; Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, pp. 153,155; Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, pp. 72,84; Basham, *Wonder*, p. 18; D.D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (hereafter *Introduction*)(Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1956), pp. 55, 62; *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline* (hereafter *Culture*) (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1965), p.54; Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *Birth*, p. 126; R.S.Sharma, "Stages in Ancient Indian Economy I: Bronze Age Urbanism to Iron-based Agriculture", (Section on "Urban Experiment, *c.* 2600-1500 B.C."), *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India* (hereafter *Perspectives*) (Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1983), pp. 105-6; *Ancient India*; 3rd revised edn. (NCERT, New Delhi, 1990, p.48; first published in 1977); Irfan Habib, "The Peasant in Indian History", General President's Address to the 43rd Indian History Congress session, *PIHC* (Kurukshetra, 1982), p. 6.

Some scholars have envisioned the existence of a peasant segment in the towns also, cf. Childe, *Progress and Archaeology*, p. 49; idem, "The Urban Revolution", reprinted on Possehl, ed., *Ancient Cities*, p. 15; Robert Mc C. Adams, "The Natural History of Urbanism", loc. cit., p. 20.

13. Ṣhereen Ratnagar, *Encounters : The Westerly Trade of the Harappa Civilization* (Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 232; Childe, *New Light*, p. 186; *Man Makes Himself*, p. 150; *What Happened*, p. 134; Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, pp. 133-40; Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, pp. 81-82; Kosambi, *Introduction*, pp. 133-40; Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, pp. 81-82; Kosambi, *Introduction*, pp. 55-57; *Culture*, pp. 55, 59-60; R.S. Sharma, *Perspectives*, p. 107; *Ancient India*, pp. 49-50; Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan* (hereafter *Rise*), pp. 219-20; A.Ghosh, ed., *Encyclopaedia*, Vol. I, p. 85.

14. Dilip K. Chakrabarti, *The External Trade of the Indus Civilization* (Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1990), pp. 166, 169; Basham, *Wonder*, pp. 18-19; R.S.Sharma, *Perspectives*, p. 107; *Ancient India*, p. 49; A. Ghosh, ed., *Encyclopaedia*, Vol. I, p. 85.

15. Kosambi, *Introduction*, pp. 57-58; Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *Birth*, p. 129 fn.; S.P.Gupta, "Internal Trade of the Harappans" in B.B. Lal and S.P. Gupta, ed., *Frontiers*, pp. 417,424.

16. Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *Rise*, pp. 193-95, 197, 199, 201-2; A.Ghosh, ed., *Encyclopaedia*, vol. I, pp. 83-84.

17. Vivekanand Jha, "Agricultural Labour and Village Artisans", *op. cit.*, p. 547.

18. Among the scholars who attest the existence of slaves are Mackay, *Early Indus Civilization*, p. 39; Piggott *Prehistoric India*, pp. 169-170; D.H. Gordon, *The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture* (Bhulabhai Memorial Institute and N.M. Tripathi Pvt. Ltd, Bombay, 1958) pp. 71,74; Basham, *Wonder*, p. 18; Kosambi, *Introduction*, pp. 55, 62, and *Culture*, p.54; Dev Raj Chanana, *Slavery in Ancient India as*

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Depicted in Pāli and Sanskrit Texts (People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1960), p. 170; and Antonova, Bongard-Kevin and Hotovsky, *A History of India*, Book I, pp. 20, 23. Unlike the Soviet scholar V.V.Struve and the German scholar Walter Ruben, however, who regarded the Harappa Culture as a specimen of a slave-based social formation, R.S.Sharma expresses doubts regarding slave labour being a significant component of the Harappan economy, *Prespectives*, pp. 108-9; cf. Antonova, Bongard-Levin and Kotovsky, *A History of India*, Book I, p. 23; Vivekanand Jha, "Ancient Indian Political History : Possibilities and Pitfalls", *Social Scientist*, vol. XVIII, Nos 1-2(200-201) (New Delhi, January-February 1990), p. 41; in a slightly modified form the article has appeared in *IHR*, Vol. XIV, Nos 1-2 (July 1987 and January 1988; published in December 1990), see pp. 101-2. An earlier version was first presented at the 50th Indian History Congress session at Gorakhpur University in 1989.

Even those scholars who do not consider the evidence regarding slavery in the Harappa Culture as irrefutable, for example, G.K.Rai, *Involuntary Labour in Ancient India* (Chaitanya Publishing House, Allahabad, 1981), p. 46; and Uma Chakravarti, "Of Dāsas and Karmakaras: Servile Labour in Ancient India" in Utsa Patnaik and Manjari Dingwaney, ed., *Chains of Servitude: Bondage and Slavery in India* (Sangam Books, Madras, and Orient Longman, 1985), pp. 42-43, acknowledge the existence of "a sort of organised labour, with a measure of compulsion never far away" or "regimented dependent labour". Rai, op. cit., pp. 46-46, or "a section which laboured" in this stratified society and resided in barrack-like quarters near the granaries, Uma Chakravarti, *loc. cit.* Wheeler, too, had referred much earlier to servile and semi-servile labour as a familiar element of all ancient polities including the Harappan, *The Indus Civilization*, p. 54.

19. Y.M.Chitalwala, "The problem of Class Structure in the Indus Civilization" in B.B.Lal and S.P.Gupta, ed, *Frontiers*, p. 211. In his opinion, the so-called massacre at Mohenjo-daro may have been the result of an internal conflict rather than an all-out external invasion, ibid., p. 215. Possehl, too, finds society internally differentiated and structurally specialized, "Archaeological Terminology and the Harappan Civilization", ibid., p. 30, and envisages peasant revolts as one of the possible factors of the decline of the Harappa Culture, *Ancient Cities*, p. 288. Antonova, Bongard-Levin and Kotovsky do not accept the view that the Harappan society was pre-class in character and find unmistakable evidence of class stratification here, *A History of India*, Book I, p. 22. Amita Ray, too, has no doubt about the hierarchical structure of the Harappan urban society based upon the rule of the few over many, "Harappan Art and Life: Sketch of A Social Analysis" (hereafter "Harappan Art") in Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, ed., *History and Society: Essays in honour of Niharranjan Ray* (hereafter *History and Society*)(K.P. Bagchi & Co., Calcutta, 1978), pp. 117, 119, 129. Class societies, according to Childe, subsume a small minority that annexes, concentrates and accumulates the social surplus and the masses who at best retain just as much of the product of their labour as is required for domestic consumption. *Social Evolution*, p. 37.

20. Childe, *New light*, p. 174: *Man Makes Himself*, pp. 130, 142; *Progress and Archaelology*, p. 22.

21. Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, pp. 136, 153.

22. Basham, *Wonder*, pp. 15-16.

23. Kosambi, *Introduction*, pp. 58-59, 61-62; *Culture*, pp. 64, 70.

24. Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *Birth*, p. 137; *Rise*, p. 182.

25. Puskás, "Society and Religion in the Indus Valley Civilisation" in Bridget Allchin, ed, *South Asian Archaeology* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 163.

26. Irfan Habib, General President's Address, op. cit., p.6

27. R.S. Sharma, *Perspectives*, p. 106; *Ancient India*, p. 50.

28. Antonova, Bongard-Levin and Kotovsky, *A History of India*, Book I, p. 53. Pusalker, too, regards it a "democratic bourgeois" polity, "The Indus Valley Civilization" in Majumdar, ed, *The Vedic Age*, p. 173.

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29. Puskás, op. cit., p. 163.

30. R.S. Sharma, *Perspectives*, p. 106.

31. Childe, *New Light*, p. 175; *What Happened*, p. 135.

32. Idem, *What Happened*, p. 134.

33. J.M.Kenoyer, "Specialized Producers and Urban Elites: On the Role of Craft Industries in Mature Harappan Urban Contexts" in Kenoyer, ed., *Old Problems and New Perspectives in the Archaeology of South Asia* (hereafter *New Perspectives*) (University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1989), p. 180.

34. Antonova, Bongard-Levin and Kotovsky, *A History of India*, book I, pp. 21,23.

35. The rich-poor divide amounting to class division is indicated not only by the well-to-do sections inhabiting large houses and the poor taking shelter in tiny dwellings, but also by the burial practices showing the wealthy as being interred with jewellery and decorated vessels and the poor with accoutrements on a far more modest scale, *ibid.*, p. 23. According to Amita Ray, the more conventional and sophisticated potteries, the intaglio seals, the bearded busts and the dancing Harappan male seem to reflect the ethos and psyche of the dominant minority, while the terracotta female figurines and animals, the vegetal decorations and narrative paintings, the Mohenjo-daro girl and the male torso reflect the ethos and psyche of the working communities, "Harappan Art", op. cit., p. 129.

36. Iravati Karve, *Hindu Society—An Interpretation*, 2nd edn. (Deshmukh Prakashan, Poona, 1968; first published in 1961), pp. 54-64, and *Introduction* by W. Norman Brown, p. vi.

37. Idem, *Kinship Organization* in India, 3rd edn, (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1968; first published in 1953), p. 7.

38. S.C.Malik, *Indian Civilization: The Formative Period—A Study of Archaeology as Anthropology*, reprint (Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, and Motilal Banarsidass,Delhi, 1987; first published in 1968), p. 107.

39. Idem, *Understanding Indian Civilization: A Framework of Enquiry* (Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 1975), p. 76.

40. Idem, "Harappan Social and Political Life" in B.B.Lal and S.P.Gupta, ed., *Frontiers*, pp. 204, 208. In a recent article "An Enquiry into the Concepts of Technology, Surplus and Social Stratification" in Dilip K. Chakrabarti, ed., *Man and Environment*, vol. XII(Indian Society for Prehistoric and Quaternary Studies, Deccan College, Pune, 1988), pp. 1-16, Makkhan Lal, too, has made an elaborate, clumsy and facile attempt to deny any link of the appearance of surplus and advance in technology with the emergence of social stratification in the ancient period. His broadside on Childe in the names of all the supposed celebrities on the other side of the fence that Makkhan Lal could think of is especially misplaced because Childe also maintained that "man's progress from savagery to civilization is intimately bound up with the advance of abstract thinking", *The Aryans: A study of Indo-European Origins* (hereafter *Aryans*) (Keganpaul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London, 1962, p. 3), and thirty-seven years before Kosambi published his famous article, "Combined Methods in Indology", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. VI, Nos. 3-4 (Mouton, The Hague, 1963), pp. 177-202, Childe advocated a coordination of literary evidence with archaeological and anthropological data (Preface, p. xii) for the reconstruction of history.

41. A. Ghosh, *City*, p. 84.

42. Suvira Jaiswal, "Caste in the Socio-Economic Framework of Early India", Presidential Address to the Ancient India section of the 38th Indian History Congress session, *PIHC* (Bhubaneswar, 1977), pp. 27-28; idem, "Studies in the Early Indian Social History: Trends and Possibilities", *IHR*, Vol. Nos 1-2 (July 1979 and January 1980), pp. 11-12.

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43. Cf. Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, p. 170.

44. (Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, and Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1986).

45. Preface, p. ix.

46. Pp. 1-27.

47. (Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 1971).

48. P. xv.

49. Romila Thapar, Presidential Address, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 36fn.; idem, *The Past and Prejudice* (National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1975), p. 29. In his foreword to Stephen Fuchs, *The Children of Hari: A Study of the Nimar Balahis in Madhya Pradesh, India* (Verlag Herold, Vienna, and The New Order Book Co., Ahmedabad, 1949), Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf no doubt tentatively puts forward the hypothesis of an urban origin of untouchability, but does not consider it possible to ascribe the growth of this social phenomenon to any definite period in Indian history, p. viii. Even so, the hypothesis is not well-founded in evidence, for not only has the movement from villages to towns in recent times been a factor in lessening the rigours of caste and untouchability, the "second urbanization" in the Ganga basin in the sixth century B.C. borrowed nothing from the Harappa Culture (A.Ghosh, *City*, pp. 2, 30), and untouchability first appaears prominently in post-Vedic texts broadly reflecting a rural setting. The study of the socially and culturally lowest segment of the Nimar Balahis by Fuchs himself does not even remotely indicate that their untouchability was at any stage due to their habitat in an urban milieu.

50. Romila Thapar, Presidential Address, *loc. cit;* cf. J.M.Kenoyer, "Socio-Economic Structure of the Indus Civilization as Reflected in Specialized Crafts and the Question of Ritual Segregation" in Kenoyer, ed, *New Perspectives*, p. 189. In her recent study, *From Lineage to State: Social Formations in the First Millennium B.C. in the Ganga Valley* (hereafter *Lineage*)(Oxford University Press, 1984), without specifically mentioning caste, she refers to the possibility of Harappan society being ruled by an aristocracy claiming power through ritual and religion and the notion of purity and pollution prevailing there, p. 53.

In her *A History of India*, Vol. I, reprint (Penguin, 1986: first published in 1966), however, Romila Thapar does not recognize caste as a phenomenon of the Harappa Culture and categorically states that there was consciousness of caste even when the Ṛgvdeic Aryans first came to India, p. 37. In her *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations* (hereafter *Interpretations*)(Orient Longman, 1978) also, where the Presidential Address has been reprinted in pages 211-39, she maintains in the chapter "Society and Law in the Hindu and Buddhist Traditions"(pp. 26-39) that the order of castes emerged from a divine source in the Hindus tradition (p. 29) and in the chapter "Ethic, Religion and Social Protest in the First Millennium B.C. in Northern India"(pp. 40-62) she assigns the growth of caste to this period (p. 47). Although in her General President's Address to the 44th Indian History Congress session she speaks of continuities between the Harappan and post-Harappan societies, including the Vedic, *PIHC* (Burdwan, 1983), pp. 4, 18 (she has expressed her inability to identify any "specifically Aryan"elements in the varity of post Harappan cultures in the Indus and Ganga valleys in her Varanasi Presidential address in 1969, *PIHC*, pp. 16-17), she refrains from mentioning caste in the Harappan context.

51. Vivekanand Jha, "Caṇḍāla and the Origin of Untouchability" (hereafter Caṇḍāla), *IHR*, vol. XIII, Nos 1-2 (July 1986 and January 1987), pp. 33-34 fn. A shorter version of the article was first presented at the International Seminar on "New History" organized by the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, in collaboration with the India International Centre, New Delhi, in February 1988; and a more elaborate version was presented at the National Seminar on "Untouchability in Ancient India" organized by the Department of Ancient India History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, in March 1989.

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The Ṛgvedic aryans are no longer regarded as the immediate successors of the Mature Harappa Culture or the invading hordes which destroyed, it, as had been initially suggested by Childe (*New Light*, p. 37, *Ancient India*, No. 3., January 1947, p. 82) and enthusiastically supported later, among others, by Kosambi (*Introduction*, pp. 68-69; *Culture*, p. 55, 71). Way back in 1931 Sir John Marshall thought that the Harappa Culture could have been but "a mere shadow of its former self" when the Indo-Aryans entered Punjab about the middle of the second millennium B.C., and since no evidence of a large-scale armed confrontation has been found at the excavated sites, they were not its destroyers (*Mohenjo-daro*, Vol. I, pp. 110-12). Among the adherents to this view are Basham (*Wonder*, pp. 24, 28); Asko Parpola et al (*Decipherment*, p . 5); K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Aryans and Dravidians* (P.C.Manaktala & Sons, Bombay, 1979), pp. 8-9; George F. Dales, ("The Mythical Massacre at Mohenjo-daro" in Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization*, p. 37); Romila Thapar (*Interpretation*, pp. 18, 152-53, 262); Antonova, Bongard-Levin and Kotovsky (*A History of India*, Book I, pp. 27-29); R.S.Sharma (*Perspectives*, p. 110); and A.Ghosh, ed., (*Encyclopaedia*, Vol. I, p. 89). As Dani points out, the *Ṛgveda* does not speak of a great state against which the Aryans fought and their opponents may have been those who lived in small territorial zones like that of Taxila, *The Historic City of Taxila* (Unesco, Paris, and the Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, Tokyo, 1986), p. 35.

52. Emile Benveniste, a well-known authority in comparative linguistics, has found words corresponding to Sanskrit *lotra* in several Indo-European Languages, *Indo-European Language and Society* (Faber and Faber Ltd, London, 1973), pp. 135-36.

53. R.S. Sharma has counted 176 references to *gau* (cattle) as against 21 references to agricultural activities in the *Ṛgveda*. Cattle not only provided milk, meat and hide, but as the primary source of energy were also used in ploughing fields and drawing carts. Battles were fought for the sake of cattle, which also formed the medium of exchange and were the very measure of wealth of the Ṛgvedic Aryans, "Forms of Property in the Early Portions of the Ṛgveda", *Essays in Honour of Professor S.C. Sarkar* (People's Publishing House, New Delhi 1976), p.40; cf. *Material Culture and Social formations in Ancient India* (hereafter *Material Culture*) (Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1987), pp. 38-39; *Śūdras* in *Ancient India* (hereafter *Śūdras*), 3rd edn. (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1990; first published in 1958), pp.10,12,21,29; Kosambi, *Introduction*, p.77.

54. No other grain is specified.

55. The traditional idea of *vis* being a subdivision of *jana* has been disputed by R.N.Nandi, in whose opinion *jana* signified the earlier wandering group while *viś* marked the beginning of household life, "Anthropology and the Study of the Veda", Review Article on Romila Thapar's *Lineage*, *IHR*, Vol. XIII, Ns 1-2 (July 1986 and January 1987), pp.155-156. Romila Thapar's hypotheses regarding *viś* and *lineage* presented in her book on *Lineage* have been disputed by A.M.Shah, R.N.Nandi and R.S.Sharma.

56. R.S.Sharma, "Conflict, Distribution and Differentiation in Ṛgvedic Society", *IHR*, Vol.IV, No. 1 (July 1977), pp. 3,4, 11; *Perspectives*, pp.28,113.

57. *Vedic Index of Name and Subjects* (hereafter *Vedic Index*), Vol.I, reprint (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1967; first published in 1912), p.357.

58. Basham, *Wonder*, p.32.

59. VIII, 56.3; Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* (hereafter *Dharmaśāstra*), Vol.II,Pt 1,2nd edn (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1974; first published in 1941), pp. 180-81.

60. Chanana, *Slavery*, pp.19-20.

61. Kosambi, *Introduction*, pp.92-93.

62. Romila Thapar, *Lineage*, pp.39-40.

63. Irfan Habib, General President's Address, *op.cit.*, p.7.

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64 R.N.Nandi, "Anthropology and the *Ṛgveda*", *op.cit.*, pp.162-64.

65. In Nandi's opinion horse-yoked chariots were also used for gathering fruits, honeycomb, soma plant and game, *ibid.*, p.164.

66. *Ṛgveda*, IX. 112.3.

67. Jaimal Rai, *The Rural-Urban Economy and Social Change in Ancient India (300 B.C.-300 A.D.)* (Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Varanasi, 1974), pp. 99-100.

68. R.S.Sharma, *Śūdras*, p.30; *Perspectives*, pp.27-28; "Conflict, Distribution and Differentiation in Ṛgvedic Society", *op.cit.*, p.11.

69. R.S.Sharma refers to the difference of colour and physiognomy as well as cultural differences between the Aryans and their enemies, *Śūdras*, pp.14-16. Basham stresses the religious, social and cultural differences between the Aryans and the non-Aryans, but concedes that the racial connotation of *ārya* has not become quite meaningless in the Ṛgvedic stage, "Aryan and Non-Aryan in India" in M.M.Deshpande and P.E.Hook, ed., *Aryan and Non-Aryan in India* (University of Michigan, 1979), pp.4-5.

70. *Ṛgveda*, X.90.12.

71. The view expressed in *Vedic Index*, Vol.II, p.250, by Macdonell and Keith that the caste system was already well on its way towards general acceptance in the *Ṛgveda* is not correct, Childe rightly denies the existence of caste in this text, *Aryans*, p.32. Irfan Habib correctly points out that it is futile to expect the social institution like caste to exist before the producers in society were able to provide a "surplus" and the varṇa initially presaged very little of the caste system that was to grow later, *Caste and Money in Indian History (D.D. Kosambi Memorial Lecture, 1985)* (University of Bombay, 1987), pp.4-5.

72. Vivekanand Jha, "Stages in the History of Untouchables" (hereafter "Stages"), *IHR*, Vol.II, No.1 (July 1975),p.14; "Caṇḍāla", *IHR*, Vol.XIII, No. 1-2, p.1.

73. R.S. Sharma, "The Later Vedic Phase and the Painted Grey Ware Culture" in Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, ed, *History and Society*, pp.131-43.

74. Idem, *Material Culture*, p.60.

75. Ibid., p.58; "Class Formation and Its Material Basis in the Upper Ganetic Basin (*c.* 1000-500 B.C.)" (hereafter "Class Formation"), *IHR*, Vol.II,No.1 (July 1975), p.; B.P.Mazumdar, "Changing Profile of Economic History", Presidential Address, Ancient India section, 37th Indian History Congress session, *PIHC* (Calicut, 1976), p.38.

76. R.S.Sharma, "Class Formation", *op.cit.*, pp.2-3; "Problems of Social Formations in Early india", General President's Address, 36th Indian History Congress session *PIHC* (Aligarh, 1975), p.5.

77. Idem, *Material Culture*, p.59.

78. Idem, "Class Formation", *op. cit.*, p.7.

79. *bau-paśu, Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, VI.1.11.

80. *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, XXX.5.

81. *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* III. 4.1.1.

82. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 6.2.10.

83. Kosambi, *Introduction*, p.91; *Culture*, p.24.

84. Irfan Habib, General President's Address, *op. cit.*,p.10.

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85. XII. 13. The *Nirukta* is a commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu*, a Vedic glossary in five chapters and is pre-Pāṇinian.

86. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 29.

87. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI. 4. 1. 13.

88. Claude Meillassoux, "Are Three Castes in India?", *Economy and Society*, Vol. II, No. 1 (London, February 1975), pp. 89-111.

89. Basham, *Wonder*, p. 41.

90. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV 3.3.15.

91. See my article "From Tribe to Untouchable: The Case of Niṣādas" in R.S. Sharma and Vivekanand Jha, ed. *Indian Society : Historical Probings (In Memory of D.D.Kosambi)* (ICHR and People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1974), pp.67-84.

92. A.L. Basham, "Aryan and Non-Aryan" in Dehspande and Hook, eds., *Aryan and Non-Aryan in India*, p.2.

93. Cf. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *Social Life in Ancient India* (Academic Publishers, Calcutta, 1965), p. 151.

94. This hypothesis was put forward by N.K.Dutt, *Origin of Caste in India, Vol. I, c. 2000-3000 B.C.* (London, 1931), pp. 106-7.

95. K.A.N.Sastri, *Aryans and Dravidians*, pp. 48-82. In his book entitled *Untouchability : A Historical Study* (Koodal Publishers, Madurai, 1979). K.R. Hanumanthan has shown that untouchability in the south has a distinctly later origin than in the north and the earliest references to untouchability can be found in *Acārakkōvai* (fourth-fifth century A.D.) which shows the Dharmaśāstra influence, pp. 127, 132-41, 144.

96. The obligatory nature of expiatory rites and penances, relatively simple or complex, and the strong social sanction behind them is proved by elaborate provisions regarding their strict enforcement in these texts.

97. The preservation of the varṇa order is ordained as the primary responsibility of the monarch in the *Dharmasūtras* of Gautama (XI. 9-10) and Vasiṣṭha (XIX. 7-8), the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (I. 314-17), the *Smṛitis* of Manu (VII.35), Viṣṇu (III. 1, 33), Nārada (XII. 113) and Yājñavalkya (I. 363).

98. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, for example, portrays Rāma killing a śūdra named Śambūka who in violation of *Dharmaśāstra* norms was practising penance which had purportedly resulted in the death of a brāhamaṇa's son, Uttara Kāṇḍa, LXXII. 2. - LXXVI. 15 (Gita Press Edition).

99. See my article "*Varṇasaṃkara* in the Dharmasūtras : Theory and Practice", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol.XIII. Pt 3 (Leiden, 1970), pp. 280, 287-88 ; G.C.Pande, *Foundations of Indian Culture, Vol. II, Dimensions of Ancient Indian Social History* (Delhi, 1984), p. 229 ; S.J.Tambia, "From Varṇa to Caste Through Mixed Unions" in Jack Goody, ed, *Character of Kinship* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 218, 223-24. The substantial increase in the number of mixed caste in Manu (fifty-five according to P.V. Kane, *Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pt I, p. 59) reflects the growing fusion and assimilation of various elements with the Aryan population. *Varṇasaṃkara* was presumed to be caused not only by marriage with women unfit for marriage or promiscuity among the *varṇas*, butt also by relinquishing one's obligatory duties. (*Manusmṛti*, X. 24).

100. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, IV. 22-24 ; *Manusmṛti*, I.96.

101. *Viṣṇusmṛti*, X. 37-38. Kātyāyana (A.D. 400-600) also uses the term *aspṛśya* twice in the sense of untouchables, verses, 433, 783.

102. A useful recent study based on the Buddhist canon is that by Uma Chakravarti, *The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1987). It is significant that like the Upaniṣads,

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Dharmaśāstra and other brāhmaṇical texts, Buddha also expressed full faith in the theory of high and low birth and material position being connected with action in previous birth. B.R. Ambedkar did not carefully go into all the evidence while propounding the theory that Buddhism in a way effectively countered caste and untouchability in the country. For a detailed exposition of my views in this regard, see my articles "Stages", *IHR*, Vol. II, No. I (July 1975), pp. 21-23, and "Caṇḍāla", *IHR*, vol. XIII, Nos. 1-2 (July 1986 and January 1987), pp. 24-31.

103. B.R. Ambedkar made untenable claims in this regard in his book *The Untouchables* (Delhi, 1948), pp. 103, 155, 159. Cf. my article "stages", op. cit., p. 31.

104. See my article "Social Content of the *Bhagavadgītā*", *IHR*, Vol. XI, Nos. 1-2 (July 1984 and January 1985). pp. 1-44. It was first presented at the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference held at the Kern Institute, Leiden, in August 1987. This *IHR* volume was released in 1988. I have not found any evidence of the impact of feudalism on *bhakti* (devotion) in this text.

105. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya has in his book *Lokāyata : A Study in Ancient Indian Materialism* (People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1959), and B.N.S. Yadava has in his study *Society in Northern India* provided evidence for this.

106. R.S.Sharma, "The Kali Age : A Period of Social Crisis" in S.N.Mukherjee, ed. *History and Thought (Essays in Honour of A.L.Basham)* (Subarnarekha, Calcutta, 1982), pp. 186-203; B.N.S.Yadava, "The Accounts of the Kali Age and the Social Transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages", *IHR*, Vol. V, Nos 1-2 (July 1978 and January, 1979), pp. 31-63 ; Vivekanand Jha, "Caṇḍāla", *op. cit.*, pp. 21-23.

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2

Problems of the Ancient History of Andhra

R.S.Sharma

Regional history should not be confused with dynastic history. In the past it was the practice to glorify the achievements of a dynasty which was supposed to symbolise the personality of the region. But the identity of a region has many more facets than the dynastic one. Similarly regional history should not be confused with the revivalist history which attributes all kinds of good and great achievements of the past to a particular region. In the recent past there have been controversies about the original home of the Guptas, the place of Kālidāsa and similar other matters, and in all such cases arguments are inspired more by regional prejudices than informed by empirical evidence. Similarly regional history should not be written to extol the virtues of a state or region and implicitly denigrate the neighbouring region because of squabbles for jobs and professions. In recent times we have the example of such prejudiced accounts because of disputes between Assamese and Bengalees. We have in our country the images of the people of various castes; so also we have the images of the people of various regions. But much of this kind of image making is guided by deep-seated prejudices which distort the reconstruction of regional history.

All the same, the importance of regional history cannot be underrated. It is true that it can be better written in the world and pan-Indian perspective. But it has to be also emphasized that the pan-Indian perspective and a synthetic history of India will immensely gain from a balanced construction of the histories of its various regions. However, this synthesis and overall evaluation cannot be postponed until the regional histories are completed. In my opinion both the processes of constructing an all-India framework and regional history should continue.

The problem of defining a region is difficult. The geographical and ecological factors can mark out a region. But what really marks it out is the prevalence of its own specific mode of life articulated through its language, art, literature, culture and social practices. Of all these, language is considered the crucial factor, because it binds the people together. The regional language becomes all the more important when it possesses its own script in which literate people can express and propagate their ideas. Numerous dialects which do not have their scripts cannot perform complex functions of communication. The spirit of regionalism has been sepecially whipped up after the reorganisation of the states on a linguistic basis, which was recognised by the Indian National Congress as early

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as 1921. Provinces were created by the British on the basis of administrative convenience, but Provincial Congress Committees were set up on the basis of linguistic zones.

What do we expect of a regional historian ? We expect him to bring out not only the specificities of a region in the context of time, place and modes of livelihood, but also the general trends and features it shares with the rest of the country. What is common in the country needs to be brought out in conjunction with what is typical of a particular region. Further, the elements of typicality in a region need to be identified and explained. For example, in the case of contemporary Bihar, the dominance of casteism in politics and professions will have to be explained historically. Similarly, in Andhra Pradesh, the rivalries between the rich peasant castes and also the antagonisms between the tribal peoples and the rich Hinduised peasantry will have to be examined.

I would however like to touch on a few problems relating to the ancient history of Andhra, which may throw light on the formation of its earliest historical personality. The ancient history of Andhra so far has been identified with that of the Andhras or the Sātavāhanas, both of whom are considered identical. The old debate related to the original home of the Sātavāhanas. While some scholars, particularly those from south India attributed it to the Andhra region, others placed it in Maharashtra on the basis of coins and inscriptions. This view needs some modification. A second point in debate is related to the time of the rise of the Andhra Sātavāhana dynasty. Southern scholars including K.A.Nilakanta Sastri place it around 250 B.C., while others place it around the first half of the first century B.C.

The latter view is now generally accepted and also broadly attested by archaeological sources. Nearly sixty sites have been excavated, and in respect of coins and inscriptions, Sātavāhana layers cannot be pushed back before 100 B.C. or so.

On the basis of the finds of Aśokan inscriptions, sherds of Northern Black Polished Ware and punch-marked coins in certain areas of what constituted the Sātavāhana dominions in Andhra, it was thought that elements of Maurya culture spread in the peninsula. This was Wheeler's view on the spread of material culture of the middle Gangetic plains through the agency of the Maurya empire ; he was not concerned with the formation of the Sātavāhana state, society and economy. Possibly he derived this idea from the diffusion of the effects of the Industrial Revolution in India on account of its British conquest.

The Maurya influence is amply demonstrated by the find of Aśokan inscriptions at two places in Kurnool district, which is adjacent to the borders of Karnataka where the edicts of Aśoka have been found at nine places. They include Fourteen Rock Edicts and some other inscriptions, and number eighteen. Their provenance would suggest the prevalence of Brāhmī script and Prakrit language, in which the higher educated classes of the north communicated with those of the south. The upper strata of the people were therefore familiar with the organisation of the Maurya State. It seems that Murya inscriptions were found at a time when people living in this part of Andhra Pradesh used iron, herded animals and practised agriculture. They are concentrated in an area which is not far away from from the Hatti gold mines and whose rulers may also have exploited the resources of the Raichur doab. The Kurnool area of Andhra and the adjacent area of Karnataka formed the main centre from where Maurya influence radiated in lower, central and western Deccan; western Deccan may also have received Mauryan elements of culture from Kathiawad.

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But there is a gap of 200 years between the rise of the Sātavāhana state and the Maurya rule. Therefore, elements of Aśokan territorial administration and the use of Prakrit that appear in the Sātavāhana polity may have affected it through the mediation of the pre-Sātavāhana chiefs.

In the reconstruction of the early history of Andhra Pradesh, northern Karnataka, Maharashtra and parts of Madhya Pradesh, the crucial role of archaeology is not recognised. Recent diggings have brought to light a good number of punch-marked coins and uninscribed cast coins and some other coins in pre-Sātavāhana layers such as at Adam in Nagpur district. Some of these coins are inscribed. A.M. Shastri informs me of the existence of nearly 300 coins which can be palaeographically placed around 150 B.C. or a little later. They indicate that many chiefs ruled in what came to be known as the Sātavāhana dominions in later times. A more important factor disclosed by archaeology is the creation of military, artisanal and agricultural preconditions by the megalithic builders for the formation of the Sātavāhana state, society and economy. Although megalithism persists in Bustar district, which is the southern most district of Madhya Pradesh bordering on the northern boundary of Andhra Pradesh, this is mostly in respect of burial practice. There is no doubt that most megalithic builders in ancient times were iron-using people, who seem to have passed through the stage of pastoral and hunting life as well as that of agicultural life. Both stages are reflected in the Sangam text. The megalithic people lived in central and peninsular India and widely used iron implements in the hilly river valleys and in some fertile plains at a time when the Painted Grey Ware and the Northern Black Polished Ware people used iron and practised agriculture in the Indo-Gangetic Divide and Gangetic plains in northern India. The megalithic people of central and peninsular India used black-and red ware and all-black ware; they also used russet-coated painted ware. They were well acquainted with the art of iron smelting and even gold working. Three types of iron implements can be associated with them. Sickles, hoes and in some cases even iron ploughshares have been found; the last may have been developed towards the end of the megalithic phase which could be as late as the first century A.D.; in any case their number is very limited. A large number of iron lances, daggers, swords, spearheads and arrowheads, which have been found, were meant for hunting and fighting. Axes, adzes and chisels may have been used for forest clearance and day-to-day woodwork together with other artisanal purposes.

The iron-using megalithic builders produced wheat, lentil and horse gram in central India, but they produced rice and *ragi* in south India. They were therefore acquainted with a good many cereals which they had inherited from the neolithic-chalcolithic traditions.

The Sātavahāna ruler, Śātakarṇi I, is said to have attained imperial status by conquering western Malwa in Narmada valley and Vidarbha, which last was held by his dynasty till the end of the third century A.D. The acquisition of this fertile area evidently contributed to the strengthening of the state power. Vidarbha is full of megaliths and contains both burial and habitation sites. Their excavations show that people used iron implements in war, hunting, agriculture and artisanal work. Evidently this material outfit helped the rise of local chiefs under the Sungas and eventually the emergence of the Sātavāhana power.

The use of horse on a considerable scale in Vidarbha in the megalithic phase could contribute to the strength of the various chiefs and ruling classes who lived on the resources of the agriculturists. The megalithic people seem to have used horse more widely than their contempo-

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raries in northern India. The megalithic graves and habitation sites in Vidarbha contain many horse bones and horse bits made of iron as well as copper sheets for covering the ears and eyes of the horse. Horse remains are found in the Sātavāhana area megaliths outside Vidarbha also. They show that horses were used in chariots, and horse riding was well known. It suggests the emergence of a social stratum, which could afford the use of horses with all the necessary equipment. The stratum may have mainly comprised chiefs in the megalithic phase. It evidently consisted of the Rathikas/ Raṭhikas or chariot-users out of whom grew the *Mahārathīs* or *mahāraṭhās*. Ultimately, these chiefs may have been transformed into regular tax-receiving warrior feudatories under the Sātavāhanas, especially in the upper and western Deccan.

It is significant that the term *Sata* is derived from the non-Sanskritic (Munda) terms *sadam* (horse) and *hapan* (son), and Sātavāhana is rendered as the son of the performer of an *aśvamedha* or horse sacrifice. Because of its association with the horse the term Sātavāhana has been Sanskritised into śālivāhana. Śāli in Sanskrit also means horse, and Śālivāhanas can be considered to be horseriders. Significantly enough, one of the earliest Nanaghat Cave inscriptions, ascribed to the second half of the first century B.C., speaks of the gift of even as many as 1,000 horses, and also a horse-drawn chariot on the occasion of Vedic sacrifices performed by Queen Nayanikā. Further, horse devices appear frequently on Sātavāhana coins ; they also appear in graffitis on russet-coated painted ware, some of which could be ascribed to the Sātavāhana territory.

The material elements of the megalithic culture had paved the ground for the building of the state system, society, and economy under the Sātavāhanas. Many sites show a break between the chalcolithic culture and the rise of the early historical culture under the Sātavāhanas. This for example is the case with Maski in south Karnataka. In contrast, several other sites show, an overlap between the megalithic culture and the Sātavāhana culture. Megalithic sites also appear in the neighbourhood of the single culture Sātavāhana sites, which suggests borrowing and interaction.

On the basis of the overlap between the elements of the megalithic culture with that of the Sātavāhana culture at several sites in Karimnagar district, the origin of the Sātavāhana power/ culture is ascribed to the mid-Godavari region. That the earliest Sātavāhanas were connected with the central portion of Andhra Pradesh is attested by the discovery of the coins of the first Sātavāhana king Sīmuka together with those of Sātakarṇi I, Kumāra Sātavāhana and some other early rulers. These coins appear in a fairly good number at Kottalingla, in Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. A coin of Kumara Sātavāhana also appear in the excavations in Kondapur in Medak district ; he is identified with Kumāra Sātavāhana mentioned in a Nanaghat inscription. Similarly, a lead coin of Kumāra Sāta has been found in the excavation at Sattanikota in Kurnool district. All this shows association of a good portion of Andhra Pradesh with the Sātavāhanas from the very beginning. But since the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas are found in a large number in western Maharashtra, this dynasty cannot be associated in the initial stage with a major portion of Andhra Pradesh, not to speak of the heart of this state which lies between the two rivers Godavari and Krishna. The Sātavāhanas present a case of civilization striking roots in the peripheral areas and travelling to the core area. While the megalithic legacy cannot be underestimated, inscriptional evidence comes from Kurnool district and is posterior to many Sātavāhana inscriptions that have been found in Maharashtra in Nasik-Pune-Aurangabad area.

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The various factors that went into the making of the Sātavāhana state system, society and economy are not exhausted by the Maurya influence and the megalithic legacy. They also include the stimulus from the southern states of Ceras, Coḷas and Pāṇḍyas as well as the trade network that developed because of contact with the Roman empire. The inscription in Brahmi script found in Tamil Nadu belong to the second century B.C.[1], while the earliest Sātavāhana inscriptions are dated around the first half of the century B.C. Even the megalithism of the south is earlier than that of the Deccan. At any rate, the Sātavāhana civilization was the ultimate product of interaction between Sātavāhana elements on the one hand and the Maurya, megalithic, southern and Roman contacts on the other. This problem needs deeper study.

The end of the Sātavāhana kingdom appears to be connected with a major social crisis, which is described in general terms in some early Purāṇas. The description of the Kali Yuga in the Purāṇas is attributed to the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century A.D. It is represented as a period in which the varṇas did not perform the functions ascribed to them and created a state of chaos. This would imply that the vaiśyas did not pay taxes and the śūdras did not supply labour power. Although the time of this phenomenon has been fixed by the Purāṇic specialists, the area in which it occurred needs to be specified.

The coincidence between the beginning of the land grants on a large scale and the time of the Kali Yuga conflicts provides some clue. Around the third and the beginning of the fourth century land grant inscriptions do not appear on any scale in the Gangetic plains, which were the oldest areas settled in historical times; they do so in the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh, in Vidarbha, in Maharashtra, in Andhra Pradesh and in northern Tamil Nadu. On this basis one could suggest that the social crisis involving a struggle between priests and warriors on the one hand and lower orders on the other took place outside the Gangetic zone in the areas which were less varṇised. The conflict made it difficult for the agents of the local states to collect taxes from the peasants and thus to pay salaries to the state officials and make monetary gifts to monks and priests, who taught the masses to be loyal to the state power and social order. The practice of land grants for religious services, which had been started by the Sātavāhanas, could be practised on a wide scale and could also cover other types of services in the new situation.

The description of the Kali age in the Purāṇas may be applied to the peripheral areas because the Puranic writers, who stop giving dynastic genealogies after the early third century AD, were familiar with them. For example, the Purāṇas mention south Kośala or the Chhattisgarh area, in which early land grants appeared. The Maghas, who ruled in the second and the third centuries A.D. between Bandhogarh in Madhya Pradesh and Fatehpur in Uttar Pradesh with Kauśāmbī as the centre of their power, are mentioned in the Purāṇas as Maghas ; they are also associated with south Kośala where land grants are found from the fourth-fifth centuries onwards.

Similarly the region of Vidarbha, which abounds in Vākāṭaka grants in the fourth-fifth centuries A.D., is very well-known to the *Mālavikāgnimitra of Kalidasa*. It is held that the Sātavāhana rule lasted in this area until A.D. 285, which tallies with the period to which the description of the Kali era is assigned. Archaeologically almost all the Sātavāhana settlements that have been excavated in Vidarbha and elsewhere disappeared in the middle of the third century A.D. or a little later. There could have been external causes, especially diminution in long-distance trade,

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for such a decline, but the possibility of internal social conflicts cannot be ruled out. There is no doubt that the Purāṇas were very well acquainted with the Andhra-bhṛtya or *jātiya* Sātavāhana rulers, whose number is usually given as 30. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is credited to have put an end to the mixture of the four varṇas, which shows that the Ikṣvakus, Pallavas, Viṣṇukuṇḍins, Vākāṭakas and others, who appeared on the ruins of the Sātavāhana state, not only adopted the practice of making land grants on a wide scale, but also claimed to have established *dharma*, which means the varṇa system.

The term first (*ādi*) *dharma-mahārāja* is applied to Vindhyaśakti I, father of Pravarasena I, who is also called *dharma-mahārāja* in the inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries. The two ruled in the second half of the third century. In the context of the social upheaval the epithet *dharma mahārāja* would indicate the obligation of the king to establish and uphold the varṇa system which had been upset by the Kali conflict. More importantly, the Vākāṭaka and other rulers of central India and the peninsular appear committed to the removal of all those ills which had afflicted the social system on account of the advent of the Kali age. The term *kaliyuga-doṣāvasanna-dharmodharaṇanityasaṃnaddha* is very meaningful. Such terms as indicate efforts to restore the social order occur in Vākāṭaka land grants and in those of the other rulers of central and peninsular parts in the fourth to the sixth centuries.

Thus it will appear that internal social conflicts, as evident from the description of the Kali age in the Purāṇas, appeared in the peripheral areas where the varna system was not so well established, and the vestige of the tribal egalitarian spirit still strong. Indoctrination for a much longer time may have prevented the peasants and others organised on varṇa lines in the old settled areas of the Gangetic plains from rising in revolt against the state and the social order. At any rate, whether the Kali age can be connected with the end of the Sātavāhana rule in Maharashtra and the adjoining areas could be point for consideration.

We have deliberately used the term Sātavāhana civilization in order to highlight the peak of city life indicated by the availability of a very large number of coins made of lead, potin and base-metal in the Sātavāhana dominions. No other contemporary dynasty in the country can boast of so many coins as the Sātavāhanas can. This suggests use of money and commodity exchange even among the ordinary masses of the people. Evidently, the Sātavāhana area was far more advanced in commodity exchange in day-to-day life than the northern areas under the Kuṣāṇas and others. The decline of Roman trade adversely affected commodity exchange and the use of metal money. Various types of artisanal guilds and specialised craftsmen existed under the Sātavāhanas, and it is held that the monasteries engaged themselves in trade. Clearly the production of the surplus in foodgrains and in craft products was the chief factor in the rise and growth of towns and also in the maintenance of the stupas and monasteries, but only explorations and trial excavations in the vicinity of the urban sites can throw some light on the relation between the town and its hinterland. The network of trade and exchange that connected various types of settlements is yet to be explored. Finally, why commodity exchange and flourishing urbanism in the Satavahana territory ended swiftly and suddenly has to be adequatley explained.

Besides touching on the problems of regional history, I have tried to trace a few possible influences in the formation of the social and economic personality of Andhra Pradesh in the earliest

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phase of its history. The contribution of the megalithic material culture, the Maurya influence, and extra-Indian factors in the formation of Sātavāhana polity, society and economy, deserves attention. I have also tried to highlight the conspicuous burgeoning of the monetary economy in the Sātavāhana territoties as well as the sudden fall of its numerous urban centres. These problems are illustrative. One may think of several other factors that moulded the earliest social, economic and political profile of Andhra and the neighbouring areas.

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1. However, this is now being questioned, and the Tamil Brahmi inscriptions are placed in the first century B.C., or even later.

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3

Indo-European, Sanskrit and Bulgaria

Lokesh Chandra

The relationship of India and Bulgaria is one that has never faltered over the millennia, enshrined in an unbroken creativity of linguistic paradigms. Their roots reach down into the endless soil of time. They penetrate deep into eight millennia of dynamised dreams, losing themselves in the forgotten corridors of obscure etymologies, finding reciprocities that can be embedded in words alone. Descending in words themselves, they have discovered their roots of limitless dimension. These are the moods and rhythms of a lost age, and the fire and passion that drove those who spoke Sanskrit in their stunning march across immense spaces. It was the *Drang nach Westen*. It was the greatest cultural event that changed the face and the heart of Europe for ever. Sanskrit sank its roots deep in the European ethos. A sustained quest of origins had become a trans-national passion in 19th century Europe. Indo-European is a child of the dream-space and dream-time (*Traum-Zeit*) of the European mind. In the most ancient classicity of Sanskrit they discovered the very arts of Europe. As recently as 1968. Cyrus H.Gordon (*Forgotten Scripts*, p. 133) speaks of the entrenched Aryanism in the mind of Europe : "To be sure, there have been efforts to make out some or all of the A tablets as Greek or to identify them as at least some kind of Indo-European. Greek is an Indo-European language, and even affinities with Hittite would at least keep things in the Indo-European family. (Anything to salvage the Aryanism of the earliest great civilization on Greek soil!) Despite the clear archaeological fact that the main ties of Minoan Crete are with Egypt, there is an undercurrent of antagonism to the prospect that the Minoans, who brought high civilization to Europe, may have been of Egyptian or some equally unacceptable 'Barbaric' origin".

The understanding of Indo-European (IE) hastended to certain unexpressed but implict assumptions of the Indo-European people being an ethnolinguistic entity, a monogenous origin of the Indo-European languages with survivals from their substratum languages and borrowings from the economically or politically important groups, the overriding principle of *Drang nach Osten*/ Push to the East, arising out of the superiority of Europe in science and statesmanship since the 19th century, as William Jones wrote in 1801 : "The Athenian poet seems perfectly in the right when he represents Europe as a sovereign princess and Asia as her handmaid". The tendencies have continued down to our day and Marija Gimbutas has discarded even the expression Indo-European and replaced it by the term Kurgan (mound or barrow) culture on the basis or linguistic palaeontology, comparative ethnology, mythology of Europe and South Russian archaeology. Her

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Kurgan hypothesis is a massive model of 'how Europe became European' (*JIES*.1973 : 58). She sidelines Indo-Iranian antiquity as an expansion from the Pontic-Volga steppes.

The analysis of the earliest written documents from Greece shows a linguistic bipolarity : (i) Minoan Linear A texts are Semitic, and (ii) Mycenaean Linear B texts are Greek. Minoan is the language of a conquering elite that ruled Greece, which had its own speech that survives in the substratum lexicon. Various elements that go to make up Classical Greek are :

(i) Substratum vocabulary

(ii) Sanskritisation of the complete grammatical structure and of the basic vocabulary

(iii) Proto-European, which includes vocabulary specific to the environment, like words connoting flora and fauna common to all or most European linguistic groups but not attested in Indo-Iranian.

The substratum vocabulary includes items of material culture (e.g.metal, tin, sword, bath tub, brick), political and social concepts (e.g. king, slave, concubine), heroes of the Greek epic (Odysseus, Achilles, Theseus), Greek divinities (Athena, Hera, Aphrodite), place names (Corinth, Knossos, Samos, Olympus, Mycenae). Sanskritisation is the overall adoption of the basic vocabulary like *matēr* 'mother' besides a complete adoption of the declension and conjugation systems of Sanskrit, like Gk, *didōmi* = Skt. *dadāmi*. Proto-European vocabulary includes plants as the vine, fig, olive, hyacinth, animals like the ass, wild ox, beetle. The three elements of the surviving substrate, the process of Sanskritisation, and the osmosis of Proto-European terminology, constitute the Indo-European syndrome. Anna Morpurgo Davies examined the Greek vocabulary in 1986 and came to the following conclusions : less than 40% has transparent IE etymology, 8% non-Greek origins, 52% no clear etymology. The various elements of the Greek lexicon have to be defined anew in the threefold classification proposed above. It was around the Early Bronze Age (3000-2000 B.C.) that the Greeks absorbed the intrusion of IE newcomers in a massive linguistic acculturation. The diffusion of the new language with its expressive grammatical inflections and rich lexicon, was a mighty psycho-social phenomenon. The concept of Indo-European is primarily based on language. Several ethnic groups came to speak IE languages over a few thousand years, with varying percentages of conservation of their substratum lexica and loans from Proto-European. Language and some institutions constitute the essential unity of shared cultural horizons of all people who came under the spell of IE languages. Indo-European evolved into the most extensive linguistic constellation of the world, moved by a sense of mission (*kṛṇvanto viśvam āryam*). It was a catalyst of historic proportions that shaped the making of Europe over several millennia. The Hellenic, Romance, Teutonic and Slavic languages are the contemporary European linguistic universe.

Since the last eight millennia linguistic legacy has been uppermost in the minds of speakers of Indo-European languages, much more so in the case of Slavs who sustained Common Slavic well into A.D. 400-900. The Bulgarians have sought their prime identity in their language and culture. In the words of the late lamented Madame Lyudmila Zhivkova : "From the pinnacle of its 1300th anniversary the Bulgarian state, the oldest of all existing European state organizations, its foundation dating back to the year 681, is aware of the great responsible mission of Culture—this

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eternal unbridled strive of every thing existing and of the thinking individual toward light". In the ninth century, Cyril declared : "the people are naked without books". In the 19th century, G. Rakovski, the father of Bulgarian awakening, was moved by the close links of Sanskrit and Bulgarian. He derived Sanskrit from Bulgarian and opined that its name comes from Bulg. *Samskrit* "the most hidden (secret)". One of the greatest sons of Bulgaria Georgi Dimitrov, defended "the meaning and content of my life" at the Reichstag trial of December 1933. When the Nazis accused his people of barbarism, he said : "A people which lived for 500 years under a foreign yoke without losing its language and its national identity. . . such a people is not savage and barbarous".

The earliest attested period of the history of Bulgaria is Thracian. Herodotus of the 5th century B.C., called 'father of history' has characterised the ancient Thracians as numerous as the Indians: "The Thracians are the second biggest people after the Indians they were ruled by one master and they were unanimous, they could have been, in my opinion, invincible and stronger than all other peoples". They belong to the Early Bronze Age, i.e., the second quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C.A Thracian inscription from Kabile reads : "I come from the past, I enter the future". The religious and mythological system of symbols and belief in the Sun cult of the Thracians has close parallels in India. The seven-string lyre of Orpheus recall the flute of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The Dionysiac mysteries founded by Orpheus, a priest of Dionysos, recall the *hallīsaka* dances of Kṛṣṇa, which was a *rāsa-goṣṭhī*. It consists of singing and dancing by one male surrounded by seven to ten female performers. It is a circular dance performed by women under the direction of a man. The Dionysiac mysteries "gave a dominant role to women, and it provided a vent for the irrational passions of the subconscious depths of the psyche." The Orpheic tenets hold that man is "a creature of mixed origin, containing a divine principle (Dionysos) and an evil one (the Titans)". So also Kṛṣṇa says in the *Bhagavad Gita* 9.19 : *sad-asac-cāham* "I am both good and evil". Orpheus was killed in a Bacchic orgy. "His head with his lyre, still singing, floated to Lesbos, where an oracle of Orpheus was esablished." Orpheus was torn to pieces by women possessed by Dionysian frenzy. So also Kṛṣṇa was cursed to death by Gāndhārī. The association of Kṛṣṇa with Yavanas is apparent in his killing of the powerful *asura* Kāla Yavana. Madame Lyudmila Zhivkova spoke at the National Museum, New Delhi : "Here, on Indian land, Thracian art feels more at home than anywhere else outside of Bulgaria. Here one can tangibly feel the parallel, the similarity, and the generic closeness in the symbolic nature of Thracian and Indian art during the Ist and 2nd centuries B.C., the closeness between the symbols, imagery, and ideas in the thinking of Thracians and the people of Bharat, their common belief in the unity of the world, and in the intransient essence of Light." The national anthem of Bulgaria proclaims :

Flows the Danube blue and tame

Ovre Thrace the sun is shining

The Thracians had an impressive and powerful kingdom before they fell to the Romans. Known for their bravery and heroism, their very name is cognate to the Sanskrit root *dhṛṣ* 'to be bold or courageous or confident or proud, to dare to attack, to surpass, overpower, overcome'. *Dhṛṣaj* is 'bold, a hero' in the *Ṛgveda* 5.19.5. Derivatives of this verbal root are frequent in the *Ṛgveda*, the earliest existing work in any Indo-European language.

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The Slavisation of Bulgaria is a recent phenomenon. The Slavs broke into the Balkans and Greece in the sixth century A.D. The Slavs were inheritors of the legacy of the Veneti, the earliest ethnicon which undoubtedly refers to Slavic tribes in the *Natural History* of Pliny published in 77 A.D. The Veneti is a shift from a social term 'winner, conqueror' to an ethnic denominator. It derives from the root *ūen* (Skt. *van*) 'to win, to control, to take over power'. It is parallel to the Sanskrit kṣatriya. After such a heroic tradition, it is strange that Slavic languages have *kral* (Bulgarian, Czech), *korol* (Russian), *krol* (Polish) for king, from the name of emperor Charlemagne (742-814). A proper name became the generic term for king (EBr.Ma. 16:868). Charlemagne came into conflict with various Slavic peoples; and he was known to them as the great king. It is noteworthy that the word for king is IE only in the Indo-Iranian and Romance languages, while Greek (*basileus*), Germanic (king), Baltic (*karalius*) and Slavic have terms of their own. Proto Slavic borrowed number of important religious terms from Iranian (*bog 'god'*). *Bog* is *bhaga-vān* in Sanskrit. The ancient Iranian dualistic view of the world is reflected in the binary contrasts in Slavic : *'bog'* and *'ne-bog'*. The Slavic religious atmosphere was substantially different from that of other Indo-European peoples. Moreover ancient Slavic civilization was the most conservative known in Europe. Conservatism had its impact on the course of Christianisation of the Slavs, and the creation of a Slavic liturgy in Old Bulgarian. This is inspite of the fact that *bog* displaced *deivos* (Lithuanian *diẽvas*, Skt. *deva*) in Slavic languages. The chief deity was the thunderer *Perun* (Lith, *Perkunas*) or Sanskrit *'Parjanya'*, who was identified with *Svarog* 'the god of heaven' (Sanskrit *svarga*). Proto-Slavic had a pattern of seven case forms like Sanskrit. In Bulgarian and Macedonian the noun declension has almost completely disappeared. The dual number is preserved only in the westernmost Slovene and Sorbian. The declension of pronouns has been preserved in all Slavic languages in varying degrees. The Slavs had overrun the whole of Greece by 584 A.D., and occupied major parts of the Balkan peninsula. They were well-known to the Romans. The Goths superimposed themselves on the Slavs. The Slavic regions of Bavaria and Austria were Germanised. The cultural significance of Germanisation is visible in the large number of Germanic loan words common to all Slavic languages. Thus the Slavic lexicon consists of :

(i) Sanskrit and ProtoEuropean base : mother, house, be

(ii) Balto-Slavic : head, hand

(iii) Slavic : human, dog

(iv) Iranian : spiritual culture (god, sacrifice)

(v) Germanic : material culture (coin, buy)

The Sanskrit base of Slavic, as typified by the words for'mother, house and be' recalls the role of woman in the creation of a residence, leading to a settled life and thence the way to civilization. A house, a home is the gift of woman to human civilisation : or in Sanskrit *grhiṇī gṛham*. As life begins in the ovum, for nine calendar months, she needs a shelter to bring forth life, away from the fury of elements, the bestial hostility of the storm, the scorching heat, the freezing snow, the anger of heaven itself. As the creatrix of life, she as well creates a home for life. With the house, civilization begins. Were the IE settled?

In 681 A.D. the PraBulgars founded the Bulgarian state when they settled in the north of the

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Danube delta under their king Esparikh. Esparikh and the variants of this name go back to Sanskrit *Īśvaraka*, a name of Lord *Śiva*, interiorised into Buddhism as the Thousand-armed Lokeśvara, and merged with the Four-faced Harihara. The PraBulgars were an Altaic tribe influenced by Iranian culture of Central Asia or Serindia which was Buddhist in the main. The speakers of Iranian languages had given the word for god to Slavic (*'bog'*) in contrast to Skt. *deva* in the Romance languages (Latin *deus*, Italian, Spanish *dio*, French *dieu*), *hūta*, from *ghūta* in the Germanic (German *Gott*, English, Dutch *god*, Swedish *gud*, etc). The names of major rivers in eastern Europe are formed from the Iranian word *danu* 'river', whence Don, Dnieper from *danu apara* 'river to the rear', Dniester from *danu nazdya* 'river to the front'. The hydronymic system affords a peep into the march of the Iranians from the East to the West as evidenced by the Homeric epic, and the symbiosis of the Iranians and Slavs which is clear in the names of rivers and spiritual terminology.

The name of the first PraBulgar king Esparikh goes back to the Sanskrit Īśvaraka. He has four faces of Hari, Hara, Narasiṁha and Varaha. Nara Simiha and Varāha are the third and fourth incarnations of Viṣṇu. One destroys the demon king and the other stabilises the earth. The deity represents the rescue of society from chaotic conditions, the extrication of the Earth from demoniacal forces, and the uplifting of the Earth from the state of chaos by Varāha, leading to stabilisation of the kingdom. The name of a Śaka vassal Īśparaka = Īśvaraka who donated a ladle to the Uttarārāma monastery of the Kāśyapīyas at Taxila, is attested by the Taxila Copper Ladle Inscription (Konow 1929:88), dateable to the beginning of the first century A.D. Išbara of the Kül-Tegin inscription E 33 in Old Turkish and the name of the Pra-Bulgar ruler Esperikh or Īśperikh and similar personal names in Chuvash preserve the Iranian form of Īśvara(ka) (Aalto 1971:31). The Iranised form of Īśvara/Īśvaraka can be seen in Sogdian Veśpara[k]. The Sogdian mural from Panjikent and the Sogdian hymn point to the prevalence of Īśvaraka.

The Central Asian and Chinese forms of Īśvaraka were the Thousand-armed Avlokiteśvara, with a thousand eyes on the palm of each of the hands. The number thousand played a pre-eminent role in the stability of the state. The English word thousand has the base *teu : tu* 'great': Sanskrit *tavas* 'strong, energetic, courageous' (from the root *tu*) and *hundred*. It can be seen in Old Norse *thūs-hund*, Old Frankish *thus-chunde*, as the 'great hundred'. Thousand was the power, strength, might, sturdiness, durability, the enduring and lasting attribute of the state. Thus the thousand statues of the Candi Prambanan in Indonesia were erected to sanctify the continuity of power, to vitalise enduring safeguards : *dharmo rakṣati rakṣitaḥ*. The security of the state was so vital and fundamental in India that it was apotheosised in the Sahasrabhuja Avalokiteśvara with a thousand hands, with an eye on each palm. The thousand (*sahasra*) eyes refer to the powerful (*sahas* 'power') intelligence apparatus of the state. The Sanskrit adage goes : *cāra-cakṣuṣo rājānaḥ* 'the eyes of a king are his spies', the effectiveness of the state is its intelligence system. Constant, thousand-fold vigilance is the continuing price of stability. The information thus obtained has to be activated by an equally potent administrative machinery. The thousand (*sahas-ra*) arms or hands are the powerful (*sahas*) and all-pervading action of the state.

While the Slavic languages do not seem to have a specific word for king, the very name of the founder of the Bulgarian state enshrines the extrication of society from chaos and the stabilisation of the state in the thousand-fold might of the king sanctified by his own divine status. The parents of Esparikh must have given their princely son this name to inspire him to carve out a glorious niche

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in history. Esparikh, inspite of the numerical minority of the people who accompanied him, had become the substrate of a totally new social context : a new nation was born under him. The PraBulgars must have had poignant memories of thousands of Buddhist sūtras in their *Ur-heimat* in Central Asia. A state firmly founded was in need of scriptures. When the PraBulgars adopted Christianity, it was natural that they see the new scriptures in writing. This inspired the creation of the Cyrillic script. Thus Old Bulgarian was the first Slavic language to be written down and it is a cultural horizon that is of historic importance to IE linguistics and culture and to Indic studies. The common Indian and PraBulgar inheritance can be seen among the Gujars in Chamba (Himachal Pradesh, India) who have retained nomadic house-ornaments, horse-heads on doors and cross-stitch embroideries that are parallel to those that were prevalent in the Balkans.

India and Bulgaria share a common linguistic fabric and sinews of the mind that nourish the spirit of Humanism through culture. The establishment of the Lyudmila Zhivkova Chair for Slavic and Finno-Ugrian Studies at the University of Delhi will deepen bilateral relations and enrich knowledge of our striking affinities and the exciting processes of the Indo-Europeanisation of history. This chair becomes crucial in our age of perestroika, the re-structuring of a meta-ideological world, and the emerging neohumanistic consciousness. Culture is the mind's tongue that articulates the visions of a world blooming into the beauty of life.

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4

The Problem of *Visarga*

Jaroslav Vacek

1.1 Introduction

It is usually taken for granted by Western scholars that the sounds of Sanskrit as presented by the Indian linguistic tradition are phonemes.[1] This is due to the high level of grammatical abstractness in ancient Indian linguistics and also to the fact that the roots of one line of Western linguistics were inspired by the ancient Indian grammatical tradition brought before the European linguistic public at the end of the 18th and in the first half of the 19th century. That this should not be so with all the "sounds" of Sanskrit, I have attempted to show in my work on Sanskrit Sibilants.[2]

When analyzing the three sibilants in Sanskrit, I have reached the conclusion that the cerebral *ṣ* can be called a phoneme only in the unconditioned occurrences, but that at the same time it is not to be considered as a phoneme belonging to the system proper that it is a phoneme of a coexistent phonemic system. In all the other cases it is to be considered as a common allophone of the other two sibilants and a few more sounds. In the context of the analysis of the sibilants several times I have encountered the problem of the status of *Visarga*(*ḥ*). I did not try to solve the problem in that work and I feel this problem needs discussion.

1.2 Defining the problem

Sanskrit scholars are very well acquainted with the rules of *Sandhi*; and they do not find it difficult to apply all the rules which were put down by the ancient grammarians as the changes of the *Visarga*. Very often a Sanskrit scholar does not ask the question of the phonological status of the *Visrga*. He is content with the fact that the *Visarga* stands for *-s* in final position or before initial voiceless guttural or labial stops[3] and in some cases for final *-r*.

2. Earlier solutions

2.1 There is therefore a very quick and at first sight non-problematic solution of the phonological position of *Visarga*—to consider it as an allophone of the dental sibilant as it is done by A.H.Fry and also advocated by W.S. Allen[4] as the most plausible solution. This solution is based

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on the principles of discriptivistic phonology which at the same time takes account of the historical origin of the *Visarga*. However, it does not take care of the case where the *Visarga* stands for the final *-r*. If this is also included we would have to do with the *Visarga* as a common allophone of two phonemes :

-r ---------- → *ḥ* <---------- *-s*

When criticizing Fry's analysis, Bright does not consider the latter aspect of the problem; his main criticism of Fry goes in the directing of separation the three sibilants.[5]

2.2 Further, Bright tries to establish the contrast between *-s* and the *Visarga* and by this to prove that they cannot be taken as belonging to one phoneme. He is aware of the fact that the *Visarga* and *-s* are very near due to the alternation in *Sandhi* and that a reason must be found to separate them. This reason he sees in the pairs *puraskaroti* "he brings forward" : *puraḥkaroti* "he makes towns". He himself, however, has some doubts about the force of this argument[6]; and it is also questioned by W.S. Allen[7]. In a supplementary note Bright adds two more pairs (according to M.B.Emenear) in which *s* and *Visarga* also *contrast* (italics mine):

tapaspatiḥ "lord of austerities" vs. *tapaḥpātram* "a man whose austerities have made him fit recipient of honour";

yasáskaraḥ "causing renown (m.)" vs. *yasáḥkāyaḥ* "fullness of glory".

I do not see a *contrast* here; on the contrary this is a phonetic *variation* which can be explained only by extra systematic reasons (usage of an author, social or local dialect, etc.; of below 3rd part), i.e., conflicting traditions within Sanskrit.[8]

Refusing to put together the *Visarga* and *-s* (a historically oriented alternative) Bright concludes that the condition in the system changed considerably after the appearance of the *Visarga* which has to be allotted to the glottal spirant *h*. These two sounds are in CD and at the same time they are phonetically near, which can be a support for this interpretation. This suggestion is based on the method of strict descriptivism and does not regard the origin of the sounds. Should *Visarga* not have disappeared from later IA development, the system might have reached a stage, where the internal relations would have been reinterpreted in Bright's terms. But in the OIA period the system was not "ripe" due to the existence of other sets of relations in which the *Visarga* was also drawn (cf. 2.4.).

Both of the above solutions are logical and both of them have weak points. It will be a matter, therefore, of personal choice whether we prefer the former or the latter one. None is absolutely safe, if we go through all the arguments.

2.3 It is therefore no wonder that this topic was taken up again by R.K.Sharma who also tried his hand in solving the problem phonologically[9]. On the basis of the existence of the pairs *puraskaroti* vs. *puraḥ karoti* and *uraskena* "with the chest" vs. *uraḥkeṇa* "by the one beating the chest", he maintains that the *Visarga* should be taken as a separate phoneme (on the validity of such pairs, cf. Note 5 above).

Sharma also gives way to hesitation when he says[10] that "structurally speaking, we shall perhaps be fully justified in accepting Bright's conclusion placing the *Visarga* as an allophone of

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/h/". Nevertheless, he decides to refuse Bright's suggestion because "the Indian grammatical tradition would not favour it"[11].

2.4 Let me elaborate on the suggestion of R.K.Sharma in terms of our terminology. The status of the *Visarga* as it is described by R.K.Sharma is based on the Indian tradition (which usually disregards the historical aspect, it is synchronous) — the tradition of the *Visarga-sandhi.* According to this tradition, the *Visarga* alternates with a number of sounds in the final position :- *-s*, *-r*, *-o*, and *zero*[12]. In this tradition the final *Visarga* is not taken as a change for *-s* but as a real state where-*s* is only an alternating sound[13], though historically this was a change of final *-s* into *-h*. From the synchronous point of view of the ancient Indian grammarians, the basic phoneme could have been *ḥ*, while all the other alternation sounds were allophones (though not defined in these terms by ancient grammarians).

This view would not stumble on the problem of final-*h* changing in certain roots (e.g. *lih-* to *liṭ*, above Note 12); but the above-mentioned "oppositional pairs" and some more referred to in Note 8 could still be a problem. R.K. Sharma is against allotting the Visarga to */s/* and maintains that mere alternation need not be a guiding factor in arriving at any conclusion in this regard.

To recapitulate, we can say that considering the origin of the individual sounds phonology would tend to combine the *Visarga* with */s/* in one or the other way. It is because the alternation preserves a subconscious evaluation on the part of the speakers, that the alternation sounds belong together. This argument cannot be disregarded even though sounds phonetically quite different tend to be grouped together. On the other hand, from the point of view of the pure system the phonetic difference awakes our suspicion against such analysis and justifies other solutions, like that of Bright. A possible objection against the latter one could be that it is rather mechanistic.

All these possible interpretations of the phonological position of the *Visarga* in Sanskrit are based on the idea of static language system; and we have seen that none of them was unobjectionable, none of them was satisfactory enough.

2.5 It will therefore not surprise us that A.M.Ghatage voiced a *resignation* with regard to the phonological interpretation of the *Visarga*, that this effort should be given up[14].

3.1. Suggested Solution

This structural difficulty is caused by the fact that a language is never completely systematic as our modern descriptivistic methods would like to have it. In a language there are always elements which are only partly systematized or not systematized at all. This was voiced by the members of the Prague School very early between the two wars in different forms; and this view was later expressed by other linguists as well[15].

Essentially, there are three basic sources of the non-systematic or extra systematic features in a language — first they may be foreignisms coming from a different unrelated or remotely related language. These may be quite easily discovered and labled appropriately in terms of one or the other school of linguistic thought.

Another source are related geographical dialects or closely related languages, or social dialects of one language, as the case may be. Features from these different dialects may occur

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together in one style (colloquial or written) particularly due to lexical borrowings which carry the phonological features in themselves. Such confliction features or even systems of features may be shown in various languages all over the world; and very often they occur in the oriental languages where great stylistic variation may be observed[16].

The third source are various historical layers preserved particularly in languages used as standards. A simultaneous preservation of some strata from an earlier stage of development causes an appearance of conflicting features in the system of a language which at first sight might appear to represent a synchronous state of development of the language. In another layer of the language these features have been duly changed. Such features could have been also introduced from a more conservative dialect and preserved in the standard language for longer time. It was for this reason that Prof. Trnka used to call a standard language "a museum" (of features from different historical or dialectal strata of the language)[17].

The fact that such features have been preserved together for some time obscures the picture and causes difficulties when we try to allot such features a place in the system. Sometimes in a few cases such features may even take part in oppositions with the features with which they are related. Such oppositional pairs, however, are not to be taken as proofs of the phonological value of these features[18].

A language is never completely systematic; it is only "system-striving". That is why some problems cannot be solved satisfactorily from a strictly systematic point of view but I would not resign completely, as was suggested by A.M. Ghatage. Such cases cannot be solved in terms of the systematic view of language we are used to, but this does not mean that there in no solution at all. We should try to find it on a different level by separating the problematic cases and searching for their sources. This searching may sometimes take a form of groping our way through a thick jungle, but once we set out on the way, the source of the particular feature may be found earlier or later.

In my study of the Sibilants I have made an attempt at such a solution and I think that principally it may be applied also in the case of the *Visarga*. I have suggested that in Sanskrit various historical and geographical layers intersect and that this state was caused by a prolonged migration of the Indo-Aryans to India and mixing of features from various historical strata.

The change of the final *-s* to *Visarga* in OIA reflected an early trend for a wholesale change of the sibilant to *h* which is attested in the later Old-Iranian dialects. The final position of consonants tended to change, and in some cases they were completely lost (this concerned also the *Visarga* which in the MIA period was no more attested). Only as a second step did the changes of the medial and initial consonants take place. *Visarga* is here one of the advanced features which are found in OIA and consequently in Sanskrit[19]. The situation can be explained by a difference between two migrations, the one having the final sibilant changed in some positions and reaching India at a certain moment, the other proceeding with the change of the sibilant in other positions but remaining in Iran[20]. The situation in Sanskrit then could be compared with a film strip which was preserved only partly — not the whole movement was preserved in the strip and we can judge only from another strip (the Prakrits) about how the movement in the unpreserved part of the first strip was brought to an end. We are trying, in vain of course, to systematize features, which in the film strip are found in different cadres. No wonder that we are at a loss.

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Therefore, the *Visarga* can be called a transitional sound disappearing in the colloquial speech in Ancient India (as reflected by the Prakrits), but preserved in the archaistic phonology of Vedic and Sanskrit. In other words, in OIA the *Visarga* represented a progressive development together with other sporadic losses and changes of consonants very probably more frequent in the colloquial speech of that period[21]. From the point of view of the colloquial speech of the OIA period, the Vedic and Sanskrit preservation of the *Visarga* represents an archaistic trend because the colloquial speech was more progressive and the *Visarga* there was only transitional and was ultimately lost. In this interpretation, therefore, the *Visarga* cannot be considered an integral element of the Sanskrit phonological system. The *Visarga* was a phoneme of a coexistent phonemic system reflecting a more progressive layer of OIA just before it had completely disappeared.

3.2 Conclusion

The results arrived at in this paper have three possible implications. First is the position of the *Visarga*.

We have seen that it is impossible to arrive at a solution by presuming that it is systematic. Therefore an extra systematic solution in terms of coexistent phonemic systems had to be proposed.

This then can be used as another support for the suggestion that the system of Sanskrit is not balanced, and that there are more conflicting layers (a suggestion made by me in the study of the Sanskrit Sibilants mentioned above).

There is one more general aspect which should be voiced. Usually we do not pay much attention to marginal problems which at the same time cause great trouble in interpretation. But I think that we should concentrate on them and try to get as much information from their solution, or difficulties with their solution, as possible, I think we should systematiclly strive to establish a discipline—I hope I may be permitted to coin the term—linguistics of residua (*Sprachwissenschaft der Residua*). Not that all of such residua should be analyzed in the same way; but I am sure that new suggestions and interpretations will appear in this way.

NOTE

The paper appeared in *Sanskrit and World Culture*. SCHR. OR. 18, pp. 330-336, Berlin 1986. But since the volume is not readily available in India, the author wishes to make his paper known to Indian linguists. He met Prof. Puri in Toronto in August 1990, and should like to pay tribute to this reputed scholar.

REFERENCES

1. This was voiced, e.g., by W.S. Allen (*BSOAS*.13, 4, p. 940-1): "Sanskrit spelling is largely phonemic. . . ."

2. *The Sibilants in Old Indo-Aryan*, Prague, 1976, 113 pp.

3. Before a voiceless velar stop it has a variant called *jihvāmūlīya*, before a voiceless labial stop it has a variant called *upadhmānīya* (for a more detailed analysis, cf. R.K.Sharma, "Visarga in Sanskrit", in : *Studies in Indian Linguistics, Prof. M.B.Emeneau, Ṣaṣṭipūrti Volume*, Poona, etc. 1968, p. 308)

4. A.H. Fry, "A phonemic interpretation of Visarga", *LG* XVII, 1941, 191-200; the main points of Fry's interpretation are reproduced in the articles by R.K. Sharma (*op. cit.*) and W. Bright (quoted below); cf. also W.S.Allen, *Sandhi*, s-Gravenhage, 1962,p. 16, Note 10..

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5. W.Bright, "A name in Visarga," *BDCRI*, 18, 1957, 271-173; on p. 271 Bright says: "... Fry's paper reaches a phonemic conclusion which is, I feel, unacceptable".

   To separate phonemically the three sibilants *ś,ṣ,s*, Bright uses the argument of such oppositional pairs as *viśam* "man" (acc.) vs. *viṣam* "poison" (acc.), *śamaḥ* "peace" is *samaḥ* "equal", *māsaḥ* "kind of bean" vs. *māsaḥ* "month". In my work on the sibilants (*op.cit.*p. 16, Note 5) I have questioned the value of such pairs. However, these pairs are not used by Bright to prove anything concerning the status of the *Visarga*; they should only show the opposition of the respective sibilants.

6. Bright, *op. cit.*, p. 272, Note 8.

7. Allen, *op.cit.*, p. 16, Note 10: "Bright's example of *puraḥkaroti* vs. *puraskaroti* is no evidence for a contrast for *s* and *ḥ*, since a constituent analysis of sentences in which the two sequences occurred would readily indicate the difference in their status".

8. More examples showing this "vatiation" may be found, e.g., in Sir M. Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary, svv. yaśas-, payas-, manas-.*

9. *op. cit.*, (above Note 3). He formulated his view already in 1955 in an All India Conference (*cf. op. cit.*p.307).

10. *op. cit.* p. 309.

11. Difficulties in interpretation would arise in such words, where the root-final- ḥ alternates with *ṭ, k* etc. (op. cit. p.309).

12. *cf.*, e.g., M.B. Emeneau, B.A. van Nooten, *Sanskrit Sandhi and Exercises*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1968, V 26 pp. or any other Sanskrit grammar.

13. e.g., R.K.Sharma (*op. cit.* p. 309) echoes the Indian tradition when saying : "Thus it will be seen that whatever the order of phonological alternation, the Visarga does not only alternate with *s* but also with *r, o* and *zero.*"

14. "Phonetics and Phonemics in Historical Linguistics". *IL*, 21, 1960, 83-8.

15. *cf.* e.g., B.Trnka, "Proc Kolisá výslovnost k/g cizich slovech" (Why does the pronunciation of k/g vary in foreign words) *Casopis pro moderní filologii*, XXI, 1953, 271-3; B. Trnka, "Jazykový viývoj a tradicionalismy" (Language development and traditionalisms) *Casopis pro moderin filologii*, XXVII, 1942 397-402; J. Vacek, "On the Interplay of External and Internal Factors in the development of language", *Lingua*, 11, 1962, pp.433-448; Ch.Ch. Fries, K.L. Pike, "Coexistent Phonemic Systems," *LG* 25, 1949, pp. 29-50.

16. Such feature seems to be, e.g., the palatal nasal in Tamil, cf., my article on this problem in *Studia Orientalia Pragensia*, forthcomming.

17. Such feature is, e.g., the long *é* in modern Czech, cf., my work on the Sibilants, op. p. 94, Note 7.

18. See ref. in Note 5 above.

19. e.g., sporadic changes of intervocalic *-dh* to *-h-* and the like (cf. also Note 21 below).

20. There is also the possibility that the loss of *Visarga* in the later development in India was caused by specific conditions of language contact on the Indian soil.

21. e.g., T.Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*, London, 1973, p. 33, lists a few changes, some of which are registered only as tendencied in OIA (e.g. weakening the aspirates *dh* and *bh* to *h*), anticipating developments fully realized in the Prakrits.

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5

Tanhā, Kamma and Reincarnation

Taina Nieminen

The Buddhist texts suggest a variety of forces as having potential for sustaining the cycle of rebirth, in particular *tanhā* (variously translated as craving or thirst) and *kamma* (action) its inevitable consequences. Schmithausen, in a critique of the papers on Buddhism in *Karma* and *Rebirth: Post Classical Development*,[1] briefly discussed the relationship between *kamma* and *craving*, claiming that "in early Buddhism. . . the classical importance of *karma* with regard to rebirth cannot be presupposed throughout without question."[2] In later Buddhist writings, the relationship between *tanhā* and *kamma* was resolved by declaring craving "to be responsible for the fact *that* one is reborn, whereas *karma* is said to determine *where* and *how* one is reborn, but only if the presence of craving makes it certain that there is any rebirth at all."[3] In numerous passages in the Pāli canonical texts, craving and desire (*kāma*) are called the cause of sorrow.[4] Craving and ignorance are the obstacles to release, with insight as the means to liberation.[5] An analysis will be made here of the contribution of *tanhā* as well as *kamma* to the continuation of rebirth as depicted in the early texts: the four *Nikāyas,* the *Suttanipāta,* the *Dhammapada,* the *Udāna,* and the *Itivutaka.* Their respective roles will be apparent from the fact that release is ultimately achieved through insight, but this last step in the process of attaining *nibbāna* will not be examined in detail. Rather, it is assumed that it takes place through the various contemplative practices recommended by the Buddha in the texts, and that it requires an effort of will on the part of every individual person.

The four noble truths of Buddhism are intimately concerned with rebirth, its continuation and its end.[6] These are the truth about *dukkha* (variously translated as ill, sorrow or suffering), the cause of *dukkha*, the cessation of *dukkha* and the path to the cessation of *dukkha*. The first truth links rebirth and *dukkha* with the proposition that birth and death always involve sorrow. The arising of *dukkha* is linked with the causation of rebirth. The truths are important because "beings, hindered by ignorance [*avijjā*], fettered by craving *tanhā*, run on, wander on, pass on from this world to the next and thence come back again to this world" due to their failure to grasp the four noble truths.[7] Thus, the primary cause of rebirth is ignorance. With insight, *tanhā*, which is the means by which rebirth occurs, ends : "when these Ariyan truths are grasped and known the craving for future life is rooted out, that which leads to renewed becoming is destroyed, and then there is no more birth!"[8]

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The arising of *dukkha* is the second truth :

It is that craving [*tanhā*] that leads back to rebirth, along with the lure and the lust that linger longingly now here, now there: namely, the craving for sensual delight [*kāmatanhā*], the craving to be born again [*bhavatanhā*], the craving for existence to end [*vibhavatanhā*]. This is the Ariyan truth about the arising of ILL."[9]

The more elaborate explanation of the arising of sorrow is the chain of dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*), with ignorance as the fundamental cause. Ignorance (*avijjā*) conditions the psycho-physical dispositions expressed in activities (*saṅkhārā*); these dispositions condition consciousness (*viññāṇa*); consciousness conditions name-and-shape (*nāmarūpa*); name-and-shape conditions the sixfold sphere of sense (*saḷāyatana*); the sixfold sphere of sense conditions sensory contact (*phassa*); sensory contact conditions feeling (*vedanā*); feeling conditions craving (*tankā*); craving conditions grasping (*upādāna*); grasping conditions becoming (*bhava*);[10] becoming conditions birth (*jāti*); birth conditions old age and death (*jarāmaraṇa*), sorrow, grief, woe, lamentation and despair.[11] The truth of the cessation of *dukkha* is the opposite : as ignorance ceases, so do the psycho-physical dispositions; as the dispositions end, so does consciousness, and so on to the end of birth, old age, death, and sorrow.

This causal series contains several elements which, by themselves, or in connection with others, are emphasised as being especially important in the origins of rebirth. In particular, it details the connections between rebirth and ignorance (*avijjā*), craving (*tanhā*) and grasping (*upādāna*).

The *Pali-English Dictionary* defines *upādāna* as fuel, grasping, or attachment.[12] *Upadhī*, a similar term, is another substratum of rebirth.[13] Both are mentioned in the texts as causes of rebirth: "It is due to the substrate [*upadhī*] that this ILL is produced. By the ending of all grasping (*sabbūpadānakkhayā*) there is no production of ILL."[14] The passage then links ignorance and craving with this grasping :

In one who sees as it really is by perfect wisdom

The craving to become [*bhavatanhā*] is left; he joys not in its slaying.

But craving's utter ending [*tanhānam khayā*], utter stopping, is nibbāna."[15]

The *Suttanipāta* states that "all the different forms of suffering develop from the basic clinging [*upadhī*]."[16] In the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, the Buddha says that the reason that "a brother is not wholly set free" is because he is full of grasping [*sa- upādāna*].[17] In the *Majjhima Nikāya*, he says that there is : "some person here. . . thinking, clinging [*upadhī*] is the root of anguish, and having understood it so, he is without clinging [*nirupadhi*], freed by the destruction fo clinging. I . . .say that this person is unfettered, not fettered."[18] The importance of understanding supports the idea that ignorance is the initial cause.

As mentioned above, *upadhi*, *upādāna* and *tanhā* are connected. The way to *nibbāna* is through "the renunciation of all substrates of rebirth, the destruction of natural cravings [*sabbupadhipa tinissaggo tanhakkhayo*]."[19] As in the causal series of *paticcasamuppāda*, *upādana* is the cause of rebirth, and craving is the cause of *upādāna*, the fuel in the case: "a fire with fuel blazes up, but

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not without fuel. I declare rebirth to be for what had fuel, not for that is without fuel . . . At the time . . . when a being lays aside this body and rises up again in another body, for that I declare craving [*tanhupādānam*] to be the fuel. Indeed . . craving [*tanhā*] is on that occasion the fuel [*upādāna*]."[20]

The destruction of craving sets beings free.[21]

"When craving . . . has been got rid of by a monk, cut off at the root, made like a palm-tree stump that can come to no further existence in the future, he is a monk who is a perfected one, canker [*āsava*] - waned, who has lived the life, done what was to be done, laid down the burden, attained his own goal, the fetters of becoming quite destroyed, freed by right profound knowledge [*aññā*]."[22]

The *Udāna* refers to "release by the destruction of craving,"[23] and the *Suttanipāta* mentions renunciation by stating that: "If you do not want to go on and on becoming . . . you must let go of craving."[24] It is not so much that *nibbāna* is a result of this renunciation, but that *nibbāna* is the end of craving : "a monk has this perception: This is the real, this is the best, namely, the calming of all activities [*sankhārā*], the rejection of all substrate [*upadhī*], the ending of craving [*tanhā*], the fading of interest, stopping, *nibbana*."[25] The end of *dukkha* comes from "the utter cessation of and disenchantment about that very Craving, giving it up, renouncing it, emancipation from it, detachment from it."[26]

The *Majjhima Nikāya* contains two suttas on the destruction of craving: the *Cūlatanhāsaṅkhayasutta* and the *Mahātanhāsaṅkhayasutta*.[28] The former asks the question "to what extent does a monk come to be freed by the destruction of craving . . .?" The answer is that:

"he grasps after nothing in the world; not grasping [*anupādiyaṁ*], he is not troubled; being untroubled he himself is individually attained to *nibbana*, and he comprehends: Ḍestroyed is birth, brought to a close is the Brahma-faring, done is what was to be done, there is no more of being such or such. Briefly, it is to this extent . . . that a monk comes to be freed by the destruction of craving [*tanhā*], completely fulfilled, completely secure from the bonds . . . ."[29]

The *Mahātanhāsaṅkhayasutta* discusses the four sustenances or nutrients (*āhārā*) that are necessary for the stability of beings—material food, *phassa* (sensory contact), *cetanā* (volition), *viññāṇa* (consciousness) — and their origin in craving (*tanhā*). *Tanhā* arises through the causal chain of *paṭiccasamuppāda*,[30] and its end means the end of the four *āhārās*. The way to end it is the eightfold path.[31] Ignorance is specified as the sustenance of *bhavatanhā*.[32]

The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* gives four specific pieces of knowledge by which craving will be destroyed. Once Ariyan virtue, concentration, wisdom and release are understood and penetrated, "cut off is the craving for becoming [*bhavatanhā*], destroyed is the cord of becoming, there is now no more again of becoming."[33]

The *Suttanipāta* presents several insights into the causes of suffering : grasping (*upadhī*), ignorance (*avijjā*), mental impulse *saṅkhārā*, consciousness (*viññāṇa*), contact (*phassa*), feeling (*vedaṅā*), craving (*tanhā*), clinging (*upādāna*), effort (*ārambha*), nutrients (*āhārā*), and mental agitations (*injita*)[34]. Only some of these appear in the dependent origination series, and those that do are not in the order that they appear there. *Avijjā* and *tanhā* are only two of many, and are not here given any special importance. What it does demonstrate is an attempt to reconcile the different

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causes of the round of rebirth that are found in the Buddhist texts, by describing them as separate, but equally valid, insights. Like the chain of *paticcasamuppāda, kamma* is not mentioned, unless it is subsumed in *saṅkhārā*.

In general, ignorance and craving are jointly emphasised as the most important causes of rebirth with the Buddha himself saying: "I see not any other single obstacle, hindered by which humankind for a long, long time fare up and down and wander on, like this obstacle of ignorance."[35] With respect to craving, he says: "I see not any other single fetter, bound by which beings for a long, long time fare up and down and wander on, like this fetter of craving."[36]

In the *Samyutta Nikāya*, it is declared that there is no end-making for those beings, "hindered by ignorance, fettered by craving, who run for ever the round of rebirth."[37] The *Suttanipāta* says that when you realize the things that "tie you to the world, then you lose the thirst of craving, the desire for constant becomings."[38]

Although *tanhā* and *upādāna* have been suggested as causes of rebirth, if anything could be said to be the essential cause of the cycle of rebirth, it would have to be *avijjā,* ignorance. In a general sense, the very fact that release is attained through insight implies that the underlying cause of rebirth is ignorance.

The *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions obstacles to attaining freedom, namely ignorance (*avijjā*) rebirth (*ponobhaviko*), faring on (*jātisaṁsāro*), craving (*tanhā*), the five lower fetters, and conceit of the self (*asmimāno*)[39]. The lower fetters are those that bind beings to this world (the lower world in contrast with the higher heavenly or formless worlds). They include wrong views about the self and about rules and rituals, lust and hatred.[40] If a person overcomes them, he never returns to the lower world, but is born spontaneously [*opapātika*] in the highest heavens after death, and finds freedom there.[41]

Release also requires the *āsavas* to be destroyed, or rather, release is synonymous with the destruction of the *āsavas*.[42] The four *āsavas* are those of desire (*kāmāsava*), becoming (*bhavāsava*), ignorance (*avijjāsava*).[43] They may arise from ignorance, and "owing to the waning of ignorance and the arising of knowledge it follows that those *āsavas* of vexation and distress do not exist in him."[44] They may also "come about as a result of bodily activities [*kāya-samārambhapaccaya*]," or speech or thought. For "one who abstains from activities that cause vexation and distress, it follows that those *āsavas* causing pain do not exist," and by refraining from fresh deeds, and wearing out former deeds, the *āsavas* will not arise in the future.[45] Ignorance and action together play a part in the maintenance of the round of rebirth, through the intermediate mechanism of the *āsavas*.Thus there is yet another formula expressing the attainment of enlightenment, in which the *āsavas*, ignorance and knowledge are connected:

"With the mind composed thus . . . fixed, immovable, he directs his mind to the knowledge of the destruction of the cankers [*āsavas*]. He comprehends as it really is : This is anguish, this the arising of anguish, this the stopping of anguish, this the course leading to the stopping of anguish [the four noble truths]. He comprehends as it really is : These are the cankers, this the arising of the cankers, this the stopping of the cankers, this the course leading to the stopping of the cankers. Knowing thus, his mind is freed from the canker of sense-pleasures and his mind is freed from the

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canker of becoming and his mind is freed from the canker of ingorance. In freedom the knowledge comes to be: I am freed; and he comprehends: Destroyed is birth, brought to a close the Brahma-faring, done is what was to be done, there is no more of being such or so."[46]

The *Majjhima Nikāya* contains a discourse on the destruction of the *āsavas* and the means for destroying them and preventing any new uprising. These involve action alongside mental effort (vision, control, use, endurance, avoidance, elimination and development)[47]. The *āsavas* are also destroyed by wisdom (*paññā*). [48] It is said that "from the uprising of ignorance [*avijjā*] is the uprising of the cankers [*āsava*], from the stopping of ignorance is the stopping of the cankers; the course leading to the stopping of the cankers" is the eightfold path.[49]

If ignorance is the primary cause of rebirth, release should be simple. Through knowledge of the nature of reality, a person renounces craving and therefore ends the cycle of becoming. But, although it might be simple, it is certainly not easy: "Hard is the infinite to see; truth is no easy thing to see."[50] The fourth noble truth is the path to the cessation of *dukkha*, and it is the eightfold path: right views, right aims, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration. It shows clearly that effort of will and mental insight alone are insufficient for the attainment of *nibbāna*. Morally correct action is also necessary. The *Nikāyas* explain in great detail what this consists of, although this is frequently in the context of destinies after death (unhappy or happy rebirths) rather than the ending of rebirth.[51]

The theory of *kamma* is without doubt well developed in the early Pāli texts. The knowledge of the workings of *kamma* was the second of the great insights gained by the *Buddha* on the night of his enlightenment:[52]

"I bent the mind so that I might discern the passing away and the reappearance of beings. With the deva-eye, purified and surpassing the human eye, I saw and knew beings in course of faring on—beings lowly and exalted, beautiful and ugly, happy and in woe, according to their deeds."[53]

All deeds must have their inevitable result. *Buddha* recommends that all householders and recluses should contemplate that "I am the result of my own deeds [*kammassako*]; heir to deeds; deeds are matrix; deeds are kin; deeds are foundation; whatever deed I do, whether good or bad, I shall become heir to it"![54] In the *Majjhima Nikāya* there is a detailed exposition of the workings of *kamma*, which in summary states that from wrong conduct there results a fruit that is "disagreeable, unpleasant, not liked," and from wrong conduct, there results pleasant and agreeable fruit.[55]

Sometimes the results of deeds are delayed. The *Dhammapada* warns that: "A man may find pleasure in evil as long as his evil has not given fruit; but when the fruit of evil comes then that man finds evil indeed."[56] It also says that: "A wrong action may not bring its reaction at once, even as fresh milk turns not sour at once: like a smouldering fire concealed under ashes it consumes the wrong-doer, the fool."[57] But although these effects may be delayed, they are inevitably experienced: "Neither in the sky, nor deep in the ocean, nor in a mountain-cave, nor anywhere, can a man be free from the evil he has done."[58] No recluse, *brāhmana*, deva, Māra or Brahma can prevent "the fruit of those evil deeds that defile and lead to again-becoming, deeds unhappy whose fruit in future time is pain, rebirth, decay and death."[59]

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No amount of aspiration on the part of others will overcome the results that flow from the deed. In the *Saṁyutta Nikāya,* someone asks whether the Buddha could bring it about that people are reborn in the happy heaven world. The Buddha's reply is to ask:

"suppose a man hurls a huge, great rock into a deep, deep pool of water. Then a great multitude gathers and throngs together and aspires and praises it and goes about with uplifted palms, saying: Rise up, good rock ! 'Float up, good rock ! Float ashore, good rock !' Now what think you . . . ? Would that huge, great rock, because of the aspirations, because of the praises, because of the going about with uplifted palms of that great multitude, would — it rise up or float up or float ashore ?"[60]

Similarly, no aspiration will prevent the unavoidable consequences of evil deeds being experienced.[61] It is, however, possible that a person well advanced along the spiritual path will experience a significant mitigation of his past sins in consequent atonement:

"Herein, monks, a certain person is careless in culture of body, habits and thought. He has not developed insight, he is insignificant, his soul is restricted, his life is restricted and miserable. Of such a person . . . even a trifling deed evil done brings him to hell . . . In this case some person or other has carefully cultured body, habits and thought: he has developed insight, he is not insignificant, he is a great soul his life is immeasurable. By such a being . . . . a similar small offence is to be experienced (by expiation) in this very life, and not much of it, nay, not a jot of it, is seen."[62]

The most important role played by *kamma* in the early Pāli texts is in the determination of the types of rebirth that occur. However, it also has a part to play in the causation of rebirth itself, and that is what will be considered here. We are not concerned with *kamma* and its effects on the specific forms that rebirth takes as a result of good or bad conduct.

It is rarely suggested that release may be achieved by simply wearing out *kamma*, that is, by experiencing the results of past action, and refraining from action that produces new results. It is true that in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, the eightfold path said to be "the way leading to the ceasing of action," [63] where the creasing of action is defined as "that ceasing of action by body, speech and mind, by which one contacts freedom."[64] The more common prescription is the abandoning of evil actions. Says the Buddha: "I declare abstinence from action in respect ot misconduct in deed, word and thought; I proclaim inaction in respect to all evil and sinful conditions."[65]

How then is *kamma* important? The aspirant to *nibbāna* requires a base of sound moral behaviour before insight can be realized. This need is apparent from the fact that the eightfold path requires certain standards of behaviour. Right speech and right actions cover the four most important precepts of behaviour for both the monastic and lay communities.[66] Right speech is the avoidance of lying, gossip, hurtful speech and so on. Right action means the avoidance of killing, of stealing, and of unchaste behaviour. A person needs to màintain these standards of behaviour to avoid and unfavourable rebirth. However, their presence here in the eightfold path that leads to release from the cycle of rebirths implies that morally deficient action also helps to maintain the stream of rebirths itself. The *Majjhima Nikāya* cointains a detailed description of how a person should behave in order to seed emancipation, beginning with morally good conduct, and progressing onto the higher stages of mental effort.[67] A program oi gradual training is presented, in which the person being "tamed" by the Buddha is first of all enjoined to "be of moral habit". Once that

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is accomplished, he is to guard the doors of the sense-organs, and then to progress to moderate eating. He is subsequently disciplined to "dwell intent on vigilance," and cleanse the mind of obstructive mental states, and to be mindful and have a clear consciousness. Only then is he to rid himself of the five hindrances and accomplish the four stages of meditation and possibly attain *nibbāna*.[68]

The impression is that liberation, and the contemplative practices involved, need to be founded on a base of morally correct behaviour. The *Dhammapada* emphasises the necessary elements of liberation as being action in the right frame of mind: "By faith, by virtue and energy, by deep contemplation and vision, by wisdom and by right action, you shall overcome the sorrows of life.[69]"

Right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration refer to the mental states and specific methods that are necessary for insight. They demonstrate that morally correct action is by itself insufficient to achieve release. Thus, it cannot be *kamma* alone that is responsible for the cycle of rebirth, unless *kamma* is considered to encompass mental effort and the act of meditation itself.[70]

A more rewarding approach to take to the problem of *kamma* and the causation of rebirth is to consider that firstly, actions spring from views, or states of mind, and that secondly, *kamma* itself involves more than physical action, covering also speech and thought.

Right view is clearly stated to come first in the eightfold path, with the rest of the elements proceeding in turn from right view.[71] Right view has several components. It is the knowledge of the noble truths, of *dukkha*, its arising, its cessation, and the path leading to its cessation.[72] It is ignorance of this truth that causes rebirth, as discussed above. The uninstructed person "is not set free from birth, from old age and dying, from griefs, from sorrows."[73] Right view also consists of knowing that "there is (result of) gift . . . offering . . . sacrifice; there is fruit and ripening of deeds well done or ill done; there is this world, there is a world beyond."[74] But this view is said to be one that has *āsavas* and is conducive to further rebirth, whereas right view without *āsavas* is: "Whatever . . . is wisdom, the cardinal faculty of wisdom, the power of wisdom, the component of enlightenment that is *investigation into things*, the right view that is a component of the Way in one who, by developing the Ariyan Way, is of Ariyan thought, conversant with the Ariyan Way — this . . . is a right view that is Ariyan."[75]

Regarding the knowledge of the workings of *kamma* gained by the *deva*-sight, the Buddha saw that:

"These worthies were given over to evil practices in act, word and thought, were revilers of the Ariyans, holders of wrong views, men who have acquired this *karma* from wrong views; and on the breaking up of the body after death, have arisen in the untoward way, the ill way, the abyss, hell [*apayam duggatim vinipatam nirayam*]. But these good sirs behaved rightly in act, word and thought, were no revilers of the Ariyans, held right views and have acquired this *karma* therefrom; and on the breaking up of the body after death, have arisen in the blissful heaven world [*sugatim saggam lokam*]."[76]

This standard formula regarding the destinies of beings after death highlights the association between various types of actions. Evil deeds include action, word and thought, as well as wrong views, with abuse of the recluses specially mentioned as a wicked practice that leads to a painful rebirth.

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Of the three (or four if views are included, as they sometimes are) aspects of action—deed, word and thought—it is thought that is the most important. This is the view presented in the opening verse of the *Dhammapada*: "What we are today comes from our thoughts of yesterday, and our present thoughts build our life of tomorrow: our life is the creation of our mind."[77] Thought is important because speech and action flow from it: "If a man speaks or acts with an impure mind, suffering follows him as the wheel of the cart follow the beast that draws the cart;"[78] and "if a man speaks or acts with a pure mind, joy follows him as his own shadow."[79]

The *Dhammapada* particularly emphasises the importance of the mind in the life of all beings, calling the mind potentially the individual's greatest enemy: "An enemy can hurt an enemy, and a man who hates can harm another man; but a man's own mind, if wrongly directed, can do him a far greater harm."[80]

Thought and speech would seem to be equally important in one passage, where it is said that "bearing ill-will in thought and speech, leads to aeons upon aeons in the states of misery."[81] But this same Sutta then states that "If you are a man like this, untrue and unworthy, slanderous, evil and misbehaved, mean, bad, you had better not talk too much or else you will come to a state of misery !"[82] The implication is that restraint of speech will have some positive effect on rebirth, even if thoughts remain evil.

Other passages clearly consider thoughts to be the most significant: "Just as a true dice when thrown rests evenly on whatever side it falls, even so. . . it is due to a failure in morals, mind and view that beings are reborn . . . in Purgatory."[83] The *Majjhima Nikāya* states that evil deeds of the mind are worse than any other kinds of evil deeds:

"I . . . lay down three (kinds of) deeds for the effecting of an evil deed, for the rolling on of an evil deed, that is to say deed of body, deed of speech, deed of mind . . . of these three deeds thus divided, thus particularised, I lay down that deed of mind is the more blamable in the effection of an evil deed, in the rolling on of an evil deed; deed of body is not like it, deed of speech is not like it."[84]

The *Majjhima* also says that:

"a bad bourn [*duggati*] is to be expected when the mind is stained . . . a good bourn [*sugati*] is to be expected when the mind is not stained. And what . . . are the defilements of the mind ? Greed and covetousness is a defilement of the mind, malevolence . . . anger . . . malice . . . hypocrisy . . . spite . . . envy . . . stinginess . . . deceit . . . treachery . . obstinacy . . . impetuosity . . . arrogance . . . pride . . . conceit . . . indolence is a defilement of the mind."[85]

The Buddhist concept of *kamma* involves *cetanā* (variously translated as intention or volition). *Kamma* is not mechanistic; it is defined as intentional action.[86] The Buddha declares that: "determinate thought is action [*cetanāham kammam vadāmi*]. When one determines, one acts by deed, word or thought. "[87] He also says :

"I declare, monks, that of intentional [*sañcetanika*] deeds done and accumulated there can be no wiping out without experiencing the result thereof, and that too whenever arising, either in this same visible state hereafter. I declare . . . that there is no ending of ILL as regards intentional deeds done and accumulated without experiencing the results thereof."[88]

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This statement also implies that release from rebirth, synonymous with the ending of *dukkha*, cannot be achieved until all results of *kamma* have been experienced. *Kamma*, as volitional action or *cetanā*, can cause rebirth by inducing consciousness, which gives rise to renewed existence:

"That which we will, . . . and that which we intend to do and that wherewithal we are occupied:— this becomes an object for the persistence of consciousness. The object being there, comes to be a station of consciousness. Consciousness being stationed and growing, rebirth of renewed existence takes place in the future, and here from birth, decay-and-death, grief, lamenting, suffering, sorrrow, and despair come to pass. Such is the uprising of this entire mass of ill."[89]

One specific example that demonstrates the importance of state of mind alongside physical action is that of giving gifts. Generosity is frequently said to produce merit, and to lead to a rebirth in heaven.[90] However, it is also specified that for a gift to be worthwhile, it must be given to the right people, namely those "who wander around in this world, without attachments, possessions, with nothing. They are whole and complete and they have control of the self."[91] A gift only brings "much fruitful result if given to a virtuous person, not to a vicious person."[92]

The gift must also be given with the right intentions: "As you make it be pleased in mind. Make your mind completely calm and contented. Focus and fill the offering-mind with the giving. From this secure position you can be free from ill-will."[93] The *Samyutta Nikāya* says that:

"the food that's given in faith, with heart made pure,

That finds him out, in the world and the next."[94]

A story in the *Samyutta Nikāya* elaborates upon the consequences of gift-giving and states of mind involved: "This wealthy burgess in a former birth bestowed alms on a Silent Buddha named Tagarasikkihi. Saying: 'Give ye alms to the recluse !' he rose up and went away. But afterwards he repented of his gift, saying: 'It were better that the slaves and workmen had eaten it' . . . Now. . . by the effect of his action in bestowing alms . . . he was reborn seven times to a happy destiny in heavenly worlds, and by the residual result he has seven times caused this Sāvātthi to make him eminently rich.

By the effect of his action in repention afterwards of that gift, thinking 'it were better that the slaves and workmen had eaten it,' he inclined his heart to denying himself excellent food, clothes, carriages, and enjoyment of his sense-desires."[95]

In another example, gift-giving is shown to mitigate some of the results of wicked action:

"suppose a certain one takes life, takes what is not given . . . has wrong view; but he has been one who gives to recluses and brāhmins food and drink, cloth and vehicle, flowers, scents and unguents, bed, lodging and light. When body breaks up, beyond death, he rises up again in the company of elephants. There he has gain of food and drink, flowers and various adornments. In so far as he was one who took life and so forth, for that reason he . . . arose in the company of elephants. But in so far as he was a giver to recluses and brāhmins of food and drink and the rest for that reason he has gain of food and drink, flowers and various adornments."[96]

Gift-giving is also related to the effect that desires and state of mind have on rebirth. It is possible that a person will be reborn in the sphere that he desires:

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"A certain person gives a gift to a recluse or brahmin . . .. That which he gives, he hopes to receive in his turn. He sees a wealthy noble or brahmin or householder surrounded and attended by, and enjoying the five forms of sensuous pleasures. And he thinks: "Ah ! if only I may reborn at the dissolution of the body after death as one amongst wealthy nobles, or brahmins, or householders!' This thought he holds fixed, firmly established, and expands it. This thought set free in lower rang, and not expanded to anything higher, conduces to rebirth within that range, *and this, I affirm, only in the case of a moral person, not of one who is vicious. The mental aspiration . . . of a moral person succeeds because of its purtiy.*"[97]

The person who gives alms will experience more happiness, honour and power in life than the person who does not give, but in the attainment of arahatship and emanciupation, there is no difference between the giver and non-giver.[98] Thus charity is an action which has its effects in this life and that to come, but ultimately has little bearing upon release from the cycle of rebirth.

Kamma and ignorance are connected in that ignorance is one of the causes of wrong action:

"Whatso be these ill-bourns in this world and the next.
All rooted are in ignorance, of lust compounded.
And since the wicked man is void of shame, and hath.
No reference, therefore he works wickedness.
And through that wickedness he to the Downfall goes."[99]

The primary causes of action are *lobha* (greed or lust), *dosa* (malice or hate), and Moha (delusion)[100]. Acts not performed under the influence of these motives sare "abandoned, cut off at the root, made like a palm-tree stump, made unable to come again, of a nature not to arise again in future time."[101] A person who is unable to abandon list, malice and delusion becomes "unable to grow so as to abandon rebirth, to abandon decay, to abondon death."[102]

Underlying all wicked deeds in perverted view:

"I know not of any other single thing so apt, when body breaks up after death, to cause the rebirth of beings in the Waste, the Way of Woe, the Downfall, in Purgatory, as perverted view [103] . . . in a man of perverted view, all deeds whatsoever of body done according to that view, all deeds whatsoever of speech . . . of thought . . . all intentions [*cetanā*], aspirations and resolves, all activities whatsover,— all such things conduce to the unpleasant, the distasteful, the repulsive, the unprofitable, in short, to ILL."[104]

There is a connection between the form of rebirth, and potential for achieving enlightenment. An act which leads to rebirth in a state that is not conducive to achieving freedom could be said to be an instance of *kamma* fuelling the round of rebirth. Evil or culpable actions of body, speech and mind generally lead to one of three unfavourable rebirths: in *niraya*, an animal birth, or birth as a *peta* (in the ghost-realm). Righteous actions of body, speech and mind lead to a rebirth in heaven (*sagga*). If born in a miserable state, release can be almost impossible to achieve. Once reborn in such a state, it is very difficult to be reborn as a human, because in that miserable state "prevails no practice of the holy life, no righteous living, no doing of good deeds, no working of merit, but just cannibalism and preying on weaker creatures."[105]

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Buddha says: "I see no other single bondage . . . so harsh, so bitter, such a bar to winning the unsurpassed peace from effort — I mean, hell's bounds or the bonds of a beast's womb."[106] Evil actions not only lead to a bad rebirth, but also hinder release by producing "destructive and consuming cankers."[107]

But there are other, more optimistic, cases. In one instance, a monk, despite "enduring pain that was the fruit born of former action, pain racking, sharp and bitter . . . was mindful, composed and uncomplaining."[108] The painful results of his former action did not prevent him from gaining insight.

The *Dhammapada* also presents the possibility of overcoming evil with good: "He who overcomes the evil he has done with the good he afterwards does, he sheds a light over the world like that of the moon when free from clouds."[109] But this view is also evident in the opening verses of that text, where it is said that although the present has been conditioned by the past, it is the present that shapes the future.[110] There are also indications that external circumstances do not determine a person's response to those circumstances. For instance, it is possible to be born in wretched circumstances, say as a *caṇḍāla*, and still act in a morally sound way, faring on to a happy destiny after death. On the other hand, a person who is born in miserable circumstances may be wicked, and fare on to an evil destiny.[111] External circumstances are not necessarily determinant.

The texts also concede that actions affect thoughts: "Make haste and do what is good; keep your mind away from evil. If a man is slow in doing good, his mind finds pleasure in evil."[112] The dread of five-fold guilt (which results from killing, stealing, sexual wrong-doing, lying, and intoxication) prevents the attainment of stream-winning.[113] The result of wrong action is an unfavourable frame of mind which prevents attainment of release. Thus in this respect, *kamma* is responsible for the maintenance of the round of rebirth.

The proper concentration needed to win insight rests on morally proper action. From good conduct comes freedom from remorse; from that, joy; from that, rapture; from that, calm; from calm, happiness; and then concentration; and then seeing things as they really are; leading to revulsion and fading of interest; and finally release by knowing and seeing.[114]

There is a connection between *kamma*, action, *avijjā*, ignorance, and *tanhā*, craving: "action [*kamma*] is the field, consciousness [*viññāṇa*] is the seed, craving [*tanhā*] the moisture. For beings that are hindered by nescience [*avijjā*], fettered by craving, consciousness is established in lower worlds. Thus in the future there is repeated rebirth."[115] Another text states that : "Craving it is that causeth man to be . . . Actions' the prop and stay of his career."[116] This clarifies the connections between ignorance, craving, and *kamma*.

Craving is always productive of action:

"Pursuit comes into being because of craving; gain because of pursuit; decision because of gain; passion and desire to do because of decision; tenacity because of passion and desire to do; possession because of tenacity; avarice because of possession; hoarding because of avarice; and many a bad and wicked state of things arises from the act of hoarding — blows, wounds, strife, contradiction, retort, quarrelling, slander, lies."[117]

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In this way, both *kamma* and *tanhā* have essential roles in the continuing round of rebirth.

This explains the necessity for the eightfold path to contain requirements for action as well as the mental effort necessary to put an end to ignorance, which will assure the end of craving and thus of becoming.

It seems evident that *kamma* is involved in more than determining states of rebirth, in those cases where rebirth occurs. *Kamma* is integral to the whole process of rebirth. Craving, which is conditioned by the mind (as much as mind also conditions *kamma*), and specifically the mind in the state of ignorance, also sustains the round of rebirth. This fundamental role of the mind admits a great deal of optimism, in that it remains a matter of one's free choice to forge one's destiny.

To suggest that *tanhā* or *kamma* is exclusively responsible for the process of rebirth ignores the evidence of the early Pāli texts, which reveal both to be necessary, *kamma* being an inevitable corollary of *tanhā*. Yet it may be argued that the fundamental cause of rebirth is ignorance. The way to banish ignorance is through right views, as emphasised in dependent origination (*paṭicccasamuppāda*). Right views are the basis of insight, which produces release, and right views can also be said to be the essence of correct moraliy. Insight and the end of rebirth, as well as favourable rebirths, rest on knowledge and morally correct action.

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2. *Ibid.*, p.205.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
6. As Schmithausen points out, they do not mention *kamma* (*ibid.*,p. 205).
7. *Saṁyutta,* V.439. (All references are to the P.T.S. editions.) Translation from *The Book of the Kindred Sayings* (Pāli Text Society), V.5,p. 371-372.
8. *Dīgha* II. 90. *Dialogues of the Buddha* (Pāli Text Society), V2, p. 96.
9. *Saṁyutta* V. 425. *Kindred Sayings*, V.5, p. 361. These three cravings are also found at *Digha* II. 308 and *Itivuṭṭaka* 50.
10. *Bhava* is also translated as birth or renewed existence.
11. *Dīgha* II. 30-33; II. 56-57; *Majjhima* III. 63-64; *Saṁyutta* III; II. 29-32; *Aṅguttara* I.171; V. 184; *Udāna* 1; etc.
12. T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede (eds.) *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (London: Published for the Pāli Text Society by Luzac, 1959), p. 149.
13. Ibid., p. 142.
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15. *Ibid.*

16. *Suttanipāta* 1050. Translated by H.Saddhatissa as *The Sutta-Nipāta* (London:Curzon Press, 1985), p. 120.

17. *Saṁyutta* IV. 102. *Kindred Sayings*, V.4, p. 62.

18. *Majjhima* I. 454. *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings* (Pāli Text Society), V. 2 p. 126.

19. *Saṁyutta* I. 136. *Kindred Sayings*, V. 1. p. 172.

20. *Saṁyutta* IV. 399-400. *Kindred Sayings*,V.4, pp. 280-281. For craving as the cause of rebirth, see also *Aṅguttara* II. 6; II. 54; *Itivuṭṭaka* 109; etc.

21. *Dīgha* II. 283.

22. *Majjhima* I. 490. *Middle Length Sayings* V.2, p. 168.

23. *Udāna* 77. *Verses of Uplift*, p. 93.

24. *Suttanipāta* 1123. *The Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 130. *The Suttanipāṭa* (1109) also states that "the way to Nibbana is to abandon the thirst of desire." (p.126).

25. *Aṅguttara* V.8.*The Book of the Gradual Sayings* (Pāli Text Society), V.5, pp. 6-7.

26. *Dīgha* II.310. *Dialogues*, V.2, p. 341. *Aṅguttara* II. 45 specifies that *kāmatanhā* and *vibhavatanhā*, in connection with pride of self, must be given up.

27. *Majjhima* I.251-56.

28. *Majjhima* I. 256-71.

29. *Majjhima* I. 251-52. *Middle Length Sayings*, V.1,pp. 306-07.

30. *Majjhaima* I. 261.

31. *Majjhima* I.48.

32. *Aṅguttara* V. 116.

33. *Aṅguttara* II.1. *Gradual Sayings*, V.2, pp. 1-2. This passage is also found at *Aṅguttara* IV. 105.

34. *Suttanipāta* 728-50.

35. *Itivuṭṭaka* 8. Translated by F.L.Woodward as *Itivuṭṭaka*: *As It Was Said* in *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*, p. 120.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

37. *Saṁyutta* III. 149-150. *Kindred Sayings*, v.3.p.126. *Majjhima* 1.294 is similar: "For those creatures who are hindered by ignorance, fettered by craving, delighting in this and that, there thus comes to be recurrence of again-becoming in the future. . .. By the fading away of ingorance, by the uprising of knowledge, by the stopping of craving, there is thus no recurrence of again-becoming in the future. *Middle Length Sayings*, V.1. p.354.

38. *Suttanipāta* 1068. *The Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 122. *The Dhammapada* also links rebirth, craving and ignorance: "The creeper of craving grows everywhere. If you see the creeper grow, cut off its roots by the power of wisdom." (340) Translated by Juan Mascaro as *The Dhammapada: The Path of Perfection* (Penguin, 1973), p. 83.

39. *Majjhima* I. 139.

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40. *Aṅguttara* IV.459. The five higher fetters are desire for form or the formless, pride, agitation and ignorance (IV.460; V. 17). The way to destroy the lower fetters is by meditation as described at *Majjhima* I. 435-437.

41. *Dīgha* I.156; II.92; etc.

42. *Dīgha* I. 156; *Majjhima* I. 175; I. 183-184; etc. *Āsava* is variously translated as canker, intoxicant or drug.

43. Only the first three are mentioned in the *Majjhima Nikāya.*

44. *Aṅguttara* II. 198. *Gradual Sayings*, V.2, p. 209.

45. *Aṅguttara* II. 197-198. *Gradual Sayings*, V.2, pp. 208-09.

46. *Majjhima* 1.348. *Middle Length Sayings*. V.2, pp. 13-14.

47. *Sabāsavasutta, Majjhima* 16-12.

48. *Majjhima* I. 477-478.

49. *Majjhima* 1.55; *Middle Length Sayings*, V.1, p. 170. *Aṅguttara* III. 414 gives *avijjā* as the source of the *āsavas.*

50. *Udāna* 80. *Verses of Uplift*, p.98.

51. There is also the *Vinaya*, which details the rules of correct behaviour for the monastic community, although some of its rules were instituted after complaints from the lay community about the behaviour of the monks and nuns.

52. *Aṅguttara* IV. 178 and *Majjhima* I.22 give the first knowledge as the remembrance of his previous lives, but in *Udāna*, the knowledge of *paṭiccasamuppāda* is attained during the first watch of the night. The third knowledge is that of the four noble truths.

53. *Aṅguttara* IV. 178. *Gradual Sayings*, V.4, p. 122. The knowledge of beings faring according to their deeds, seen by the *deva*-sight, is attributed to both the Buddha and to acopmplished monks. For example: *Dīgha* 1.82; *Majjhima* I. 278-279; I.348; II.21; III.178; *Saṁyutta* II. 214; *Aṅguttara* I.164; III. 19; IV.291; V.B; *Itivuṭṭaka* 99 etc.

54. *Aṅguttara* III. 72; III. 186. *Majjhima* III. 180 states:"This evil deed was done by you; it is you yourself that will experience its ripening" (*Middle Length Sayings*, V. 3, p.224). *Majjhima* III. 203 specifies taht "deed divides beings, that is to say be lowness and excellences" (VI.3, p.249).

55. *Majjhima* III.66-67. *Middle Length Sayings*, V. 3, pp. 109-10.

56. *Dhammapada* 119. *Path of Perfection*, p.52. *Dhammapada* 120 is the opposite: "A man find pain in doing good as long as his good has not given fruit; but when the fruit of goof comes then that man finds good indeed".

57. *Dhammapada* 71. *Path of Perfection*, p. 45.

58. *Dhammapada* 127. *Path of Perfection*, p.53.

59. *Aṅguttara* II. 172. *Gradual Sayings*, V.2, p. 179.

60. *Saṁyutta* IV.312-313. *Kindred Sayings*, V.4, p. 219.

61. *Saṁyutta* IV. 313.

62. *Aṅguttara* I. 249. *Gradual Sayings*, V, p. 227.

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63. *Saṁyutta* IV. 133. *Kindred Sayings*, VI. 4, p. 85.

64. *Saṁyutta* IV. 132-33. *Kindred Sayings*, V.4, p. 85. *Majjhima* I.389 enumerates four kinds of *kamma* deeds that are dark, bright,dark and bright in result, and "neither dark nor bright in result, the deed that conduces to the destruction of deeds."(*Middle Length Sayings*, V.2, p.57.) The last is the will (*cetanā*) to rid oneself of the first three kinds of deeds. (*Majjhima* I. 391; *Middle Lenth Sayings*, v.2, p.58.)

65. *Aṅguttara* IV. 174. *Gradual Sayings*, V.p.119.

66. A fifth precept which is often listed with these four is avoidance of intoxicants.

67. *Majjhima* I. 179-84.

68. *Majjhima* III. 2-4. *Middle Length Sayings*, V.3, pp. 52-55.

69. *Dhammapada* 144. *Path of Perfection*, p.55.

70. Winston King, in *In the Hope of Nibbāna* (La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1964), writes that: "One may *aim* for Nibbana even as a layman, but *hope* at the very least to achieve a better rebirth. In other words: *Meditation becomes a good kammic work, conducive to better rebirths*." (p.172).

71. *Majjhima* III. 71 and 75-76. (Actually, a tenfold path is enumerated: right view, right prupose, right speech, right action, right mode of livelihood, right endeavour, right mindfulness, right concentration, right knowledge, right freedom.) *Aṅguttara* V.211-212 declares wrong view to be the cause of wrong action: "From wrong view procceds wrong thinking; from that, wrong speech. From wrong speech, wrong action From wrong action, wrong living; from that, wrong effort. From wrong effort proceeds wrong mindfulness; from that, wrong concentration. From wrong conentration proceeds wrong kmowledge.From wrong knowledge proceeds wrong release." (*Gradual Sayings*, VI. 5, p.149.)

72. *Saṁyutta* V. 8-9.

73. *Majjhima*, 1.8 *Middle Length Sayings*, V. I, p.12. Wrong view is a deluded view of the self, thinking that it "is permanent, stable, eternal, not subject change."(p.11).

74. *Majjhima* III. 71. *Middle Length Sayings*, V. 3, p.115.

75. *Ibid.* Italics added.

76. *Aṅguttara* IV. 178. *Gradual Sayings*, V.4, p.122. See also *Dīgha* I.82; III.52; *Majjhima* I.22-23; I.348;II.21; III. 178-179; etc.

77. *Dhammapada. Path of Perfection.* V. I, p.35.

78. *Ibid.*

79. *Dhammapada* 2. *Ibid.*

80. *Dhammapada* 42. *Ibid.*, p.41. The converse is given in verse 43: "A father or a mother, or a relative, can indeed do good to a man; but his own right-directed mind can do to him a far greater good".

81. *Suttanipāta* 660. *The Sutta-Nipāta*, p.77.

82. *Suttanipāta* 664. *Ibid.*

83. *Aṅguttara* I.270. *Gradual Sayings*, VI.I, p.248. The opposite, of course, leads to rebirth in heaven.

84. *Majjhima* I.373. *Middle Length Sayings*, V. 2, pp. 37-38. *Majjhima* I.377-78 suggests that one reason for considering deeds of mind so important is the prevailing belief in the *Nikāyas* that the accomplished person of psychic power can perform miracles using will-power alone.

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85. *Majjhima* I. 36-37. *Middle Length Sayings*, V. 1. p. 46.

86. K.N. Jayatilleke, *Survival and Karma in Buddhist Perspective* (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1980), writes that the early Buddhist texts use *kamma* as a technical term to denote "volitional action" (p.17).

87. *Aṅguttara* III.415. *Gradual Sayings*, V.3, p.294.

88. *Aṅguttara* V. 292. *Gradual Sayings*, V.5, p. 189.

89. *Saṁyutta* II. 65. *Kindred Sayings*, V. 2, p. 45. Conversely, "if we neither will, nor intend to do, nor are occupied about something, there is not becoming of an object for the persistence of consciousnes . . . . Consciousness not being stationed nor growing , nor rebirth of renewed existence takes place in the future . . . " (*Saṁyutta* II. 65-66; *Kindred Sayings*, V. 2, p. 45.)

90. *Dīgha* I.51; *Saṁyutta* 174; *Aṅguttara* I. 63 ; II;68 ; III. 39; *Itivuṭṭaka* 19; *Dhammapada* 177 ; etc.

91. *Suttanipāta* 488. *The Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 56.

92. *Saṁyutta* I.98. *Kindred Sayings*, V.I, p.123.

93. *Suttanipāta* 506. *The Sutta-Nipāta*. p. 57.

94. *Saṁyutta* I. 57. *Kindred Sayings*, V.I, p. 83.

95. *Saṁyutta* 1.92. *Kindred Sayings*, V. I, p. 117.

96. *Aṅguttara* V.271. *Gradual Sayings* V. 5, p.182.

97. *Dīgha* III. 258-259. *Dialogues*, V.3, p. 240. Italics added. See also *Saṁyutta* III. 254-255; *Aṅguttara* IV. 239-41. *The Majjhima Nikāya* contains a "Discoure on Uprising by Means of Aspiration" (*Saṁkhāruppattisutta*) which explains how a person may fix his mind on a particular rebirth, and develop his mind so that it encourages that rebirth.

98. *Aṅguttara* III. 32-33.

99. *Itivuṭṭaka* 34. *As It Was Said*, p. 140.

100. *Aṅguttara* I. 134; I.263; III; 338 etc.

101. *Aṅguttara* I. 135. *Gradual Sayings*, V.I, p.118.

102. *Aṅguttara* V.144 *Gradual Sayings*, V.5, p. 99.

103. Right view leads to a rebirth in heaven.

104. *Aṅguttara* I. 31-32. *Gradual Sayings*, V. I, p. 28.

105. *Saṁyutta* V. 455-456. *Kindred Sayings*, V.5, p. 383. *Majjhima* III. 169-170 states that if such a person did manage to be reborn as a human "he would be born into those families that are low: a family of low caste or a family of hunters . . ., in such a family as is needy, without enough to drink or to eat, . . . Moreover, he would be ill-favoured, ugly, dwarfish, sickly, blind or deformed or lame or paralysed; . . . he would fare wrongly in body, wrongly in speech, wrongly in thought. Because he had fared wrongly in body, speech and thought, at the breaking up of the body after dying he would arise in the sorrowful ways, a bad bourn, the Downfall, Niraya Hell [*apayam duggatim vinipatam nirayam*]." (*Middle Length Sayings*, V.3, p. 215).

106. *Aṅguttara* III. 353. *Gradual Sayings*, V.3, p. 250.

107. *Majjhima* I. 361-63.

108. *Udāna* 21. *Verses of Uplift*, p. 25.

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109. *Dhammapada* 173. *Path of Perfection*, p. 60. *Majjhima* II.104 is similar: "He whose evilly done *kamma* is closed by what is skilled/Illumes this world like the moon when freed from a cloud." (*Middle Length Sayings*, V. 2, p. 290).

110. *Dhammapada* I. *Path of Perfection*, p.35: "What we are today comes from our thoughts of yesterday, and our present thoughts build our life of tomorrow. our life is the creation of our mind."

111. *Saṁyutta* I.94-95.

112. *Dhammapada* 116. *Path of Perfection*, p.52.

113. For instance, *Aṅguttara* V. 182-183. A stream-winner is a person who will no longer be reborn in a miserable state, and is assured of eventually achieving enlightenment. It is thus a necessary stage of development in the attainment of *nibbāna*. Destruction of the five fold guilty dread must be coupled with insight to win release from rebirth.

114. *Aṅguttara* V. 1-2. *Gradual Sayings*, V.5, pp. 1-3.

115. *Aṅguttara* I.223. *Gradual Sayings*, V.I, p. 203.

116. *Saṁyutta* I.38. *Kindred Sayings*, V.I, p. 53.

117. *Aṅguttara* IV. 400. *Gradual Sayings*, V.4, p. 269.

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6

The Good, the Bad and the Ugly : Birds, Animals and Omens in Ancient Indian Literature

Julie Hilton

The ancients interpreted life not solely by direct perception and experience but also through the tradition of auguries and magic. The important stages of life — conception, birth, childhood, adulthood and death were all imbued with socio-mystical connotations, as were social and religious occasions — studentship, marriage, *śrāddhas* and the institution of war. To give meaning to the unpredictability of life and thereby create a cohesive world view, humankind turned to magic and the supernatural. The experience of life, inextricably interwoven with that of birds and animals invested the latter with the power of prophecy.

The later Vedic and the early Buddhist period witnessed a radically altered socio-economic structure : urbanisation; the rise of a market economy; the consolidation of empires and of the religious authority of the *Brāhmaṇa* elite. While certain prophetic interpretations remained largely unaltered and provided a common thread during this time, others changed in significance, and practices no longer relevant were abandoned. Moreover, in questioning Brahmanic authority itself, the unorthodox sects rejected many old superstitions and occult practices.

During this period, there were two major interpretative themes. Firstly, one in which prophecy was based on the inherent and often physical and therefore universal characteristics of a creature.[1] In the other, socio-economic determinants played a major role. Consequently, birds and animals came to be associated with different social groups and with what was perceived or construed to be their respective temperaments. There developed a hierarchy of creatures whose merits or demerits were governed not solely by their innate qualities but also by their association with class.

The analysis of animal and bird behaviour is referred to frequently in the Epics and the *Sāstras*. While unofficial fortune tellers and those who taught the performance of supposedly auspicious ceremonies were classified as cheats and rogues,[2] respected priestly interpreters were condoned.

Ascetics were not to seek alms by explaining prophecies and omens nor by astrology, palmistry or casuistry.[3] It was the duty of the kings, however, to take heed of their *purohitas* and

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those men learned in the science.[4] Kauṭilya goes so far as to recommend the use of spies disguised as experts in the occult to maintain and expand a ruler's authority.[5] Prophecy was acceptable therefore but only it was controlled.

Those learned in the *Vedas* could cultivate this power, or conversely have it bestowed upon them. Queen Kaikeyī's father had a boon granted to him by a yogi whereby he understood the language of all creatures.[6] Śalya was also skilled in the interpretation of omens and of the cries of birds and animals,[7] as were Yudhiṣṭhira,[8] Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.[9] It was the duty of experts to be able to determine either inauspicious or auspicious animals under their care.[10] Hence, Sahadeva, disguised as the cowherd Tantripāla in the service of king Virāṭa could single out bulls having auspicious marks and those whose urine enabled the barren to conceive.[11] In the *Ādiparva* there is a category of ascetics who understood the cries of birds and monkeys.[12]

Kings regularly consulted men learned in the sciences of the occult. When a *muni* disguised as a pigeon was being pursued by Indra in the form of a hawk, the royal priests interpreted the pigeon falling into the lap of king Sivi as foreboding great danger. In an attempt to avert calamity, they advised the king to give away wealth[13]. Given the inauspicious portents prevalent at the birth of Duryodhana, King Dhṛtarāṣṭra consulted learned *Brāhmaṇas*. Vidura advised the King to abandon Duryodhana, as he would be the exterminator of his race.[14]

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* both Malyavān and Vibhīṣaṇa counselled Rāvaṇa to return Sīta to Rāma upon witnessing the disturbing behaviour of birds and animals.[15] Similarly, King Daśaratha consulted Vaśiṣṭha about the unusual activity of birds and animals upon his return to Ayodhyā. The sage replied that the crying of birds augured a great danger, but that the crossing of deer from left to right in front of his entourage indicated a speedy end to his fears.[16]

The heterodox sects, in advocating rejection of superstition, stressed that ascetics should not live by divination or augury. For the Buddhists and the Jainas, the occult sciences were evil and a disgrace to the profession of a monk.[17] That these practices were prevalent is confirmed by the very text which refute them. In the *Sūtrakritāṇga Sūtra*, monks are banned from interpreting the marks of elephants, cow, partridges, cocks, ducks and quails; or from divination associated with wild animals and flight of crows in the Buddhist [18] texts, the low arts included divination and the interpretation of omens.[19] Consequently, no credibility was granted to the interpretation of rats biting cloth, the flight of birds or the croaking of ravens; the pretended knowledge of the language of beasts; or the analysis of the good or bad points of elephants, horses, bulls, oxen, goats, sheep, fowl, snipes, iguanas, long-eared creatures, turtles, deer or dogs.[20] The Lokāyatas, in questioning the efficacy of sacrifice and the monopolisation of intellectual authority by the priestly elite, utilised only logic and reasonable inference as tools for gaining knowledge of reality.[21] In doing so they rejected the validity of prophecy and superstition.

The pervading culture of omen interpretation, however, did not escape the unorthodox. Nāgasena, lecturing King Milinda, refers to the Indian crane who by its cry makes known to people either the good fortune or disaster about to befall them.[22] The rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the development of the concept of the Bodhisattva also resulted in an abundance of stories associated with the supernatural. Thus, King Senāka of Benaras was granted a boon for saving the life of a *nāga* king, whereby gained an understanding of all sounds. Senāka's wife begged him for this

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knowledge, but the king knew that he would die if he gave it away. Realising that the king's resolve was weakening, Sakka turned himself and the *Aśura* Suja into male and female goats. The two stood before the king's chariot yoked to Sindh donkeys, talking amorously. The donkeys rebuked Sakka for being stupid and shameless. Sakka replied that donkeys were pitiful beasts of burden; and the king would be ignorant to give his charm away. Senāka understood the words of the animals and resolved not to part with his boon.[23] In the *Parantapa Jātaka*, the Bodhisattva, a prince of Banaras, had acquired a spell for understanding animal cries while studying at Taxila. One day, a hungry jackal and her cubs entered the city. The Bodhisattva heard and understood the jackal telling her cubs that she would steal a man's shoes for them to eat. He was thereby able to warn the man to put his shoes out of the animal's reach.[24]

In advocating the moral superiority of *ahiṁsa* over sacrifice, and to give a more rational explanation to animal and bird behaviour, the Bodhisattva interpreted omens for the king of Banaras in the *Aṭṭhasadda Jātaka*. One night the king heard the sounds of several birds and animals: a crane, a female crow, a tame cuckoo, a tame deer and a tame monkey. Upon consultation, a Brāhmaṇa advised the king to offer sacrifice. However, a wise student replied that to do so would mean the cruel and unnecessary slaughter of many animals. The rejection of his authority made the priest angry, so the pupil asked the Bodhisattva to persuade the king to refrain from sacrifice. The Bodhisattva interpreted the bird and animal behaviour thus : firstly, the crane was hungry and therefore the royal tanks holding fish needed cleaning out. Secondly, the crow was crying because she had built her nest in the doorway to the elephant stables and everytime the groom Bandhura entered and left on his elephant, he struck the crow with his hook and destroyed her nest. Lastly, the tame cuckoo, deer and monkey were pining for freedom. The king then made a proclamation that the sacrifice was to be halted, and that all the creatures were to be granted their lives and their freedom.[25]

Pirits or charms are mentioned especially in relation to snakes. The attitude towards reptiles was understandably complex. They were both good and evil, beautiful and ugly, respected and loathed. As it was believed that snakes, along with the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Kṣatriyas*, possessed anger capable of destroying the three worlds,[26] there is frequent reference to poison-neutralising *mantras*, medicines and the profession of snake charming.[27]

Oblation were offered daily to snakes by the householder,[28] even though under certain circumstances their presence was believed to herald ill-fortune.[29] The blessing of the higher reptiles was invoked by kings prior to war[30] or alternately, a hymn to Durgā was recited which had the power to destroy the fear of all *Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Pisāchas*, snakes and animals with fangs or teeth.[31] Duryodhana claimed that by his incantation all those within his dominions were protected from fearful snakes and other creatures.[32] Likewsie, Queen Kauśalyā invoked snakes to protect Rāma when he was sent into exile.[33]

Amongst the Buddhists there was a belief that if one cultivated goodwill amongst snakes, they would do no harm. In the *Khanda-Vatta jātaka*, verses were recited to win this goodwill:

"All creatures that have birth

Breathe and move upon the Earth

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Happy be ye, one and all
Never into mischief fall."[34]

In the *Cullavagga* there is the story of a *bhikkhu* who died of a snake bite. When this was reported to Buddha, he replied the surely the *bhikkhu* had not let his love flow out over the four royal breeds of serpents.[35] The Blessed One henceforth permitted the *bhikkhus* to make use of *pirits* to protect themselves from snakes and all other harmful creatures.[36] In the *Milindapañha* there is also reference to the reabsorption of snake venom by a snake under a spell.[37] In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* it is stated that, by eating a snake one gained the understanding of the language of beasts and birds.[38]

Pirits were not confined to reptiles. In the *Pratijña-Yaugandharāyaṇam,* Bhāsa mentions the fame of the king of the Vatsas charming elephants with his lute called Ghoshavatī.[39] In the same play, the elephant Nalāgiri was infuriated with charms and herbs.[40] In the *Milindapañha*[41] and the *Joṇipāhḍa*[42] there is reference to spells intended to stop an enraged bull and to render a buffalo unconscious. Jaina texts in fact abound with spells directed at birds and animals: donkeys, deer, tigers, cats, lions, boars, crows, owls, peahens, hawks, snakes and rodents.[43] In the *Mahā-Mora Jātaka* there is the story of a hunter who failed for seven hundred years to throw his net over the Bodhisattva in the form of a peacock who possessed a protective *pirit*. He managed to snare the bird by diverting it with a trained peahen.[44]

Kauṭilya devotes special attention to the use of poisons, *Mantras* and antidotes to be used both against the enemy and to protect one's own people. Poisons utilised to destroy the enemy and their animals, for example, by contaminating water, causing disability, madness, disease and death, involved potions made from diverse animal and plant matter. These included the use of snake skins, the tails of peacocks and *kṛkaṇas* (a kind of partridge), *kṛkalāsas* (lizards), *gṛhagaulitas* (a small house lizard), *kapotas* (pigeons), *bālakas* (a kind of small crane), *śārikās* (mainas), *chuchundari* (musk rats), *andhahitas* (a blind snake), the entrails of *chitrabhekas* (a kind of frog of variegated colour), *jālukas* (leech), *nakulas* (mongoose), the eyes of frogs, the knot of the tongue of a *bhasa* (vulture), the milk and dung of the donkey, the urine and blood of the white goat, the urine of the horse, the eggs of the parrot and the cuckoo, oil extracted from the *kaṅka* (vulture), powder produced from the *samudra maṇḍuki* (ocean frog), the bone of the monkey and the fat produced from roasting a pregnant camel.[45] Other animal products were used to make one invisible to the enemy or to be able to see at night.[46] *Mantras* were invoked to quieten or cause sleepiness amongst the dogs and domestic birds when entering an enemy's village.[47]

Kauṭilya also lays down the procedures whereby pestilence was to be averted. Ascetics and prophets were permitted to perform auspicious ceremonies; and on full and new moons rats and birds were to be worshipped in order to guard against plague.[48] Those learned in the *Artharva Veda* were to perform auspicious rites against the fear of snakes and on full and new moons these creatures were to be worshipped.[49] The same applied to water animals, tigers, crocodiles and beasts of prey.[50]

Birds and animals were considered either good or evil by their physical appearance or by the threat that they posed to humans. Inherently auspicious birds were generally the ones of great beauty, those whose voices were pleasing and sonorous or whose eating habits were clean and herbivorous. In the myth of creation, Suki the mother of the parrot species possessed all the

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auspicious signs.[51] The potential to train parrots led to their close association with humans. Thus the establishment of parrots in a house was held to be a blessing, as these creatures were believed to avert calamity.[52] *Haṃsas* (swans) were imbued with the quality of whiteness and hence purity and beauty. Nārā and Nārayāṇa had the imprint of a swan's foot on their palms.[53] These birds also appeared in the auspicious dreams of the Jaina arhats' mothers at the time of conception.[54] The *cāsa* (bluejay), peacock and *bhāradvāja* (skylark) were auspicious to the Jainas, and if seen in the south they were believed to bring wealth.[55] There was the belief thay by constructing a house at a place where a *cāsa* was sitting, a king received jewels.[56] *Cakravākas* (love birds) were blessed not simply for their beauty, but because by nature they pined to death if parted from their mate.[57]

Providential birds were linked with the righteous. Cranes, peacocks and swans followed Kṛṣṇa when he set out to visit Duryodhana to talk over the possibilities of war or peace.[58] Prior to battle peacocks, cranes, swans, *cātakas* (love birds), *jīvijīvas* (pheasants) and large flights of *vartakas* (quails) followed the Pāṇḍava army.[59] When Arjuna prepared to battle with Karṇa all the creatures regarded the latter as already slain. Kingfishers, parrots and herons wheeled around Arjuna and large numbers of the beautiful and auspicious birds called *Pung*, by their timely appearance, caused him to hasten to battle.[60] At the birth of Vyāsa's son Suka, swans, *śatapatras*,[61] cranes by the thousands and many parrots and *cāsas* wheeled over his head as he was invested with the sacred thread.[62] In the dream of the *Rākṣasa* Trijaṭa, Rāvaṇa was seen defeated and humiliated while birds nestled in the branches above Sītā, singing as if to announce the advent of an auspicious hour.[63]

Auspicious birds were also present in the Jaina and the Buddhist literature. In the dream of the Arhats' mothers, beautiful *cakravākas*, ducks and Indian cranes abounded in the Lotus Lake.[64] At the birth of Gautama peacocks strutted proudly, parrots and *śārikās* fluttered their wings and cuckoos sang sweetly in aviaries.[65] The Bodhisattva is clearly associated with beautiful birds. In the *Mahā-Mora Jātaka,* Queen Khemā of Banaras had a vision of the Bodhisattva as a golden peacock preaching the Law.[66]

In battle portentous birds acted in a typical manner, always wheeling to the right. Thus woodpeckers, herons, pheasants, cranes, water-jays, flamingoes, *vanas*, curlews and peacocks wheeled to the right above the Pāṇḍavas,[67] and prior to the final defeat of Mara.[68]

Beautiful singing was also indicative of a favourable result. The cry of the *vanculaka* (a mythical bird) in the forest near the Mātanga hermitage was interpreted by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa as indicating their speedy victory over Ravana.[69] During battle, the peacocks, woodpeckers, swans, cranes, *cāsas* and *śatapatras* near the Pāṇḍavas uttered delightful cries and indicated victory.[70] After Droṇa was killed, his son Aśvatthāman summoned the frightful *Nārāyana* weapon. When this was neutralised by Bhīma, all the birds became quiet and peaceful.[71] At the death of Bhīṣma, there were no inauspicious signs, birds roved in peace.[72]

Birds could be symbols of good fortune; they possessed protective qualities and in certain cases were sanctified. As symbols of good luck they were carved on to the chariots of warriors and the gods.[73] Likewise, the sight of a crane while travelling was believed to bring good luck [74] Kauśalyā blessed Rāma when he was sent into exile, invoking the birds to defend him.[75] Birds kept in a house were held to be auspicious.[76] Yudhisthira after his morning ablutions proceeded to the outer chamber of the *mandira* where he saw and touched auspicious objects including birds.[77]

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Auspiciousness for Kauṭilya was often associated with the potential for economic return. His list of auspicious birds is placed under the section of the *Superintendent of the slaughterhouse* where game birds are to be protected from molestation. His list included *krauñca* (heron), *utkroṣaka* (osprey), *dātyūha* (gallinule), *cakōra* (partridge), *mattakokila* (cuckoo), peacock, parrot and *madanaśārikā* (maina).[78] Not surprisingly, the carnivores in this list were otherwise generally held to be inauspicious.

As with birds, beautiful animals were associated with good omens. Throughout the Epics persons of high social and moral standing were said to be imbued with the prowess, majesty, strength, beauty, fury and virility of lions, elephants, tigers and cattle. The Kauravas, Pāṇḍavas, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, the monkey and bear warriors and the *Rākṣasas* were all likened to these animals.[79] In the dream of the *Rākṣasa* Trijaṭā, Rāvaṇa is seen defeated, while Sītā escapes to the north protected by a tiger.[80]

The rise of dynastic empires and the importance of war had elevated the status of the elephant and the horse as the prerogative of the ruling elite.[81] The horse was admired for both its beauty and valour; and the *Mahābhārata* abounds with references to the auspiciousness of battle-horses and the close relationship between the animal and its rider.[82] Kamboja horses in particular were held to bring good luck to king;[83] and before battle the *purohita* was to recite *mantras* over the horses.[84] In the *Arthaśāstra* horses were protected from molestation and the *Superintendent of Horses* was to wash, daub with sandalpowder and garland them twice a day.[85] On new moon days, sacrifice to *Bhūtas* was offered and on full moon days auspicious hymns were to be chanted. On the ninth day of the month of Aśvayuga, at the beginning and end of journeys and at the incidence of disease, priests were to wave lights invoking blessings on horses.[86] It was believed that *Rudras* dwelt in horse stables,[87] and the dust raised by them was pure.[88]

Equally economically important and auspicious were elephants. The virtues of this animal are expounded in great detail in the *Mahābhārata*; and death caused by an elephant was considered holy.[89] Karṇa had a vision of Arjuna seated on the back of a white elephant with Kṛṣṇa blazing forth in great victory.[90] In the *Arthaśāstra* experts were given the task of catching elephants with auspicious characteristics. On full moon days, sacrifice was offered to the *Bhūtas* for their safety; and during the period of Chāturmāsya and at the time when two seasons met, the waving of lights was performed.[91] *Rudras* were held to dwell in elephant stables;[92] and the dust raised by them was considered pure.[93] *Śrāddhas* conducted in the shadow of an elephant were believed to be especially propitious.[94]

While the Buddhists and the Jainas revolted against caste and the institutionalisation of violence, their leaders were primarily from the upper classes; and consequently elephants, bulls, lions and horses retained their symbolic power. Gautama was the 'Lion among the Śākyas' and at his conception Queen Māyā dreamt of an auspicious six-tusked elephant, light of step, with a flawless body gleaming like snow white silver, a gracefully weaving trunk and a crimson head entering her womb.[95] At the Buddha's birth. elephants in rut, like monsoon clouds, came forth adorned with star-like ornaments.[96]

The Jaina Arhats' mothers dreamt of a gorgeous and auspicious elephant, a lion and a bull, and auspicious lion standard and Gajalakṣmī.[97] The mutual love felt by Gautama and his horse

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Kaṇṭhaka runs throughout Buddhist literature. Two of the jewels of the *Cakravartin* are the royal horse and the royal elephant.[98]

The *Jātakas* reinforce the high status of the elephant. In the *Daḷhadhamma Jātaka*, Buddha advised King Udena to treat his old state elephant Buddavalikā with the respect due to an animal of his age and stature.[99] The Bodhisattva was often born in the form of an elephant. In the *Māti-Posaka Jātaka*, he was the leader of a herd of Himalayan elephants captured for the king of Banaras and therefore unable to look after his blind mother. On explaining his predicament to the king, the Bodhisattva was freed. After his mother's death he retired to the Karaṷdaka monastery, where the king had a stone image build and an annual elephant festival instigated.[100] In the *Śilappadikāram* a young white elephant was installed in the temple of Airāvata where an annual festival dedicated to Indra was held.[101]

The magical prowess of elephants is evident in the *Mahāvastu*, where the Bodhisattva in the form of the Banaras state elephant possessed the power to halt plagues.[102] An alternative view that action is superior to magical prowess is illustrated in the *Kurudhamma Jātaka,* where the people of Kālinga approached king Dhananjaya of the Kurus for a loan of his state elephants Anjaña - Vasaha. This elephant was endowed with the power to bring rain. The king bestowed his elephant upon the Kāliṅgas but the drought continued. It was only after the Bodhisattva preached to them and when righteousness was put into practice, that the drought was lifted.[103]

The close association between cattle and the Brahmanical religion and the institutionalisation of *dakṣiṇā* ensured a pre-eminent position for these creatures.[104] Kine were identified with the concepts of merit and sanctity. This economic and emotional supremacy runs throughout the *Grihyasūtras* where the householders' life was closely intertwined with that of cattle. Cattle were invoked at all major ceremonies; at wedding;[105] the *sīmantonnaya* (parting of the hair);[106] during the invocation for male offspring;[107] at the tonsure of a child at the age of six;[108] in rituals associated with establishing a house returning from a journey;[109] or initiating a student.[110] Bulls were believed to possess special powers in aiding pregnancy;[111] and a ritual was carried out to destroy the substance believed to exist in the wife which killed cattle.[112] Specific events also called for the blessing of cattle-ceremonies to protect kine;[113] the setting of the male bull at liberty[114] and the granting of special wishes.[115]

The Epics and the *Śāstras* also abound in invocations for the blessing of kine and stressing their identification with the righteous.[116] In the *Tukkāri Jātaka* it is stated that kine depend on clouds (rain) and that men depend on kine.[117] In the *Mahāvastu* the king of Aṅga owned a bull which had the power to rid Rājagriha of plagues.[118] In the *Pañcharātram* endless prosperity and peace is invoked upon kine;[119] and in the *Bāla-Caritam* the herdsman Nandagopa is deemed pure simply because of his association with cattle.[120] It is Nandinī, however, as the granter of all wishes, who personified the ideal of the cow as the Mother of the Earth.[121]

The products of kine were imbued with great sanctity and auspiciousness — *pañcagavya* (the five products of the cow), cowhair, hides and cowpens all figure large in the rituals associated with the expiation of sin, penance, sacrifice and in the life stages of a human being.[122] A prospective husband was to make several clods of earth, and if a woman picked the one made of cowdung, it

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was believed the union would be rich in cattle.[123] In the *Mahābhārata* auspicious articles such as *gorocanā*, horns, ghee and curds were presented to a king at his investiture or prior to embarking upon war.[124] Before battle warriors bathed themselves in clarified butter.[125] When Rāma returned to Ayodhyā, the streets were paved with the auspicious products of kine like the pathways of the gods in heaven.[126] According to the *Mahā-Maṅgala Jātaka* the sight of newly melted ghee of cow's milk was indicative of future goodluck;[127] and in the *Uranga Jātaka* two soldiers bore gifts of ghee to the master after their conversion.[128] Cowpens were believed to rid one of all sin[129] as *Rudras* dwelt there,[130] and the dust raised by cattle was considered pure.[131] By the Epic period cow sacrifice was no longer considered propitious and the eating of beef was abhorred.[132]

Owing to the sanctity of cows, they were granted foremost consideration. Students were not to study in cowpens,[133] urinate or defecate near cattle,[134] nor step over a rope to which a cow was tied.[135] It was considered inauspicious to interrupt a cow suckling its calf or to remark that a cow did not produce milk.[136] Witnesses were to swear upon gold, *kuśa* and cowdung;[137] and sacred cows were allowed to wander at will.[138] In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, King Daśaratha believed his ill-fortune was due to evil actions in his previous life, for example, seperating calves from their mothers.[139]

In the *Mahā-Maṅgala Jātaka* the sight of a perfectly white bull was indicative of future good luck.[140] One incidence of the sight of cattle being inauspicious, however, occurs in the *Śilappadikāram* where travellers seeing a humped bull coming from the opposite direction were to halt their journey.[141] In the *Dharmaśāstras* purification was deemed necessary after a cow smelt food,[142] but this was for hygienic rather than superstitious reasons.

Animal wealth was not only given as a fee, or on set occasions, but had also come to be imbued with the power to cleanse sin and generate merit for the giver. This practice therefore strengthened existing social relationships. The gift of cattle and to a lesser extent other domestic or semi-domestic animals remained a dominant theme from the Vedic period onwards. The *Anuśāsanaparva* is, par excellence, the text establishing the relative merit of *dakṣiṇā*.[143]

Reinforcing the authority of *dakṣiṇā* was the identification of kine with *Brāhmaṇas*.[144] It was the king's duty to personally attend to the business of cattle and before going to court he was to salute both a cow, its calf and a bull by circumambulating them.[145] Warriors were never to use weapons against kine, *Brāhmaṇas* or women, but instead were to lay down their lives for them.[146] Way must be made for *Brāhmaṇas*, kine, the king, the blind, the aged, the weary and pregnant women.[147] The *Mahābhārata* itself is said to be an account presenting the greatness of kine and *Brāhmaṇas*.[148] The utmost reverence was therefore to be bestowed upon them as those who had acquired spiritual merit in the world.

The necessity of water for the continuation of life imbued aquatic life with a sanctity common to the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist systems. The Arhats' mothers dreamt of the Lotus Lake abounding in gorgeous aquatic animals;[149] and the Milk ocean was full of beautiful fish and whales.[150] The sight of the *rohita* was auspicious;[151] and it was believed that fish and tortoises knew by instinct when there would be rain or drought.[152] According to Kauṭilya, aquatic creatures in tanks, channels and rivers were auspicious and should therefore be protected from molestation.[153] Fish, tortoises, conchshells and hooks were carried on to the chariots of warriors and deities to bring good luck.[154]

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It was also believed that a child who partook of the flesh of fish as the first solid food, would be imbued with swiftness.[155]

Birds of prey, carnivores and night birds were generally inausipicious and heralded either defeat in battle or death. Crows, revens, *kaṅkas*, hawks, eagles, osprey and owls were evil in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Prior to battle carnivorous birds gathered together with their faces towards each other in seeming discourse.[156] Tempted by the prospect of food they wheeled over the battlefield uttering frightful screeches, alighting with glee on the slain.[157] In the *Droṇaparva* vultures ate the flesh of fallen men, steeds and elephants, drinking their blood and dragging their severed limbs or rolling their heads on the ground.[158] In the *Ūrubhaṅgam* the battlefield abounded with birds with bloodstained beaks who loosened the ornaments from the bodies of slain kings.[159] On every side could be seen vultures' nests.[160]

The association with death is illustrated by the abundance of vultures and owls in crematoriums.[161] The vulture was miserable creature and in the *Gihha Jātaka* a hunter was employed laying snares for vultures around a Banaras cemetery.[162] It is not surprising that punishment for sins included being attacked or devoured by crows, vultures, ravens and birds with iron beaks.[163] In the *Rāmāyaṇa* a red-footed pigeon was a messenger of death.[164]

In war inauspicious birds followed those who were to be eventually defeated, alighting on their cars and banners. Crows and owls perched on the Kuru's flags in the *Mahābhārata* ; and at night fierce birds with black wings and red legs hovered over their encampment.[165] Frightful vultures settled on the banners of the *Rākṣasas* in the *Rāmāyana*; and large flocks of carnivorous birds flew over Rāvaṇa's head following the revolutions of his car.[166] Vultures pursued him, their jaws vomiting flames.[167] Birds heralding defeat always wheeled from the left to the right.[168]

Unnatural activity was interpreted as a harbinger of calamity. In the *Rāmāyaṇa,* Mālāyavān advised *Rāvāṇa* to make peace when he saw vultures invading Laṇka and gathering in public squares.[169] When Bharata and his army returned to Ayodhyā after Daśaratha's death, darkness and gloom abounded and owls ranged throughout the city.[170] In the *Mahābhārata* evil was afoot when fowls lay down in places of public amusement or alighted on sacred edifices.[171] According to Kauṭilya, birds could be watched to indicate the presence of poison. Parrots, *śārikās* and *bhṛngarājas*[172] shriek when they perceive poison; the *krauñca* swoons; *jīvajīvakas* feel distress; the *mattakokila* dies and the eyes of the *cakōra* are reddened.[173]

The apprehension felt by humans in relation to these birds meant that their cries were believed to foretell bad luck or evil. At Duryodhana's birth [174]and when he insulted Draupadī,[175] vultures and crows screeched. When the Pāṇḍavas were sent into exile, vultures, ravens and carnivorous birds shrieked from temples, the top of sacred trees and houses.[176] At the approach of war frightful screeches could be heard at dusk and the cawing of crows made one's hair stand on end.[177] Slaughter was imminent when crows hovered and cried 'Go go' or 'Pakka Pakka' or when ravens croaked.[178] Defeat for the Kauravas was inevitable when owls perched on their standards at night and hooted.[179] In the *Pañcarātram*, King Virāṭa on the usually happy occasion of his birthday was puzzled by the appearance of a crow perched on a dead tree rubbing its cheek against a withered branch and croaking hoarsely with its eye to the sun. He later discovered that the Trigatas had embarked upon

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a cattle raid within his territory.[180] In the *Grihya Sūtras* there are *mantras* against shrieking and inauspicious birds and crows cawing,[181] while in the *Dharmaśāstras* the study of the Veda was to be interrupted if an owl was heard hooting.[182]

War and social upheaval resulted in the appearance of deformed birds and the unholy union of diverse species. In the *Mahābhārata* birds each having one eye and one leg hovered in the sky at night and screamed frightfully in wrath as if to make the hearers vomit blood.[183] Ill-omened beasts some having three horns, four eyes, five legs, two sexual organs, two heads or two tails uttered unholy cries.[184] King Daśaratha after returning to Ayodhyā heard the screeching of strange and terrible birds.[185] When Bhīma was taken by a snake, Yudhisthira saw ugly *vartikas* of dreadful sight with one leg, one wing and one eye vomiting blood and facing the sun.[186] On the eve of *Kali Yuga*, trees filled with swarms of crows do not produce any flowers or fruit;[187] and at its end crows, vultures and kites utter frightful and dissonant cries.[188] The slaughter was known to be great in the *Mahābhārata* when the wives of *Brāhmaṇas* brought forth *Gāruḍas* and peacocks,[189] and when dogs gave birth to cocks.[190]

In everyday life birds were watched to help determine the future and therefore any necessary action. In the *Śilappadikāram,* Kovalan and his wife Kannaki left Madurai on a journey to dispose off an anklet. Enroute, they saw a screeching owl which ordinarily necessitated a break in a journey.[191] Expiation was deemed necessary when vultures, woodpigeons, osprey or doves entered a house, as they were believed to bring disaster.[192]

In the *Vanaparva* a travelling caravan was attacked by raging elephants. In looking for signs which may have foretold this disaster, the merchants contemplated the birds they had seen the day before.[193] Conversely, unrighteous men were known to have watched and imitated inauspicious birds. In the *Sauptikaparva*, Aśvatthāman after battle observed an owl of terrible aspect with frightful cries, a gigantic body, green eyes, tawny plumage and large beak approach a banyan tree full of crows and mercilessly destroy them. Aśvatthāman concluded that he too must act with stealth and deceit like the owl, if he was to fulfill his vow to destroy the Pāṇḍavas.[194]

Uncleanliness was synonymous with inauspiciousness. Crows, cocks and ravens were continually described as unclean and as the defilers of sacrificial libations.[195] Extensive purificatory rituals, expiation and penance were prescribed for sacrificial vessels and *Brāhmaṇas* defiled by crows.[196] For the same reasons *Brāhmaṇas* were forbidden to eat the flesh of tame birds, those who sought their food by scratching with their feet and carnivores.[197] Again extensive purificatory rites were laid down for expiation if these rules were violated.[198]

Such practices must have originated from a combination of socio-magical beliefs and from the practical exigencies of hygiene. In other instances, however, social groups associated with specific birds or occupations were deemed unclean. Contact with hunters,[199] fishermen,[200] fowlers[201] and sellers of meat[202] was inauspicious for *Brahmaṇas*, as these occupations entailed either association with unclean creatures or acts of violence.[203] For a period of three days after the *samāvartana*, a student was to avoid seeing women, *śūdras*, corpses and black birds (crows).[204] According to Caraka, when a person dreamt of a bird sitting on his or her head, of an encircling vulture, owl or raven, or of an ogre, devil, evil spririt or *caṇḍāla*, he would fall sick.[205] In a

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hunters' village cocks and hens screeched loudly ;[206] there were temples of gods bearing the devices of owls and other inauspicious birds ;[207] and the place was therefore considered unholy. Class distinctions were made manifest in the description of sinful tribes having practices similar to *caṇḍālas*, ravens and vultures.[208]

Insults could be directed at a person by associating him or her with inauspicious birds. Kṛṣṇa called Duyodhana a crow ;[209] and a Kaurava minister was attributed with the ugly features of this bird.[210] Manu advocated that a prospective husband should avoid marrying a woman with the name of a bird.[211] Conversely, the attributes of auspicious birds were believed to be conveyed to a child if it partook of its flesh at the first eating of solid food. Hence the flesh of a partridge imbued the child with swiftness.[212]

Inauspicious animals were carnivorous and/or physically repulsive and threatening.[213] Saramā the dog demon produced epilepsy in children ;[214] and in the battle between the *Aśura* Vritra and Indra, Mahādeva caused the former to be overcome with fever, his memory escaping his body in the form of jackal.[215] En route to Laṅka, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa travelling through the Daṇḍaka forest beheld uninhabited hermitages abounding with jackals.[216] Dogs, jackals, hyenas and wolves indicated ill-fortune and in war and were synonymous with death. They howled dreadfully, feasted on the corpses of men and animals, gazed into the sun and screamed with glee.[217] They followed the armies to be defeated[218] and as devourers of flesh, abounded in crematoriums[219] and the abode of Yama.[220] Again, punishment for sins entailed being devoured in hell by jackals, dogs and wolves.[221]

The activities of these animals were analysed to interpret future disasters. At birth Duryodhana cried like a jackal ; and when Dhṛtarāṣṭra consulted the *Brahmaṇas* as to whether or not his son should be king, jackals and other carnivores began to howl ominously.[222] Jackals also howled lugubriously in the *homa* chamber of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's palace when Duryodhana insulted Draupadi.[223] As the Pāṇḍavas were forced into exile, jackals cried aloud from the temples and the walls of houses.[224] Likewise, when Bhīma was taken by a snake, terrified by the blaze at the points of the horizon, jackals stationed themselves on the right of the Pāṇḍavas' hermitage setting up inauspicious cries.[225] In the war between the gods and the *Aśuras*, the Indus river flowed with blood and jackals with fiery faces cried to the sun.[226] Carnivores shrieked with joy when Bhisma was made commander of the Kauravas ;[227] and when Sitā was abducted.[228] The sight of a jackal when travelling was an ill-omen ;[229] and *Veda* study was to be interrupted if a jackal, dog or wolf passed between a pupil and teacher, or was heard.[230] In unholy times dog gave birth to jackals and pigs mated with dogs.[231] *Mantras* were prescribed in the *Grihya Sūtras* for addressing she-wolves and jackals.[232] An exception to this interpretation occurs in a Jaina text where the sight of a jackal was considered auspicious, and believed to herald the gaining of wealth.[233]

Uncleanliness was inauspicious. Dogs were traditionally the defilers of libations.[234] Students were to avoid the sight of women, *śūdras*, corpses, crows and dogs.[235] In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the dog petitioning Rāma is described as vilely born, forbidden to enter temples, the king's palace, the abode of *Brāhmaṇas* or where there is fire, wind or Indra.[236] Mālyavān advised Rāvaṇa to make peace when he saw dogs devour oblations in houses.[237] Detailed rites were laid down to expiate the touch of this animal.[238]

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The association of dogs with the lowborn and unrighteous is illustrated in both the Buddhist and Hindu texts. King Janasandha of Banaras in his speech of virtue exhorted his people not to behave like cheats or dogs.[239] In the *Daridra-Cārudattam*, a thief is called a rascally dog.[240] People who gained their living by dogs, for example hunters ;[241] and *Brāhmaṇas* who trained them were impure.[242] *Caṇḍālas, śūdras,* and the *mleccha* tribes by living in close proximity to dogs were labelled savages and were to be avoided. [243] *Caṇḍālas* were also called *svapakas* or *sovāgas* : those who lived on the cooked flesh of dogs.[244] In the *Sigāla Jātaka* the dog is seen as the most vile amongst beasts, like a man of low caste.[245]

Donkeys as the lowest of the beasts of burden were both pitied and detested. At birth Duryodhana and Śiśupāla brayed like asses. [246] Recitation of the *Vedas* was to be halted upon hearing an ass bray[247] and householders were advised to refrain from riding in carriages drawn by mules.[248] Rāvaṇa's chariot was drawn by hideous mules[249] and prior to being told of his father's death, Bharata dreamt he saw someone riding a chariot drawn by this animal. This traditionally meant that the smoke of a funeral pyre would soon ascend to the sky.[250] In the dream of the *Rākṣasa* Trijaṭā, she saw Rāvaṇa humiliated riding on the back of an ass.[251] In both the *Rāmāyaṇa*[252] and the *Mahābhārata*[253] disaster was imminent when cows gave birth to donkeys.

Being of undignified status, donkeys were associated with the low classes of society. Hunters' villages were impure places resounding with the dissonant bray of mules.[254] *Caṇḍālas* were to be avoided as their livelihood was closely tied to donkeys. [255] The dust raised by donkeys was impure.[256] Punishment for a man who raped a woman was mutilation and being paraded on an ass.[257] An adulterer[258] and a person who killed a *Brāhmaṇa* were to be publicly degraded by wearing the skin of an ass.[259]

To dream of a monkey was considered inauspicious ;[260] and *Veda* study was to be halted if a cat, ichenumon, rat, frog or snake passed between a teacher and a pupil ;[261] or while the grunting of a camel was heard.[262] The camel, having been surpassed in status by the elephant and the horse, was viewed as an inferior beast of burden. Thus when Karṇa had a vision of Arjuna riding on a white elephant in triumph, he also saw the mighty or warriors Bhīṣma and Droṇa ascending in humiliation a vehicle drawn by camels.[263] Their flesh and milk was prohibited for *Brāhmaṇas.*[264]

In the *Mahābhrata* Vidura is likened to an evil cat ;[265] and Vyāsa warned Dhṛtarāṣṭra that the slaughter would be great when he heard the fierce cries of battling cats and boars.[266] The cat was considered impure in the *Dharmaśāstras* ;[267] and Manu advised against offering even water to a *Brāhmaṇa* who acted like a cat, i.e. one who was treacherous.[268] When Bharata arrived in Ayodhyā after father's death, he saw the city overtaken by prowling cats.[269] The evil portent of two-footed cats was also witnessed by the *Rākṣasas* when they marched to war against the gods.[270] Unholy times were heralded when cats mated with tigers, pigs and dogs, and rats with mongoose.[271] The cat nevertheless possessed definite magical properties. It was believed that to keep a cat in one's house would deter *Rākṣasas* and *Pramathas* (ghosts) from entering.[272]

The pig was, for obvious reasons, an impure creature, and its flesh was prohibited for *Brāhmaṇas.*[273] The village sow wallowing in filth and mire was likened to a human sunk in the mud of desire.[274] A *caṇḍāla*, village pig, cock, dog, menstruating woman or eunuch were not to look at a *Brāhmaṇa* while he ate.[275] The *Tuṇḍila Jātaka* however presents an alternative view. In this story

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the Bodhisattva was conceived as a wild sow who, with its young, was reared by an old woman. One day there was a feast in Banaras and some young men desiring meat stole the pig. The Bodhisattva appeared and expounded the Law, after which the king caused the pigs to be bathed in perfumed water, clothed in robes and ornamented with jewels.[276]

Humans observing their animals in times of social upheaval noticed disturbing and abnormal behaviour. Thus, certain inauspiciousness was circumstantial and unrelated to the inherent or perceived characteristics of an animal. Prior to war, elephants and horses assumed terrible shapes.[277] In the battle they emitted shrill cries, became riddled with anxiety and cheerlessness, refused their food, shed tears, urinated, defecated and vomited blood.[278] Others became paralysed with fear; their limbs trembled or they stumbled on even ground.[279] In inauspicious times birds and animals headed south or stared into the sun.[280] Normally auspicious birds : woodpeckers, jays, *kokilas*, watercocks, parrots and peacocks uttered terrible cries.[281] Fish dived to the depths of lakes and left their accustomed haunts.[282] Elephants cast off their trappings, their ichor dried up and they resorted to water.[283] Horses neighed loudly, cried, became weary ; their eyes twitched and sparks flew off their flanks.[284] When Kaṇṭhaka and his groom Caṇḍaka returned to the palace after Gautama's departure, the horse refused his royal food of sweetmeat mixed with honey out of the desolation he felt.[285] Even when administered to by experts all animals in times of distress acted abnormally.[286] In unholy times, deformed horses were born and mares gave birth to cows.[287] The milk of kine dried up and cows yielded only blood when they suckled their young.[288]

Conversely, if the outcome was to be favourable, inauspicious animals and birds appeared auspicious. Ravens, vultures and falcons cried delightfully to the Pāṇḍavas when their victory in battle was imminent.[289] Crows whether stationary or flying uttered beautiful cries.[290] Those that were urged the warriors to advance, while those that were ahead forbade all advance.[291] Even jackals became auspicious to a victorious army.[292]

Possessing quasi-supernatural powers, birds and animals in ancient India were both adored and abhorred. Reinforcing universal characteristics such as beauty or ugliness, were socio-economic factors which led to the development of a hierarchy of creatures and the approbation of auspicious and inauspicious status. Associated with the priests and the upper classes, beautiful and valuable animals such as cattle, elephants and horses were deemed to be auspicious, virtuous and holy. Others such as lions and tigers were admired for their prowess and virility, the very qualities necessary in rulers and warriors. Conversely, birds and animals of physical and behavioural repugnance, or lowly beasts of burden were linked with the lower classes and the unrighteous of many social group. It cannot be overlooked, however, that the complexity of social relations was not accurately portrayed in Brahmanical literature. Thus, tempering the severity of official precepts was the ideal of *ahiṁsa* and a genuine belief by all sects in the equality and sanctity of all life forms.

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4. *Gautamasmṛti*, XI.151.
5. *Arthaśāstra*, XIII.1.395; XIII.2.397-398.
6. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.35.
7. *Karṇaparva*, 7.41,46.
8. *Vanaparva*, 3.267.
9. *Rām.*, III.57;VI.23; VII.41.
10. *Artha.*, II.2.50; II.26.122.
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25. *Jāt.*, No.418. pp. 257-259.
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32. *Udyogaparva.*, 4.61
33. *Rām.*, II.25.
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51. *Ādi.*, 1.66.
52. *Śānti.*, 10.344.
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57. *Svapna Vāsavadattam*, i.13;iii.1.cf.*Hiran*, I.7.24.6;I.7.25.1.
58. *Udyoga.*, 4.83.
59. *Udyoga.*, 4.143.
60. *Karṇa.*, 7.72.
61. 'Having one hundred feathers' — said of the peacock or crane (*Rām.*glossary.,p.522); or wood-pecker, Indian crane, kind of parrot (s.v.Monier-Williams).

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62. *Śānti.*, 10.325.
63. *Rām.*, V.27.
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76. *Udyoga*, 4.40.
77. *Droṇa.*, 6.82.
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82. *Droṇa*, 6.10,23,42; *Śalya.*, 7.64.
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104. cf.R.Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History*, pp.105-119. This outlines the development of the economic, social and religious/symbolic functions of *danā* and *dakṣiṇā* from the Vedic period on.

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131. *Śānti.*, 9.285.

132. *Ibid.*

133. *Vaś.*, XIV.37; *Anuśāsanaparva*, 11.6,74; *Artha.*, II.26.122.cf.D.D.Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, pp.100-04; G.M.Bongard-Levin, *Mauryan India*, p.123. Here the economic incentives behind the sanctification of the cow are outlined.

134. *Manu.*, IV.116.cf.R.N.Sharma, *Ancient India According to Manu*, p.32.

135. *Gaut.*, IX.12; *Āpastambasmṛti.* I.11,30.20,22; *Manu.*, IV.52; *Śānti.*, 8.9; 11.104. These injunctions would have also had their origins in the cultivation of hygiene.

136. *Baud.*, II.3,6.15; *Gaut.* IX.52; *Manu.*, IV.38; *Āpastambasmṛti*, I.11,31,15; *Vaś.*, XII.9.cf.R.N.Sharma, *op.cit.*

137. *Baud.*, II.3,6.18-19; *Gaut.*, IX.19,23-24; *Āpastambasmṛti.*, I.11,31,11-12.cf.V.M.Apte, *op.cit.*, p.41; R.M.Sharmaa, *op.cit.*

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149. *Vana.*, 2.2,35.

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153. *Jāt.*, No.178, p.58.

154. *Artha.*, II.26.122.

155. *Rām.*, III.22; *Karṇa.*, 7.49; *Udyoga.*, 4.83.

156. *Śaṅk.*, I.27.4.

157. *Karṇa.*, 7.46.cf. *Bhīṣma.*, 5.3.

158. *Udyoga.*, 4.185; *Bhīṣma.*, 5.2,17,100,113; *Droṇa.*, 6.7,23,50,93,145,168; *Śalya.*, 7.23; *Karṇa.*, 7.72.

159. *Droṇa.*, 6.97.cf *Ūrubhaṇgam.*, i.11; *Strīparva.*, 7.18,19,20,22,23,24,25,6.

160. *Ūrubhaṇgam.*, i.7.

161. *Ūrubhaṇgam.*, i.5.

162. *Śānti.*, 8.153; 11.141.

163. *Jāt.*, No.399.p.204.cf. *Jāt.*, No.164.p.35.

164. *S.K.*, I.5.2.7.9; *Uttarā.*, XIX.58; *Śānti.*, 8.150; 10.322.

165. *Rām.*, VI.35.

166. *Udyoga.*, 4.143; *Virāṭa.*, 4.46; *Śalya.*, 7.11.

167. *Rām.*, III.23; VI.51,57,96,107.

168. *Rām.*, VI.107.

169. *Rām.*, VI.57,65 : *Virāṭa.*, 4.46; *Śalya.*, 7.11; *Udyoga.*, 4.143; *Droṇa.*, 6.197; *Karṇa.*, 7.37.

170. *Rām.*, VI.35.

171. *Rām.*, II.114.

172. *Vana.*, 3.187

173. Shrike (*Ram.*glossary.p.508); or malabar bird (*Lanius malabar*), (*Artha.*, II.26.122).

174. *Artha.*, I.115.

175. *Ādi.*, 1. 115.

176. *Sabhā.*, 2.71.

177. *Sabhā.*, 2.80.

178. *Sabhā.*, 2.80.

179. *Udyoga.*, 4.73.

180. *Vana.*, 3.178; *Bhīsma.*, 5.3 ; *Droṇa.*, 6.201.cf. *Strī.*,7.2

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181. *Śalya.*, 7.11.

182. *Pañc.*, i., Interlude., p.121

183. *Śaṅk.*, V.5.2; *Aśv.* III.10.9; *Hiran.,* 1.5.17, 18.2-3; *Pāra.*, III.15.20.

184. *Apastambasmṛti,* I.3,10,17.*cf. Pāra.*, I.11.6.

185. *Bhīṣma.*, 5.3.

186. *Ibid.*

187. *Rām.*, I.74.

188. *Vana.*, 3.178.

189. *Vana.*, 3.187.

190. *Vana.*, 3.189.

191. *Bhīṣma.*, 5.3.

192. *Ibid.* Of course, poetic license must taken into account in these instances.

193. *Śilapp.*, II. 13.30-33.

194. *Aśv.*, III.7.7; *Hiraṇ.*, I.5.17.5-6; *Śānti.*, 1.104.

195. *Vana.*, 2.65.

196. *Sauptika.*, 7.1.

197. *Khād.*, II.1.26-28; *Rām.*, V.38; *Adi.*, 1.160,215; *Śānti,* 11.127. This compares to a *mantra* recited in the *Grihya Sūtras* which invoked the birds to come lick the sacrificial libations. cf. *Gobhila.,* I.8.27.

198. *Hiran.*, I.5.16.5; *Gaut.*, XIII.7 ; XVII.10; *Manu.*, IV.208; *Vaś.*, XIV.25-26,33.

199. *Baud.*, II.5, 12.1-2 ; *Vaś.*, XIV.48.

200. *Vaś.*, XXIII.30.

201. *Vaś.*, XIV.2, 12l. *Apastambasmṛti*, I.6, 19.15.

202. *Viṣṇu.*, LI.8, 10,14,15.

203. *Apastambasmṛti,* I.6,19.15.

204. *Manu.*, III 152,180.in R.C.Dutt, *A History of Civilisation in Ancient India Based on Sanskrit Literature,* Vol.II.,p.96.

205. It must be remembered that the Brahmanical percepts were, in certain instances, extremely pedantic and therefore inapplicable. Moreover, the rules of *āpaddharma* (*dharma* in times of distress) provides a more realistic picture of existing social practices as does information contained in Buddhist literature. Thus, in the *Dharmaśāstras*, it is stated that animals slain by *caṇḍālas* pure; cf.*Baud.*, I.5,9.2; *Vaś.*, XXVIII. 8; *Viṣṇu.*, XXIII.50.

206. *Pāṛa.*, II.8.3.

207. *Chikitsāsthāna*, 6.15.in B.R.Mani, *op.cit.*, p.99.

208. *Śānti.*, 9.897.

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209. *Śānti.*, 8.141.

210. *Śānti.*, 9.802.

211. *Dūtavākyam*, i.38.

212. *Santi.*, 11.68.

213. *Manu.*, III.9.

214. *Śaṅk.*, I.27.3 cf.M.M.Singh, *Life in Nor'h East India in Pre-Mauryan Times*, p.74.

215. Ascetics and *munis* being outside the pale of society did not rear any animals as they lived a life of *ahiṁsā*. Creatures of the forest came to them with affection; and dogs often lived in hermitages. cf. *Śānti.*8.116. There was also a belief among the Jainas that the Gujjihagas were residents of Kailāṣa and lived in the world in the form of dogs and hence were to be treated with respect. The Vinayavāda school paid equal reverence to gods, kings, monks, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, jackals, crows, dogs and *caṇḍālas*; in J.C.Jain, *op.cit.*, pp.213,222. Looking upon all creation with an equal eye applied to these persons cultivating religious virtues in all traditions and sects.

216. *Hiraṇ.*, II.2.7.1-2.*Pāra.*, I.16.24 mentions the *mantra* for the expiation of the dog demon.

217. *Śānti.*, 9.285.

218. *Vana.*, 3.2777.

219. *Rām.*, III.23; *Droṇa.* 6.14, 50,72,83, 88,93,97,148,155,168,179; *Bhīṣma.*, 4.143,156,185; 5.17,87,100,102,118; *Virāṭa.*, 4.39,46; *Śalya.*, 7.23; *Stṛi.*, 7.16,18,19,20,21,22,23.

220. *Udyoga.*, 4.143.

221. *Śānti.*, 8.153; 9.141.

222. *Śānti.*, 10.322.

223. *Ibid.*

224. *Ādi.*, 1.115; *Sabhā.*, 75.

225. *Sabhā.*, 2.71.

226. *Sabhā.*, 2.80.

227. *Vana.*, 3.178.

228. *Vana.*, 3.223.

229. *Udyoga.*, 4.156.

230. *Rām.*, III.57.

231. *Jāt.*, No.279., p.265.

232. *Śaṇk.*, II.12.9-10; IV.33; *Pāra.*, II.116; *Apastambasmṛti*, I.3,10,17; *Gaut.*, I.59-60; XVI.8; *Manu.*, IV.115; *Baud.*, I.11,16,21.cf.V.M.Apte, *op.cit.*, p.151.

233. *Rām.*, VI.35; *Bhīṣma.*, 5.3.

234. *Hiran.*, I.5.17.3; *Pāra.*, II.15.20.cf.V.M.Apte, *op.cit.*, p.15.

235. *Ogha Nijjuti Bhāsya.*108.ff.in J.C.Jain, *op.cit.*, p.237.

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236. *Ādi.*, 1.139; *Vana.*, 3.267,289; *Śānti.*, 8.15; 11.127.cf.S.C. Banerji, *op.cit.*, p.268.

237. *Pāra.*, II.8.3.

238. *Rām.*, VII. *Second Interpolated Chapter*, pp.549-54.

239. *Rām.*, VI.35.

240. *Baud.*, I.4,6.4;I.5,11,36,39-41 ; *Gaut.*, XXIII.7; *Āpastambasmṛti.*, I.5,16,29.

241. *Jāt.*, No.468., p.109.

242. *Daridra-Cārudattam.*, iii.15.

243. *Visṇu.*, LI.9.10.14,15; *Manu.*, III.239; IV.208; *Vaś.*, XIV.11,13; *Āpastambasmṭi*, I.6,19,15; *Śānti.*, 8.141; *Anguttara.*, i.p.107; ii.p.85, cf.B.C.Law, *op.cit.*, pp.140,160. It should be noted that dogs were considered pure upon catching deer; cf.*Baud.*, I.5,9.2; *Vaś.*, XXVIII.8; *Visṇu.*, XXIII.50.

244. *Śānti.*, 11.90.cf.S.C.Banerji,*op.cit.*, p.289.

245. cf. *Śa.*, IV.7.33; *Pāra.*, II.8.3; *Manu.*, III.239; *Avimāraka.*, vi.5.

246. *Avimāraka.*, vi.5; J.C.Jain, *op.cit.*, p.145.

247. *Jāt.*, No.152.p.5.cf.M.M.Singh, *op.cit.*, p.17.

248. *Ādi.*, 1.115; *Sabhā.*, 2.43.

249. *Gaut.*, XVI.8.

250. *Āpastambasmṛti.*, II.11,32.25.This differs from *Śilapp.*, I.6.118-127,where Kovalan mounts a mule to meet his lover Madavi. According to N.R.Ramachandra Dikshitar,tr.,*The Śilappadikāram*, fn.7, perhaps carriages yoked to mules were used by people of high rank in the early part of the Christian era. cf.S.C.Banerji,*op.cit.*, p.244, *Madranābha-niṣādas*(a low mixed caste) moved about on donkey carts.

251. *Rām.*, III.31,35,42,64; VI.51.

252. *Rām.*, II.69.cf.V.Pathak, *op.cit.*, p.414.

253. *Rām.*, II.69.

254. *Rām.*, VI.35.

255. *Bhīṣma.*, 5.3.

256. *Śānti.*, 8.141.

257. cf.*Śānti.*, XI.101.*Manu.*, X.52.in V.S.Agrawala, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

258. *Baud.*, II.3,6.34.

259. *Brih.*, XXIII.10.

260. *Uttarā.*, 23.p.285.ff.in J.C.Jain, *op.cit.*, p.70. cf., *Manu.*, VIII.370.

261. *Baud.*, II.1.1,3.

262. *Rām.*, V.32,34.

263. *Gaut.*, I.59-60; *Manu.*, IV.126; *Vaś.*, XXIII.29.

264. *Manu.*, IV.115.

265. *Udyoga.*, 4.143.

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266. *Vaś.*, XIV.40; *Śānti.*, 8.165.

267. *Sabhā.*, 2.64.

268. *Bhīṣma.*, 5.2.

269. *Āpastambasmṛti.*, I.5.17,5.

270. *Manu.*, IV.192, 195, 196, in R.C.Dutt, *op.cit.*, p.94.

271. *Rām.*, II.114.

272. *Rām.*, VII.6.

273. *Rām.*, VI.35.

274. *Śānti.*, 11.131

275. *Baud.*, I.5,12.3.cf.*Mahābhāśya.*, I.11.p.5. L.16ff; VII.3.14.p.220. L.22.in B.N.Puri, *India in the Time of Patañjali*, p.97.

276. *Jāt.*, No.411.p., 238.

277. *Manu.*, III.239.

278. *Jāt.*, No.388., p.181.

279. *Udyoga.*, 4.73.

280. *Rām.*, VI. 35; *Udyoga.*, 4.143; *Virāṭa.*, 4.39; *Droṇa.*, 6.77,88,129; *Bhīṣma* 4.133.

281. *Rām.*, III. 23; VI. 57, 78, 96 ; *Karṇa-Bhāram*, i. 11 ; *Karṇa.*, 7.37, 46 ; *Droṇa.*, 6.18, 77.

282. *Rām.*, III.57; VI.35; *Vana.*, 3.267; *Karṇa.*, 7.46.

283. *Bhīṣma.*, 5.2,3; *Virāṭa.*, 4.46.

284. *Rām.*, II.59; III.23.

285. *Rām.*, II.41,59,71; VI.10,55,107; *Pratimā-Nāṭakam*, ii.2; *Bhīṣma.*, 5.3.

286. *Rām.*, II. 41, 59, 71 ; VI. 10, 55, 107 ; *Pratimā-Nāṭakam*, ii. 2 ; *Droṇa.*, 6.154 ; *Śalya.*, 7.56, 58.

287. *Mahāvastu*, II.189.

288. *Rām.*, VI.10.

289. *Bhīṣma.*, 5.3.

290. *Rām.*, VI.10; *Silapp.*, II.17.1-10; *Bhīṣma.*, 5.3.

291. *Bhīṣma.*, 5.3.

292. *Śānti.*, 8.102.

293. *Bhīṣma.*, 5.8.When crows hovered behind an army this was auspicious and vice versa, in P.C.Roy, tr., *The Mahābhārata*, Vol.V, p.10.

294. *Śānti.*, 8.102.

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7

Ancient Greek Historiography of North-Western India: Some Observations

U.P. Arora

On account of its strategic position, the North-Western part of the Indo-Pak sub-continent occupies a place of great significance in the development of Indian history and culture. The area was exposed to various external influences and some of the important routes connecting the interior of India with the outside world ran through this region. From the hoary past, various races and tribes met and intermingled here and contributed to the growth of society and culture of ancient India. The cross-fertilization between the foreign elements and native genius gave rise to forms which greatly enriched Indian civilization. Unfortunately for such an area of great historical and cultural significance, the indigenous sources are scanty. The Greek accounts fill this lacuna to some extent.

The Greek knowledge of North-West India began with the contact of the Persians with that area. Under Persian Empire (6th-5th c.B.C.) the Asian Greeks of Ionia and the Indians of North-Western regions, who were serving together in the Persian court, got an opportunity of knowing each other. The knowledge of Ionian Greeks was confined to Indians of the Persian empire only, which was known to the Persians as the land of Sindhu, the Indus river. The word 'Sindhu' was transformed into 'Hindu' by the Persians and into 'Indos' by the Asian Greeks. Thus the Greeks began to call the land of 'Indos'(Indus) as India.

The first Greek account of North-Western India was written by a sea captain Scylax of Caryanda, whom king Darius had employed to explore the course of the river Indus.[1] The advent of Alexander on the Indian soil extended the Greek knowledge of India as far as the river Beas in the Punjab. In making a general survey of Greek accounts of North-Western Indian from Scylax till the time of Alexander, we notice that they deal with a variety of subjects. They took interest in the study of natural environment, philosophy and religion, customs and manners and several other subjects concerning the inhabitants of North-West India. On account of the paucity of Indian material for this border region, the Greek historiography should have been of great help to us. But this is not so. Like the Epic and Pūrāṇic texts of India, the Greek accounts are also mixed up with

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myths and fabulous tales. Besides, their statements are full of contradictory reports and certain preconceived Greek notions.

Coming first to their fabulous reports, we observe that interest in marvels was widely prevalent. Scylax, the very first author on N.W. India, established this tradition. He had himself visited the region around Indus and could write on his own experience, but instead, we find him trying to amaze his readers with the description of fabulous Indian races.[2] Ktesias, who was for several years in the service of Artaxerxes, and had opportunities of access to official records, as he was a doctor, also took interest in gossip and wondrous tales.[3] Even in the narratives of Herodotus, the father of history, "The quantum of travel has indeed been generally exaggerated." But he was investigative too. In his description of gold-digging ants of North-West India,[4] he did not suggest that his account was necessarily true. He was somewhat doubtful of the truth regarding them, and so kept reminding his readers that he had not personally seen such ants, and that he got the whole story from the Persians. His aim was just to record what he had heard.

Among Alexander's companions the interest in marvels was shown mainly by authors like Onesicritus, Baiton nd Polycleitus. Tarn draws our attention towards a source, which reveals the names of certain poetasters with Alexander, who may also be included in the list of gossipers.[5]

The fabulous races described by Scylax and Ktesias in the context of North-West India occur even in earlier works, when the Greeks had no definite knowledge of India. For example, the one-eyed men of Scylax had occurred in the works of Homer and Aeschylus.[6] Ktesias' Pygmies were known to Homer[7] and his dog-headed men were in the knowledge of Aeschylus.[8] In fact, the Greeks were in the habit of imagining extra-ordinary creatures in far-off lands. The mythical creatures, mentioned in North-West India, were also reported by the Greeks from other lands. Thus Hekataios had located the *Sciapodes* of Scylax's India in Ethiopia, and Pygmies of Ktesias' India in Southern Egypt.[9] The Indian Griffins were known to Herodotus as a creature of far North.[10]

From the foregoing survey it becomes obvious that the narration of supernatural elements in the writings of early Greek authors on India was just an extension of pre-conceived Greek notions. Such reports on North-Western India later became an integral part of writings on India. Anyone writing on India knew about the gold-digging ants, dog-headed, shadow-footed and one-eyed races from his predecessors. When Nearchus visited North-West India, he was interested in confirming Herodotus's myth of gold-digging ants. He reported that he never saw such ants, but their skins were shown to him in the camp, and they looked like a panther's skin.[11] Murray opines that probably the skin was an actual panther skin, and since Nearchus was interested in confirming the Herodotus account, he concocted the explanation on his own initiative. [12] Even Megasthenes who stayed in India for a considerable period, thought it necessary to incorporate most of the traditional marvels in his book. But it may be noted that such marvels were narrated by him only for North-Western regions, which were unknown to him, while for the Gangetic valley, where he was himself present, the account is nearer to realities.

We should also take into account the fact that not all the myths about North-Western India were just pre-conceived notions of the Greeks.The myth of gold-digging ants of Herodotus is corroborated by the Indian literature.[13] Regarding the mythical races like shadow-footed, (*Sciapodes*), one-eyed (*Monomatoi*), dog-headed (*Kvnokephaloi*), & long-headed (*Makrokephaloi*), it may be said

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that although they were reported by the Greeks from other regions also, long before their knowledge of North-West India, they also correspond to *Karṇapravarṇa, Ekalocana* or *Ekakṣa, Śvānmukhas* and *Dīrghagrīvasyadeśa* of anciet Indian literature. Some Greek myths were just transplanted to India by Alexander's companions. For example, on seeing certain traditions and attributes similar to Greek deities in North-West India, the myths of Dionysus and Heracles'[14] conquest of India and their worship by the Indians were created.

Next to mythical reports we notice that the early Greek authors had greatly idealized the Indians and their country. The land was described as having fabulous wealth and genial seasons; and its people were mentioned as the most just, long-lived, healthy, truth-loving and peaceful.[15] Ktesias of Knidos, whose work on India is known for wondrous tales, was the first to attribute 'uprightness' (*dikaiotatoi*) to Indians.[16] Alexander's companion Onesicritus gives a romantic description of the people of Mousicanos, living in the southernmost part of the Indus region.[17]

Like mythical reports, the idealization was also not confined to Indians only in Greek accounts. The Greeks had been idealizing foreign peoples from the very beginning. Homer had mentioned Ethiopians as 'blameless' (*amvmontas*).[18] The Hyperboreans were described by Pindar as living in a state, of idyllic bliss.[19] Aeschylus's 'Gamii' were most just and loved foreigners.[20] His Scythians were obedient to law (*eunomoi*)[21]. There were certain common characteristics, which according to Fergusson were ingredients of a noble savage society in ancient Greek thought. They included idealization of nature (congenial climate, metals and mines, rich crops), social equality (common meal, absence of slavery, etc.), and virtuous people (just, simple-living, peaceful, law - abiding, rejecting gross materialism, etc.).[22] It may be noted that all these virtues were attributed to Indians also by the Greek authors.

Rhode draws our attention towards two different views in Greek thought regarding the distant past. One of them considered the early society as primitive and savage, while the other looked upon it as a golden age. The golden age view was upheld by Plato, Dicarchus and Stoic. Along with the golden age view, the ancient Greeks also believed that at the extreme end of the earth there still existed such a noble and virtuous society. The imaginary Hyperboreans in the far-North and Ethiopians in the far South were believed to have such a society. With the advancement of geographical knowledge of remote places, the other peoples were also believed to be living in a state of idyllic bliss.[23] So it may be postulated that when North-Wertern Indians came to be known in the Greek world, they too were included among the righteous people owing to their supposed location at the eastern end of the world.

Those who idealized Indians had a certain image of their ideal land which they saw in their utopia of India. When Xenophon eulogized some North-Western kings as very just and impartial,[24] he wanted to support the monarchical system every where. Onesicritus extolled Indians to support his cynic doctrines.[25] As a disciple of Diogenes, he found the corroboration of his ideas in Indian asceticism. The meeting with Indian gymnosophists in Taxila was used by Onesicritus as an opportunity to expound his personal ideas, which were in contrast with the materialistic outlook of a common Greek, and nearer to Indians. His description of the people of Mousicanou in the lower-Indus region combines several such elements as may be observed in the utopia of Plato, Theopompos, Euhmeros, and Iambulus.[26]

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The 'Interpratio-Graeca', i.e., seeing the affairs with Greek bias was very prominent in Greek accounts of North-Western India. When Ktesias spoke about the river *Yparkhon*,[27] in India, he had probably in his mind the Greek fairy river Eridanos. The description of a common meal[28] and the examination of a new born child[29] in Onesicritus' account shows the shifting of Spartan custom to North-Western India. When Onesicritus wrote that the handsome person was chosen as king in Kathaea state of North-Western India,[30] he was following Herodotus,[31] who had described a similar practice among the Ethiopians. Similarly, when he described the luxury of eating meat by the beautiful exercise of hunting, he was speaking about customs which were attributed to Persians by Xenophon.[32]

India was often viewed by the early Greeks in the light of Egypt and Ethiopia. The Indian heat, rivers, plants, birds, animals, etc., all contributed to remind Alexander's companions of the land of the Nile ; and comparisons were made between their climatic, topographical and hydrographical conditions. The Greeks emphasized the superior fertility of India, evidenced in her greater population, and the size and strength of Indian animals. In fact, the comparison with Egypt was made in all kinds of ways.[33]

The early Greek descriptions of North-Western India have often been contradicted by the later accounts. Alexander's companion Nearchus stated that the Indians "wrote on linen cloth that is very closely woven"[34] ; but Megasthenes reported that writing was unknown in India.[35] Likewise, Nearchus noted that elephants were kept by richmen only;[36] but Megasthenes observed that no private man was allowed to keep elephants.[37]

In a vast country like India, a phenomenon might be peculiar to one region alone. In ancient days when communications were not so easy, these differences were more prominent. Thus the statement of Nearchus on the existence of writing may be considered valid only for the North-Western part of the country, which he had visited. Megasthenes' testimony, too, is not against the Indian literary and archaeological evidences, for there is no archaeological evidence of writing in Gangetic valley before Aśokan Brāhmī. To reject Megasthenes' evidence on the basis of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī, Arthaśāstra* and some *Dharmasūtras* is untenable, for *Aṣṭādhyāyī's* refernce to writing prior to Megasthenes is for the North-Western part only ; and the others are of doubtful antiquity.[38]

The contradictions between the authors, who visited different regions in different periods, are explainable; but the contradictions among the authors who were together in North-Western India, are a sad commentary on Greek veracity. For example, Aristobulus and Ptolemy were together in Alexander's army ; but they furnished completely different accounts of Alexander's encounter with king Poros.[39] Regarding the meeting with gymnosphists, Onesicritus wrote that he was deputed by Alexander to converse with them, for they did not visit other people when invited, but those who wished to listen had to go to them.[40] But Aristobulus reported that the gymnosphists themselves visited Alexander.[41] Onesicritus reported the Indian animals to be larger than elsewwhere, [42] Aristobulus stated that he saw no Indian animals of a huge size.[43] The distance between the two mouths of the river Indus at Patalene was mentioned by Nearchus as 1800 stadia, [44] but by Aristobulus, as 1000 stadia.[45] As an example of disagreement among Alexander's companions, Strabo cited different versions of Kalanos' self-immolation, in which the cause as well as the manner in which he immolated himself varied.[46]

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While making an assessment of the accounts of Alexander's companions it may be said that, Onesicritus furnished an exaggerated account; Nearchus was moderate; and Aristobulus, the most restrained. It appears that each one had his own motive; and the subjective element was dominant. This becomes obvious from the comments of Alexander's companions themselves, who accuse each other of distorting the facts. Nearchus discredited Onesicritus ; while Aristobulus was not by any means ready to follow both Onesicritus and Nearchus uncritically.[47] The weakness of the sources on Alexander was already realized by the compilers of Alexander's accounts, as both Strabo[48] and Arrian[49] made their complaints against them.

Some of the variations among Alexander's companions may be due to the limitations of strangers in understanding the complex character of India. In the interpretation of Indian phenomena, they must have been hampered by the difficulty of language also. Mention may be made of a series of dialogues between Onesicritus and the Indian gymnosophists, where the necessity for using a number of interpreters had greatly impeded his enquiries.[50]

After a perusal of the early Greek writings before Alexander appeared in North-Western India, we may observe three dominant elements in them : (a) descriptions of strange races, animals, customs, things etc., (b) exaggeration of India's wealth; (c) regard for Indian wisdom.

The attraction of marvels fascinated them from the very beginning. The very first Greek author on India, Scylax, and after him Ktesias, took great interest in strange human races, fabulous animals, etc. Herodotus established the tradition of attributing immense wealth to India. The reverence for India's wisdom began with the advent of Alexander on Indian soil. Onesicritus' dialogues with the gymnosophists of Taxila became a great source of inspiration for later authors. With Onesicritus' account of North-Western India, the general image of India and the Indians took final shape, and remained unaltered.

Megasthenes, whose account of India is considered to be the most significant, took much material from Herodotus, Ktesias, and Onesicritus' descriptions of North-Western India. Some of the features which were marked as characteristic of the land of Mousicanos in Onesicritus' narative, were attributed to the whole of India by Megasthenes. Regarding marvels, too, Megasthenes thought it necessary to incorporate them in his book. But it may be observed that they were assigned by him only to the North-Western regions, which were unknown to him ; while for the Gangetic valley, where he was himself present, his account is nearer to realities. As the sensational reports were separately described by Megasthenes, it is easy to draw a line between historical and imaginary in his account. But it is difficult to assess the accounts of Onesicritus, who had the skill of combining his observations with the unreal in such a manner that they could not be easily distinguished.[51]

Despite several drawbacks, the Greek accounts of North-Western India are of great significance. Modern historiography may discredit them, but they are the best available literary accounts for this part of the country. Some of their reports have certainly unveiled unknown chapters of Indian history. For example, Herodotus' report of the inclusion of North-Western India in the empire of Darius is attested by inscriptional evidence.[52] The political, socio-economic and cultural life of the North-Western people, as depicted by the companions of Alexander, would have remained almost entirely unknown, but for their writings. Their observations regarding the

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republican and monarchical forms of government are of great value. The account of Nearchus' discovery of the sea-route between India and the Persian-gulf[53] is the first voyage of discovery in the ancient world, of which we have any detailed narrative.

It is to be greatly regretted that not a single work by an author who knew the country personally has come down to us, except in epitomes and some fragments that have survived the ravages of time. So we are not reading their own books, but only second-hand works, passed through many scribal editings. To this may be added the prejudices of both Indian informants and foreigners, and also the inability of a foreign visitor to examine Indian conditions critically on account of the complex character of the land and its people; of their languages and their society.

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8

Kuṣāṇa Urban Settlements of Jammu and Kashmir

Y.B. Singh

The region of Jammu and Kashmir is famous for its historical literature and other Sanskrit texts. The Valley has various *Rājataraṅgiṇis* which cover its past from remote antiquity to medieval days.[1] And the area of Jammu has information about its past from the traditions contained in the works of the later half of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century.[2] Such works contain detailed bardic traditions about the early medieval people of Jammu, though because of their lateness not much reliable. This apart, the aim of the chronicles of both the regions was to provide details of the political developments alone. The purpose of other literary texts was to deal with the science of sex, etc.[3] Thus for information about economic history one has to take into consideration the archaeological data. The archaeological evidence and the literary texts togehter to reveal that both the areas of the province — Jammu as well as Kashmir — developed their economy mainly during the Kuṣāṇa period. However, we have to take the details pertaining to Jammu and Kashmir separately, because their pre-Kuṣāṇa phases have altogether different contexts.

Due to the importance of Akhnur where the river Chenab (Candrabhāgā) becomes navigable for the first time after its descent from the slopes of hills, the region of Jammu had become the hub of economic activities at least for the days of Harappan culture.[4] It was in this period that the area witnessed urban development. But after the Harappan days its economy suffered a deep setback. Archaeological evidence tells us nothing about the long period which elasped betweens the Harappans and the Kuṣāṇa traders. The area of Jammu had some development owing to the settlement of Madra, Śālva and Kṛmi sections of the Vedic people.[5] Śākala (Sialkot of Pakistan), the most famous place of the Ṛgvedic times, is very close to the present city of Jammu. The ups and downs of Śākala always affected the religious, socio-economic and political conditions of the Jammu area. The economy of Vedic people was simple and cattle-based; and thus we can presume that their settlements in and around Jammu too had the same economic pattern.[6] During the time of Darius I of Persia, the efforts of Scylax of Caryanda, who explored the Indus river system, might have given boost to its timber trade, but the lack of evidence — literary as well as archaeological — restrains us from drawing conclusions about it.[7] There are strong possibilities, though, that the wood used in the West Asian buildings was from this region.[8] Alexander's invasion certainly made

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its impact on the area of Jammu which includes Abhisāra of those days, but its nature was purely political.[9] During the Maurya-Śuṅga period, Śākala perhaps started flourishing, but again its details are not known to us. The account from the *Divyāvadāna* simply tells us that it was a place full of Buddhist monasteries.[10] Similarly, we have very little information about the Indo-Bactrian Greek period, though Śākala had become the capital of Demetrius I of the house of Euthydemus.[11] Perhaps, as the Indo-Bactrian Greeks could hold the area for a very little time, the impact on the economy was almost insignificant.

However, the economy of Śākala improved to a considerable degree during the time of Menander. It perhaps witnessed its first phase of urbanization during this period. If *Milindapañho* is to be believed, then it was a city par excellence and its markets were full of merchandise. Yet, the description of the said text cannot be applied to the areas of Jammu. The known sites of the area have not yet yielded objects which could be associated with the Indo-Bactrian Greeks. Only one or two coins of Eucratides, the rival of Demetrius I, are reported form Poonch (Parṇotsa).[12]

But when we come to the period of the Kuṣāṇas, we find that the area of Jammu received a tremendous boost to its economy. More than one hundred sites, which have yielded the pottery of the Kuṣāṇa period, have been reported from places adjoining the river Chenab, the most important river route of the area.[13] These Kuṣāṇa settlements pose a problem. Most of the Kuṣāṇa rulers are known to us from the inscriptions. The inscriptions of the kings of the line of Kaniṣka have been found at different places in their empire, but, so far, no inscription has been reported either from the area around Jammu, or from the valley of Kashmir. It appears surprising when one learns that the region of Ladakh has at least one inscription of the early Kuṣāṇa ruler Wema Kadphises.[14]

Under the circumstances, we have to believe that these Kuṣāṇa urban settlements came into existence owing to trade factors. It is also interesting to note that all the reported settlements are very small. They have yielded mainly pottery and, as stated above, are located close to the river Chenab. This suggests that they had developed mainly as entrepots. Commercial commodities were brought from the interior to these entrepots, and from there were transported to the different markets of Asia and Rome.[15] In those days Rome was the biggest market. And, since we know that even herbs like *kuṭha* (costus) were sent to Rome from Kashmir, we can safely presume that the products of Jammu hills were sent to either Bactria or Kashmir, and from there to Central Asian regions, Rome and China through the Southern Silk route.[16] The Bactrian route apart, the connection of the valley with the Southern Silk route through the hilly terrain via Jammu, Punjab and Bactria is a well known fact. Salt was brought to the valley from outside. The route through which salt was carried is still known as the salt route.[17] Hence, it is quite possible that the caravans, after unloading the salt, obtained local produce of the areas of Jammu and Kashmir for sale in Panjab, etc., as well as in Rome via Afghanistan. It was this silk route connection which paved the first phase of the urbanisation in Jammu. The briskness of activity can be guaged from the number of Kuṣāṇa settlements, which exceed the figure of hundred. So is the case with the pattern of these settlements. Most of these are in places located around the river Chenab, through which it was easy to carry heavy articles like wood, etc., to the plains of the Panjab.

We have to accept the predominant role of the Kuṣāṇa years, when the economy depended mainly on trade carried through the silk-route. As the traders started collecting local produce for

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its export to Rome, China and other places, the purchasing capacity of the local populace increased. As a result of this, traders started bringing in consumer goods for their use. The impact of this economy was felt by the subsequent settlements also. Thus, when *Rājaputras* started settling in the area, they preferred mainly those places which were urbanized during the Kuṣāṇa period.[18] The impact of this economy was of far reaching consequence. The people of the area had developed a liking for the Kuṣāṇa way of life. Like the *devakula* of the Kuṣāṇa rulers, the *Rājaputras* of Jammu still construct *samādhis* over the relics of their dead ancestors. Such *samādhis* were constructed sometimes within the temple precincts. Brahmanical practice did not prescribe the erection of *samādhis*.

The traditions recorded by Kalhaṇa tell us that it were the Mauryas who introduced political and legal institutions into the valley.[19] But the economy of the pre-Mauryan and Mauryan periods is not known to us in any detail. Only its woollen goods are mentioned in certain texts.[20] But their importance was much less in comparison with the products of the coastal regions of the South, at least during the Mauryan rule.[21] During the Kuṣāṇa days, however, there was a tremendous growth in trade,[22] resulting in a very quick process of urbanisation. The Mauryan city of Śrīnagarī (present Srinagar) apart, many a new city came into existence.[23] The literary traditions regarding the foundation of Huṣkapura, Juṣkapura and Kaniṣkapura by the *Turuṣka* Kings (Kuṣāṇa) are supported by the archaeological evidence.[24] At these places, antiquities of the Kuṣāṇa phase have been found in plenty.[25] The archaeological evidence also shows that these cities were quite big in size in relation to the topography of the area. Besides these, we have Kuṣāṇa objects from other places on the routes connecting difficult places with workable roads. Such places are more on the side through which caravans moved to places on the silk-route via Gilgit. The trade contacts which were developed with Rome and China by the Kuṣāṇas, provided the opportunity for commercial growth in the valley. The demand for *Pashmina* wool needed for the manufacture of good quality shawls, which were very popular in Rome, Persia, etc., increased so much that people started obtaining it from the region of Ladakh also.[26] Thus the area of Ladakh, too, gained some benefits. Woollen goods apart, herbs, particularly *Kuṭha*, were in great demand in Rome.[27] Saffron was another commodity of Kashmir which brought prosperity to it.[28] Unfortunately, Kashmir's commercial contacts with other Asian regions and Rome are known to us only from foreign accounts, which do not furnish much detail. One can imagine that there were other commercial commodities, too, besides the prized *pashmina*, saffron and *Kuṭha*. As the archaeological exploration of the valley has not been extensive, it is quite possible that it had many more than the three urban centres enumerated above. If more than a hundred entrepots are known to us from the region of Jammu, then we can expect definitely more in the valley, which had much better items of trade.

While traders were busy in enriching the valley with the silk-route trade, the Buddhists, under the patronage of Kaniṣka I, started moving towards China, etc., with the intention of spreading their *Dhamma*.[29] Their efforts brought China and other places under the influence of Buddhism.[30] No doubt, scholars cite an unconfirmed tradition regarding the knowledge of Buddhism in China during the Ts'in dynasty as early as 217 B.C.[31] They also refer to the gold statue of Buddha, which was carried to China by its General in 121 B.C.[32] But authentic evidences suggest that the *dhamma* of the Buddha reached China through the efforts of the Yueh-chi court only in the first century A.D.[33]

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The role of the Kashmiri Buddhist monks is well-known in this regard.[34] It appears reasonable to believe that religion and culture followed the trade through the silk-route. Trade and Buddhism also provided the Kashmiri people access to Afghanistan. It is a known fact that Bamiyan has become a centre of Buddhism.[35] If we believe Hiuen-Tsang, then the place was under the rule of Śākyas, and at the time of his visit a prince of that line was still on the throne.[36] The caravans used to move from this place to Bactria, which was the meeting point of the roads going towards Central Asia and China.[37] The road leading China perhaps followed the silk-route, as it also passed through Kashghar.[38] And, Kashghar via Gilgit was connected with Kashmir through many a small route. Some of these routes were so difficult that only goats could carry the loads on them.[39] It were such routes that are mentioned in literature as *ajapatha*.[40] The Buddhist antiquities of all these places are well known, and were very ably documented by Sir A. Stein and N. Dutt. The role of Kashmiri caravan leaders in working out routes through difficult terrain and passes was so important that they became masters of the trade-transport of the entire Himalayan regions of Kashmir, Ladakh, Tibet and Nepal.[41] Their reputation as traders and caravan-leaders was well established. The Muslim population of Nepal is still known as Kashmiri.

Thus the silk-route economy of the Kuṣāṇa days is of immense importance. It enabled both Jammu and Kashmir to develop a trade-based economy. Many urban centres sprang into existence and played an important role in the over-all cultural development of this region.

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23. Kalhaṇa, *op. cit.*, I.104, Cunningham has, however, identified it with the present Pandrethan. See Stein's note on the above mentioned verse.

24. *Ibid.* I. 168-169.

25. R.C. Kak, *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar* (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla, 1923), pp.11-13.

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29. P.C. Bagchi, *India and China—A Thousand Years of Cultural Relations* (Saraswat Library, Calcutta,1987) p.8; R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp.645-46.

30. *Ibid.*

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39. Motichandra, *Sārthavāha* (Hindi, Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna, 1966), p.52.

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41. Y.B. Singh, "Kashmir and Nepal" in the *Proceedings of Punjab History Conference* (Punjabi University, Patiala, 14th Session, 1980), pp. 69-76.

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9

The Magherā (Mathurā) Well Stone Inscription of The Yavana Rājya Saṁvat 116

T.P.Verma

In the year 1988 a stone inscription was brought into the Government Museum, Mathura. This stone was broken into two pieces. It was a semi-circular stone, probably affixed to the raised platform of a well. The inscription was engraved on the inner rim of the stone in three lines. There is no difficulty in reading the deeply engraved beautiful letters of the epigraph, which remain well preserved on account of being inside the rim.

The main significance of this inscription is that it is dated in the year 116 of *Yavanarājya*. Sri V.N. Srivastava and Sri Maheshar P. Joshi[1] and Smt. Puspa Thakurail and Sri Pyare Lal Mishra[2] have discussed this epigraph in the *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P.* I do not subscribe to some of the views expressed by the above mentioned authors.

The text given by Smt. Thakurail and Sri Mishra is somewhat defective; and there are also some errors in the translation. Some of these errors are due to printing mistakes. I am giving my reading of the text as follows:

TEXT

L.1. *Yavanarājyasya ṣoḷaśottare varṣa śate 100(+) 10(+) 6 Hemanta māse 4 divasa 30 etāyē pūrvāye*

L.2. *brāhmaṇasya Maitreyasa gotrasya Ghoṣadatta putrasya sārthavāhasya Vīrabalasya mātura Hogaṇiya udapāni*

L.3. *puṣkariṇi saha putreṇa Vīrabalena vadhūye Bhāgureye pautrehi ca Śuradattena Ṛṣabhadevena Vīradattena ca puṇyaṁ vardhatu (II).*

It can be translated as follows :

"In the one hundred and sixteenth year of Yavana Rājya, on the 30th day of the fourth month of Hemanta (season). On this aforesaid date Hogaṇiya, the mother of Sārthavāha, Vīrabala, (who was), the son of the Ghoṣadatta, a Brāhmaṇa of Maitreya Gotra, (excavated) a weel and a pond, for the increase of *Puṇya* of (herself) along with her son Vīrabala, daughter-in-law Bhāgureyī, and grandsons Śuradatta, Ṛṣabhadeva and Vīradatta."

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Palaeographically, this inscription belongs to post Kṣatrapa and pre-Kuṣāṇa period. Among the vowels, *U, R,* and *E* are used. In the second line the vowel *U* in the word *Udupāni* has a rounded angle. *Ṛ* is like a cross, the upper portions of which are beautifully bent. It is to be noted here that this letter *Ṛ* is found in this epigraph for the first time, since the days of Aśoka. *E* is triangular and appears similar to the letter *va* among the consonants. *Gha* has a flat base ; *va* has a beak to its left; *ta* with a rounded top hanging with a triangular headmark; *da* has a bent back; while *na* has a bent base. The base of *pa* is flat like that of *sa*; and *bha* has a flourish in its left arm; *ma* has a triangular base with arms bent outwards. *Ya* in all cases is the tripartite type. Among the conjuncts also, *ya* is always the tripartite type, which is a characteristic of the pre-Kuṣāṇa inscriptions. In the Sārnāth inscriptions of year three of the time of Kaṇiṣka, and in the Śrāvastī inscription, both types of *ya* are found. Later on, bipartite *ya* ousts the earlier tripartite *ya*. In the pre-Kuṣāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā, among which the inscription of the time of Śoḍāśa are included, we find only tripartite *ya*, even in conjuncts. This palaeographic characteristic is a definite pointer to the date of the present inscription in the middle of the first century A.D. This inscription cannot be taken to belong to the time of Śoḍāśa, because in those inscriptions some letters like *a, ra, ka,* etc., have long flourishing verticals which are bent at the lower tip; but in the present one this tendency is not seen except in *ra*. Therefore, it should belong to the middle of the first century A.D., i.e., to the post-Kṣatrapa and pre-Kuṣāṇa period. This is what our palaeographical analysis shows. Srivastava and Joshi observe that the conspicuous nail-headed angular characters, the introduction of which seems to have begun only around the first quarter to the 18th century A.D. (*sic.*; perhaps this should be the first century A.D.) as evident from Mathura inscriptions of the Matras (*sic.*; Mitras), conjunctions and the forms of alphabets — specially *ra cha sa* are some important features of the epigraph connoting a date late about the first century B.C.[3] We do not understand how these palaeographical features lead the learned scholars to assign this inscription to the first century B.C. But their intentions become clear when they state: "Our contention is that if we do not identify Yavana of our inscription with Menander, we have no other Yavana king in the Gangetic Valley who could have commanded such respect that 116 years after his rule, he was still remembered by a Brahmin family, obviously his era must have been in vouge long after his death. Furthermore, it is to be noted that Mathura region has yielded a fairly large number of dated inscriptions referring to either the era of 57 B.C. or 78 A.D., which were later on distinguished as Vikrama era and Śaka era respectively'.[4] Thus they want to suggest that the Vikrama era, starting in 57B.C., was founded by the Yavana king Menander; and indirectly, this inscription refers to that. They also believe that the authors of this inscription were the Datta rulers of Mathurā who assumed power soon after the Mitra Kings.[5] But it is not clear how they reached this conclusion. In the inscription it is clearly stated that Vīrabala was a Sārthavāha, whose mother caused a well and a pond to be excavated for the spiritual benefit of her son, daughter-in-law and three grandsons, two of whom have Datta name endings. Thus these people can by no stretch of the imagination be taken to belong to royal family.

The most important thing in this inscription, which draws our attention, is the mention of the era of the Yavana rule. We should consider this question in some detail. If the expression *Yavana rājyasya ṣolaśottare varṣa śate* had not been found in this epigraph, we could have easily counted it among the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā without much discussion. Its palaeographical features and the mode of giving dates, i.e., the thirteenth day of the month of *hemanta*, etc., are found in other

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Kuṣāṇa inscriptions also; but the whole problem centres around *Yavanarājyavarṣa*. In Indian literature and inscriptions the word *Yavana* is used for almost all the foreigners coming from the West. It is certain that in the beginning this word was used for the Greeks coming from Ionia. After that it was used for any person from Greek countries and also for the Bactrian Greeks; but later on it was used for almost all the foreigners whether they were Greeks, Śaka or Pahlava. For example in the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman I (second century A.D.) one official of Aśoka Maurya named Tuṣāspha is said to be a *Yavanarāja*; but this name appears to be Iranian. In Indian literature, *Śaka, Yavana, Pahlava* are conventional expressions. From the historical viewpoint also, it is difficult to distinguish between some *Śaka* and *Pahlava* kings, whose names we find on coins. From Azez to Gondophernes, the same situation continues, and we cannot clearly distinguish which of these kings was *Śaka* or *Pahlava*. The same situation prevailed in the first century A.D. in relation to *Yavanas*. Although we get some inscriptions in Western India where some families called themselves *Śakas* or *Yavanas*, it was confined to those families alone. For the rest of Indian society, all these foreigners were *Yavanas*. The Kuṣāṇas ruled over a large part of northern India for considerable time, and one of their rulers is said to have started the *Śaka* era. Yet we do not nave any definite name of their race of tribe in Indian literature. The *Rājataraṅginī* of Kalhaṇa refers to Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaṇiṣka as Turuṣkas i.e. Tocharians. Onomastic studies also show that names Kaṇiṣka, Huviska, etc., are Tocharian in origin and not Iranian.

Srivastava and Joshi tell us that "the inscription under reference is dated in the era 116 of the Yavana rule and has been placed between *c*. 70-65 B.C.". They end the article with the observation that "this inscription refers to an era which started in 57 B.C.". We have two national eras in India, one starting in 57 B.C., which in the beginning was called *Mālava Saṁvat* or *Kṛta Saṁvat*, and later on as *Vikrama Saṁvat*. The second one started in 78 A.C., which was called *Śaka saṁvat* or *Śaka-Śālivāhana Saṁvat*. This *Śaka Saṁvat* was used by the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Western India till the end of the fourth century A.D., and this perhaps was the reason for its nomenclature. Some scholars believe that it has nothing to do with the era used in the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions. About the *Vikrama* or *Mālava Saṁvat* the Indian tradition has no doubt that it was started by Vikramāditya of Ujjain in 57 B.C.; and we have some inscriptional evidences to support this . But some scholars believe that this era was established by foreign invaders. They are not unanimous in giving the name of the originator of this era. In some inscriptions there are references to the Azes era. K.W. Dobbins[6] believes that the originator of the Vikrama era was Azes I; while D.C. Sircar wants to give this credit to Vonoes, the Pahlava ruler. The question of the eras of first century B.C., and first century A.D., is so complicated that we cannot pronounce the final verdict. It is possible that some Yavana, Śaka or Pahlava king started an era in the middle of the first century B.C., and this inscription from Magherā (Mathurā) refers to that era. But at present we have no definite knowledge about it, though it is certain that he cannot be Menander. Under the circumstances we must calculate this *Yavana rājya* varṣa of 116 from 57 B.C., and thus arrive at 59 A.D. This is the conclusion we have reached on palaeographic grounds.

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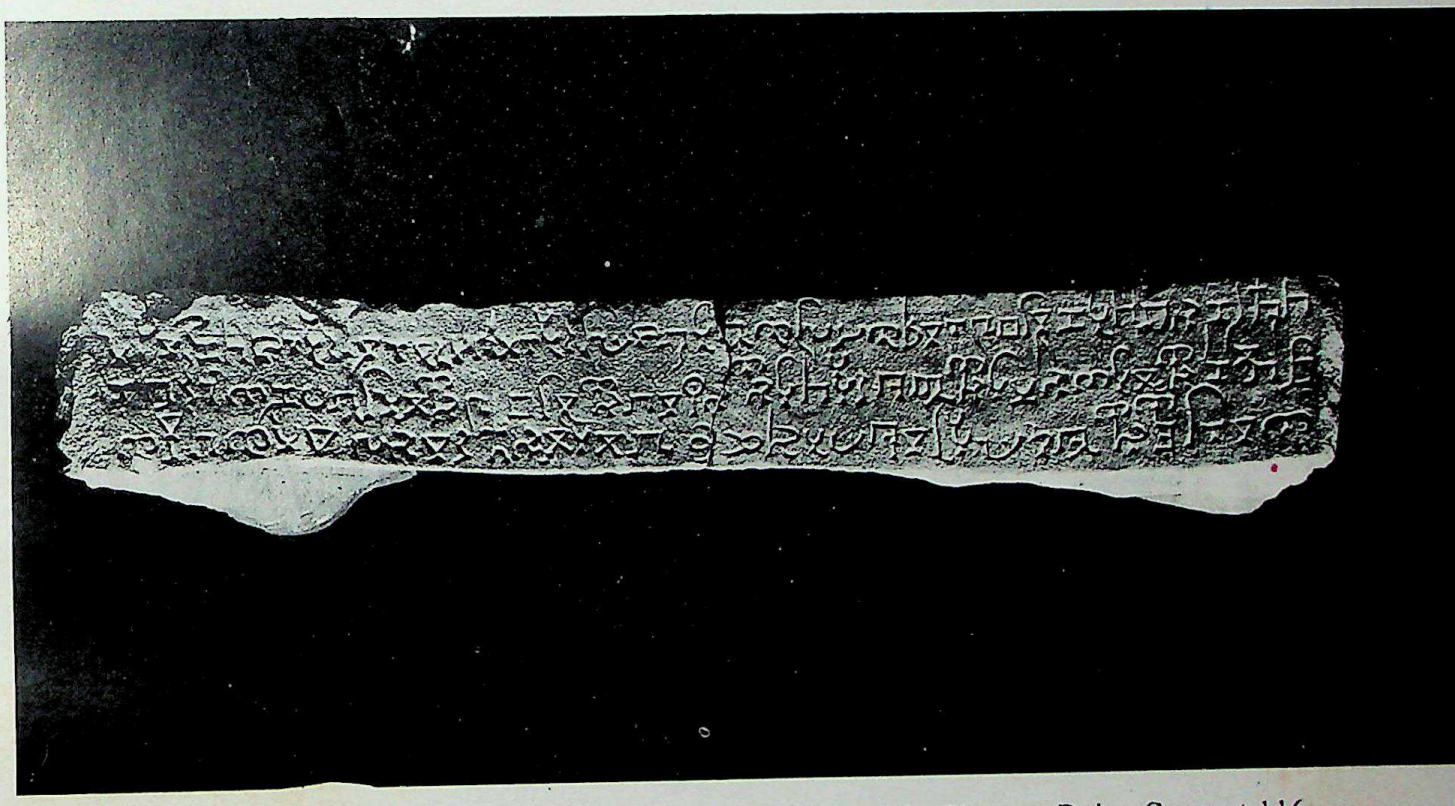

The Maghera (Mathura) well stone Inscription of the Yavana Rajya Samvat 116

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10

Continuity and Change in the Purāṇic Sunworship

V.C.Srivastava

Indian religion has been viewed by many[1] as an unmistakable continuum from the *Vedas*, but still others[2] have forcefully advocated against this oft-repeated Vedic-Hinduist continuity and propounded the thesis of a change in the Purāṇic religion as distinct from the Vedic tradition. No doubt, the question of continuity and change in Indian culture is a very complicated matter as it is linked with the 'substratum theory'— the Aryan and the non-Aryan ; and the literature being elitist portrays very little of the beliefs and practices of the autochathons and the aboriginals[3]. In spite of such limitations, the problem being fundamental to the development of historical processes in India, has received attention from time to time.[4] Modern sociological theories of change such as those of Karl Marx and Max Weber have given an impetus to analyse change in the allegedly 'unchanging East';[5] and there are some significant but controversial studies on changes in Indian religion.[6]

Sun-worship, on account of its continuity from the earliest times to the present, provides a good case for enquiry into Vedic survivals on the one hand, and new developments on the other. The present paper analyses the problem of Vedic continuity and the non-Vedic changes in the Indian tradition of Sun-worship in terms of the concept of God-hood, rituals and institutions as reflected in the Purāṇic ethos, and tries to provide a historical explanation of the changes. The chronological horizon of the study extends from the beginning of the Christian era to the 15th century A.D.,and the sources are primarily the *Purāṇas* supplemented by inscriptions, iconography, temples and secular literature. In spite of the efforts of D.P. Pandey (1939), Banerjea (1956), L.P.Pandey (1971), Heinrich von Stietencron (1968), V.C.Srivastava (1972) and C.D.Pandey (1986), the problem has not been investigated exhaustively so far, and the present synoptic analysis is the microcosm of the wider study to be presented in a separate monograph.

The concept of godhood in the Purāṇic Sun-worship appears to be a Vedic continuity in spite of *bhakti, pūjā,* sectarianism and many new developments. The Purāṇic concept of the Sun-god combines the atmospheric and metaphysical aspects of the Sun in the pattern of a graded reality as well as that of an integrated and unified reality. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* expressly brings out the atmospheric concept of the Sun-god, when it describes the Sun as the chief of the planetary system

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(II.8.I.ff) and mentions its chariot (II.8.2-9), its movement (II.8.28), its role as the arranger of the day and night (II.8.28), and seasons (II.8. 67). The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* refers to him as dwelling in sky and his first form as luminous, which can be hardly gazed upon on account of its circle of splendour (CIX. 63 and 73). The *Sāmba Purāṇa,* the Bible of the Purāṇic Sun-worship, continues to hold it simply as a luminary (ch.14) and as the arranger of seasons (14.29). Such references may be multiplied from other *Purāṇas*.[7] The atmospheric aspect of the Sun-god continued to be emphasized in early medieval India, as is confirmed by the secular literature and inscriptions. Mayūra's concept of the Sun-god is essentially naturalistic (I,18-19, 44). The Indor inscription[8] (5th century A.D.) refers to the Sun as the rich source of rays, the day-maker and dispeller of darkness—a description which is repeated by many inscriptions such as the Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula.[9] The grants of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur invariably praise the Sun-god as the 'foremost luminary of the sky'.[10] The Purāṇic affiliation to the concept of the atmospheric Sun-god can be traced back to the *Ṛgveda* through the epics and the later Vedic literature. In the *Mahābhārata* his lordship of the planets, (III. 200.85, cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI.105.15), his daymaker, rainproducer, light giver aspects (*Mbh.*, XII. 264. ii-*Ādityaijāyatevṛṣṭiḥ*, *Rām.*, VI.105. 13-*ġhanavṛṣṭi*, *Manu.*, III. 76, *Vaśiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra*, XI.13 *Mbh.*, III.3.52.) are repeated quite often. The naturalistic basis of the Sun-god has been too marked in the later Vedic literature as well as in the *Ṛgveda*. The *Upaniṣads* refer to its orb, (*Maitrī U.*,12 ; *Bṛhadārṇjaka U.*, II. 5.5; *Pancaviṁśa Br.*, XVII. 9.8) and its atmospheric aspect is well reflected (*S.G.*, II. 14.8 ; *A.G.S.*, II.7.4). The *Ṛgveda* maintains an exemplary stand on the identity of the Sun and the orb (VII. 14. 15, VI.51,I.115.5 ; 56.5). Thus the atmospheric concept of the Sun-god is an uninterrupted continuum from the *Ṛgveda* to the *Purāṇas*.

The concept of the Purāṇic Sun-god moves further in the direction of humanization. In the early *Purāṇas* the legends of Satrājit, Aditi, Yājñavalkya and Rājyavardhana are expressive of this transition from the natural to the human, besides many other references.[11] To Satrājit the Sun at first appeared as a fireball as in the sky (*Viṣṇu P.*, IV. 1312), but later on appeared in human form (*Viṣṇu P.*, IV. 13. 15). Similarly, the Sun appeared at first in his natural form and later in his person to Aditi (*Mārkandeya P.*, CV.I and 3). To Yājñavalkya the Sun appeared in the form of a horse (*Viṣṇu. P.*, III 5.25), while, Rājyavardhana at first worshipped the Sun-god in natural form, but later on worshipped him in a human form (*Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, CIX, 59-61 and 75-78). The humanization of the Sun gets full expression in the later *Purāṇas*, such as the *Sāmba* and the *Bhaviṣya*, where we find complete personalization of the concept of the Sun-god. (*Sāmba P.*, 6.2Ib; Cf. *Bhaviṣya P.*, I.76. 13; *Sāmba P.*,6.22 a; Cf: *Bhaviṣya P.*, I.76,136,18; *Sāmbap.*, I6,122, Cf. *Bhavisya P.*, I.I2I.2I, etc.; *Viṣṇudharmottara P.*, III. 67.2-II). The inscriptions and iconography also testify to the humanization of the Sun.[12] In spite of alleged 'arrested anthropomorphism'[13] in the *Ṛgveda*, there are traces of this trend towards humanization of the Sun in the *Ṛgveda* itself. (*RV.*,I.115.5; 1.50.I;8,9;X.37.3.;V.45.9; VII. 60.3 ; IV.13.3; V.29.5, etc.). And the later Vedic literature furthers this trend (*AV*, IV.10.5; V.24.9; *C.U.*,I.6.6; *B.A.U.*,II.5.5.) Yāska (*Nirukta*, VII.6) suggests anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic — both forms of Vedic gods. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (IV.3.II) assigns a wife to the Sun. The Vedic tradition of humanization is carried on through the Epics to the *Purāṇās* (cf. the legend of Arvāvasu, Karṇa, Kuntī, Yudhiṣthira, and Jāmadagni in *Mbh.*, III, 138. 18-19; III. 300.9; III. 306.9,10; III.3.70; XIII.96.20).

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The Purāṇic concept of godhood of the Sun is highly metaphysical.[14] He is the highest principle in nature, the cause of the origin, sustenance and the destruction of the universe (*Viṣṇu P.*, III. 5.23-*Ādityayadī bhūtāya devādīnām namonamaḥ ; Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, CIX, 62-63, 69-71,CIII.2-5). In the later *Purāṇās* he is something beyond and above the physical sun. He is even beyond the *puruṣa* in the Sun. He is beyond all forms and names. He is both the individual and the supreme soul, and is both one and many (*Sāmba P.*, 2.7-17 ; 5.17-24). Such metaphysical concepts of the Sun-god are also vouchsafed by the *Sūryasiddhānta* and inscriptions. Such references may be multiplied for the medieval concept of the Sun-god.[15]

The *Ṛgveda* (I.164.46) refers to the unity of godhood in the Sun (*Ekam sat viprāḥ bahudha vadanti*—). To the Ṛgvedic seers the Sun is the soul of all movable and immovable things (*Sūrya ātmā jagatas tasthuṣaśca*, I.115.I.). It shows that the Sun was identified with all spirit—a feature which belongs to the original stratum of the *Ṛgveda*.[16] In other references, he is the preserver of all that is moving or stationary (VII. 62.i,VII.60.2—*Viśvasya sthāturjagataśca gopā*). Throughout the vedic literature, the concept of the Sun as the soul of the universe and the creator and preserver of all has been consistently maintained (*AV.*, XIII. 2.35 ; XX.107.14; *V.S.*, VII. 42; XIII.46; *T.S.*, I.4.43, *I; M.S.*, 3.37; *K.S.*, 4.9.22.5; *S.B.*, 4.3.4.10 ; *T.B.*, II.8.7.4 ; *A.A.*, II.2.4.7; *T.A.I.*, 7.6; II. 13.1.; *N.*, 12. 16). This appears to be one of the basic ideas of the Sun-god, as it is found in all schools of Vedic traditions from the beginning to the end.[17] The tradition has been continued through the epics (III.3.36—*tvaṁ ātmā sarvadehināṁ...*;III.3.56—*Iśvarāṇām tvamīśvaraḥ...*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI. 105-*Ādityahṛdaya* hym.) to the *Purāṇas*.

The other aspects of the Purāṇic godhood such as benevolence (*Viṣṇu P.*,II.9.8 ; *Mārkaṇdeya P.*, 27.23 ; cf. *MBH.*, III.3. 146; *Raghu.*, XIII.5,I.18 ; IV.66 *Vāyu P.*, XXXI.37; *Brahmāṇḍ P.*, II.13.125) of the Sun-god and the chariot as the *vāhana* of Sūrya in the Purāṇas have origins in the Ṛgvedic circles (X.37.4; I.50.12 and V.29.10; VII.69.2 ; I.114.3 ; V.45.9 ; VII.60.3). Gonda[18] has convincingly argeed for the presence of the chariot as a *vāhana* of the Sun-god in the *Ṛgveda*. The concept of the twelve Ādityas as identified with the twelve months of the year in the *Purāṇas* (*Viṣṇu P.*, II.10, *Sāmba P.*, 4.) is definitely Vedic,[19] though later Vedic (*P.B.*,*X*.I.10; *S.B.*, VI.12.8; *B.A.U.*, III. 5,*S.G.S.*, II.14.8). There are references to Vedic rituals such as *Gāyatrī, Saṁdhyopāsanā, arghya, ācamana, japa,* etc, for Sun-worship in the *Purāṇas* (*Viṣṇu P.*, III.2.29, *Mārkaṇdeya P.*, CIX), which may be regarded as Vedic survivals[20] (*Āp.D.S.*,I.5.15;2.II,16.I.6, *G.D.S.*,I. 35-40 etc.). The *Sāmba Purāṇa* regards the Sun as the form of three Vedas (I.I.), and there are references to the Vedic Brāhmaṇas making adoration to the Sun-god in the inscriptions. The Indor copper-plate inscription[21] refers to Devaviṣṇu, a Brāhmaṇa of orthodox Vedic tradition as the giver of an endowment for the sun-temple. The Kaira plates[22] (684 A.D.) refer to one of the donees to the Sun-temple as Ādityaravi of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* ; while the Sankheda plate[23] (642 A.D.) refers to a gift given to a Brāhmaṇa Sūrya of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and of the *Vājasaneyī Mādhyandina Śākhā*. The *Purāṇas* also associate the Vedic Āṅgirasas and the Ātharvans with the Sun-Cult (*Brahma Purāna*, 106.10). These references are sufficient to indicate that the Purāṇic concept of the Sun-god, some rituals and syncretism were a continuation of the Vedic tradition, and in these respects we may speak of the Vedic-Hinduist continuity in the Purāṇic Sun-worship.

In spite of the Vedic continuity, there are elements in the Purāṇic Sun-cult, which may be

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regarded as change, though the change has been assimilated in such a nice manner that it looks like evolution. The change in the Purāṇic Sun-worship has five main manifestations—sectarianism, image-temple institution, a foreign priesthood, *vratas* and *tīrthas* and tāntricism. The transition from the general Sun-worship of the Vedic tradition to the sectarian form of Sun-worship may be regarded as the Epic-Purāṇic innovation. *The Mahābharata* refer specifically to *Saura* sect (VII. 58.15-*Sahasranucarān saurānaṣṭadaśatāni*) and has many references to the sectarian form of the Sun (III.3.17-28, 78,etc.) ; and there is a reference to a secret *Veda* of the Sun in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 138.18). On the combined testimony of the Brāhmaṇical and non-Brāhmaṇical literature it may be sugested that the Sun-sect is post-Vedic.[24] The Purāṇas refer to the full-fledged form of solar sectarianism as is clear from the legends of Yājñavalkya, Satrājit, Brahmā, Aditi, Rājyavardhana (*Visnu P.*,III.5 ; IV. 13, *Vāyu P.*, IVC.22, *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, III.71.13, *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, CIX. 62-63, CIVI 8-29). The inscriptions[25] refer to the exclusiveness in the Sun-worship *dhyanaikatana (na) stuvah* — Indor Plate) and its declaration as the true religion (*saddharmakhyappanari*—Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula. The later *Purāṇas* such as the *Sāmba* and the *Bhaviṣya* refer to the unquestionable supremacy of the deity, exclusiveness in devotion, fixed procedure and a body of sectarian literature (*Sāmba P.*, I.I,2,7,6.13.19; cf. *Bhaviṣya P.*, I.76, *Sāmba P.*, 16.25-35; cf. *Bhaviṣya P.*, I.124.8, etc.,). Such names as Varāhamihira, Paramsaura, and Paramādityabhakta also testify to the sectarian character of Sun-worship in the Purāṇic tradition. Mayūra's *Sūryaśataka* is an exercise in sectarian Sun-worship.[26] The legend of Yājñavalkya (*Viṣṇu P.*, III. 5. 10, 26, 27) refers to the returning of all Vedic lore and procurement of a special branch of the *Yajurveda*, which even his teacher did not know. The reference is in the context of Sun-worship by Yājñavalkya. It may be indicative of a break with the orthodox Vedic tradition in the propagation of the Sun-sect. The sectarian *mantra* of the Sun-worship—*Khakholkāyanamaḥ* as found in the *Sāmba Purāṇas* (44) is non-Vedic. Thus it may be surmised that the epic-Purāṇic Sun-sect marks a definite change in the realm of Sun-worship from the Vedic tradition.

The worship (*pūjā*) of the Sun-god through the medium of images in temples is definitely a Pūraṇic innovation. The transitional stage from the natural to the iconographic may be seen in the early *Purāṇas*[27] but the fully established stage of solar iconography may be traced in the later *Purāṇas*. The *Sāmba Purāṇa* (29.2.-6—*na purā pra pratimāhy āsitmaṇḍale raviḥ... devāyatanavinyāse kāryam mūrtiparīkṣaṇaṁ tathā*) expressly states that there had been no tradition of the sun-image worship earlier ; and it was Sāmba who was responsible for the tradition of the Sun-image. The *Matsya Purāṇa* (CCLXI.i-7, XCIV, II) and the *Bṛhatsaṁhita* (Ch.57) along with other iconographical texts give specific instructions for the construction of the Sun-image. The extant images of the Sun-god from the beginning of the Christian era testify to the prevalence of the image temple tradition in Purāṇic Sun-worhsip[28]. In spite of the controversy about the non-Vedic origin of image-worship,[29] it has been found that Sun-worship in the Vedic tradition was done through the recitation of hymns of praise and prayer, as well as offering of oblations or libations, and was domestic and aniconic. Haradatta commenting on *Āpastamba Dh. Sūtra* II.II.29.16, informs us that the Dravidas used to worship Āditya by drawing maṇḍalas. Thus both the Aryans and the non-Aryan appear to worship through symbols and not images, and as such the solar iconic tradition appears to be due to the Magian influx into India. This accounts for the break in the Vedic-Hinduist continuity.

The post-Vedic Sun-cult is associated with a priesthood known as the Magas (*Bhaviṣya P.*,

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130, *Sāmba P.*, 3.24,26, *Brahma P.*,20, *Sāmba P.*, 26.48 *aṣṭādaśakulānihmagānaṁ Vedavādināṁ*..... cf. *MBH*, VI.ii 36-38 ; *Viṣṇu P.*,II.4.69-70). L.P.Pandey's contention[30] that they were Indians living in Saurāṣṭra cannot be accepted in view of contrary internal evidence in the *Sāmba Purāṇa* itself, as it has been successfully analysed by C.D.Pandey,[31] as well as other evidences.[32] The Āṅgirasas, as a priestly family in the Vedic tradition, were connected with Agni; and Weber[33] has identified them with the priests of the Indo-Iranian period. The Āṅgirasas were later associated with the Sun-cult in Bihar; and the famous sun-temple at Konarka also had Āṅgirasas as priests.[34] But it is not possible to prove that the Magas of the historical times were the same as the Vedic Āṅgirasas. It has been shown in detail by Srivastva[35] (1972) that the Magian priests were originally a priestly tribe of Medea, who came to be indistinguishably associated with Iran after Cyrus extended his empire to Medea and Lydia. Their original home, Śākadvīpa must have been in eastern Iran. No doubt, the Magian-reoriented Sun-cult laid emphasis on public worship of the Sun through images with Iranian features in temples. J.Gonda's[36] contention that there is a community of interest between the Vedic *Śrauta* ritual of building a fire-place and the erection of a Hindvist temple, and thus there is Vedic continuity in the tradition of the temple in terms of 'psychological' and 'soteriological' identity of the aim—reintegration of the worshipper of either the *Srauta* fire-place or the temple with the Absolute—cannot be accepted in view of the fact that both institutions have functional diversity; and the former appears to be individualistic and elitist, while the latter is communal and mass-based.[37] For the specific case of the Sun-temple, a break with the Vedic priesthood has been specifically mentioned in the *Sāmba Purāṇa* (26.19-26). The Iranian features[38] of the Sun-images *udīcyaveṣa - avayaṅg, upānatpinaddha*, etc., have been confirmed by the texts (*Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, 57.46-48 ; *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III.67.2-II) and extant images. In view of these considerations, the Magian priesthood of the Purāṅic Sun-cult may be taken as a change in the Vedic-Hinduist continuum.

The proliferation of *Sauravratas* and *tīrthas* in the *Purāṇas* cannot be regarded as a Vedic continuity in spite of Kane[39] and Gonda,[40] who regard the *tīrtha-vrata* syndrome as a Vedic continuum. The *Purāṇas* (*Matsya P.*,74-80) refer to many *sauravratas* — *Kalyāṇasaptamī*, *Viṣokāsaptamī, Phalasaptamī, Śarkarāsaptamī, Kamalāsaptamī, Śubhasaptamī, Sūryasaṅkrānti*, etc.. A recent study[41] has brought out the differences between Purāṇic *sauravratas* and the *Ādityavrata* of the *Gobhila gṛhyasūtra* (III.i.28). Kane's list[42] of *tīrthas* includes many *suryatīrthas*, whose antecedents do not go back into the Vedic tradition, and all references to them are either in the *Purāṇas* or the *Nibandhas*. As such, it seems reasonable to suggest with Hazra[43] that the Purāṇic religon has been distinugished by the adoption of populist *bhakti* practices such as the *vratas* and the *tīrthas*. Marxist historians also take these institutions as products of changed economic milieu, due to the decay of towns and feudalism. The *vrata-tīrtha bhakti* syndrome of the *Purāṇas* appears to be a new development in response to some social demand, but to relate it to economic needs of the *yajamānī* Brāhmaṇas exclusively[45] is to negate the whole spiritual foundations of the Indian tradition.

Another significant change in the Purāṇic Sun-worship may be traced in the adoption and influence of Tāntricism. The later Purāṇas are full of references to Tāntrik practices in the Sun-cult. The method of initation, *Mahāmantra, tattvanyāsa, maṇḍalas*, and six acts — *vaśīkaraṇa, ākarṣaṇa, māraṇa, uccātana, vidveṣaṇa* and *stambhana* are indicative of trantric influence on the Sun-cult (*Sāmba P.*, 4I.I, 39.41;I.47-83). It is true that the fundamental principle of tāntricism—*sūrya-*

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śakti could not be fully developed in the later *Purāṇas*, but outwardly the ritual of the Purāṇic Sun-cult was influenced by it[46]. Many scholars have tried to trace back the antiquity of tantricism to Vedic times[47], but historically, its manifestation is post-Vedic. Gonda[48] finds common points between tāntric *dīkṣā* and Vedic *dīkṣā*, and thus tries to bridge the gulf between the Vedic-Hindu tradition, but in spite of some common points the *dīkṣā* in *tantra* is a different category in many details. In view of these considerations, I am inclined to accept the tantric milieu of the Purāṇic Sun-cult as a departure from the Vedic tradition of Sun-worship.

To sum up, the *Purāṇic* Sun-worship is an amalgam of continuity and change. The concept of the Sun-god is a long uninterrupted Vedic-Hinduist continuum. So are some elements of rituals, but there are vital ideological, institutional and ritualistic changes also, such as sectarian ideology, image-temple and foreign priesthood, *Vrata-tīrtha* tradition and Tāntricism. The changes were products of socio-economic as well as ideational factors.[49] The Purāṇas synthesise and harmonise changes in such a subtle manner that the whole development appears to be an 'ordered evolution'.[50]

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2. Hopkins, Phillips, Oltramara, Farquhar, Ruben, Hazra and many others have noticed such changes. Cf.Gonda, *op.cit.*, p.11-15.
3. Barth, Goetz, M.Eliade, Ruben etc., have seen the change due to non-Aryan admixture, cf. Gonda, *op.cit.*, 14-15 ; P.Edgerton, "Dominant Ideas in the Formation of Indian Culture", *J.A.O.S.*, Vol.62, p.151 ff.
4. For example, W.Norman Brown has taken the theme in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.20,1961, and Gonda, *op.cit.*, has also analysed many elements of Indian culture with a view to finding out the continuity and change in Indian religon.
5. The attempts by D.D.Kosambi, R.S.Sharma, Romila Thapar and others may be cited as examples of study in development. Cf.R.Thapar, "Interpretations of Ancient Indian History", *History and Theory*, 1968, Vol. VII, No.3, pp.318-35.
6. One such recent study is R.N.Nandi's *Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India*, New Delhi, 1986.
7. See V.C.Srivastava, *Sun-worship in Ancient India*, Allahabad, 1972, pp.205-08. Cf.Srivastava, "Puranic Records on the Sun-worship", *Purāṇam*, IX(II)
8. For details see Srivastava, "The Sun-cult as revealed by the Gupta and the Post-Gupta Inscriptions", *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, XXVII (I-4).
9. *Ibid.*
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18. *Op.cit.*, 1965, p.74 ff.
19. Srivastava, *op.cit.*, 1972, p.207.
20. *Ibid.*,p.206.
21. *Ibid.*, p.367.
22. *Ibid.*, p.376.
23. *Ibid.*, 377.
24. *Ibid.*, pp.181-84.
25. *Ibid.*, pp.370-74.
26. *Ibid.*, pp.237.
27. *Ibid.*, p.218-22.
28. *Ibid.*, p.293 ff.
29. J.N.Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, pp. 42-50.
30. *Sun-worship in Ancient India*, 1971,p.186.
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46. V.C.Srivastava, "Tantricism and the Sun-cult in India, A Historical Perspective", *Purāṇam*, 1987, XXXIX, (2).

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11

Kingship in the *Matsya Purāṇā*

S.K. Jaiswal

The *Purāṇas* are an important source of information for ancient Indian history and culture. Among the eighteen *Mahāpurāṇas,* the *Matsya Purāṇa* is one of the most important texts, dealing with various topics. This *Purāṇa* deals not only with mythological stories, legends and folk-lore, but also various important subjects like law, politics, science of war, concept of *daṇḍa*, crime and punishment, manners and customs, architecture, etc. It contains a specific section on *rājadharma,* and throws welcome light on the functions of the king and his government. The text of the *Matsya Purāṇa* is supposed to have been compiled in the last quarter of the third century A.D.[1] Prof. Hazra opines that the *Matsya Purāṇa* was subjected to interpolation, and also perhaps to alterations more than once, and was compiled in the present form either in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.[2] The date suggested by Pargiter seems to be convincing.

Like other works on polity, the *Matsya Purāṇa,* too, has speculated on the seven constituents of the state — *svāmī, amātya, janapada, durga, kośa, daṇḍa* and *mitra,* with their respective characteristics.[3] It refers to the divine creation of kingship and states that the king was created by Brahmā from parts of the gods for wielding the power of punishment, for the protection of all beings.[4]

Pṛthu is represented as the first traditional king in the *Matsya Purāṇa*.[5] According to this text,[6] Pṛthu was born from the arms of Veṇa. The story runs that Veṇa, who was the son of Sunītha, the daughter of Mṛtyu, from Aṅga Prajāpati, was engaged in sinful deeds. The sages tried to persuade him to change his ways, but when the king did not listen to their good advice, they killed him by their curse in order to chek anarchy. Being anointed by Brāhmanas, his son Pṛthu practised severe austerities, and by the blessing of Viṣṇu became most powerful. He was supposed to command almost divine allegiance from the people and was regarded as one of the human gods. He was consecrated to kingship by the gods and sages, and was crowned by all the gods for the protection of the people. Sages asked him to settle *dharma*. Pṛthu promised to maintain law and order, to protect the people and never to be arbitrary. He redressed the grievances of the people.[7] In this way the *Matsya Purāṇa* holds that the existence of the king was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of social order.

It was the king in ancient India who set the administrative machinery, and the success of a government depended largely upon his personality and efforts. Consequently, the authorities have

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devoted much space to the enumeration of the qualities and qualifications that the head of the state should possess. The *Matsya Purāṇa* suggests that the king should be well versed in different branches of learning. He is required to be master of politics, logic, philosophy and temporal science.[8] It expects the king to imbibe the good qualities of even birds and animals. Accordingly, the king should think of acquiring the opportunism of a crane, valour of the lion, plundering of the wolf, caution of the hare, a boar's strength of attack, and the variegated form of the peacock, devotion of the dog, sweet speech of the cuckoo and wariness of the crow[9]. It is remarkable that the *Matsya Purāṇa* not only describes the positive qualifications of the king, but also adds negative ones which the king is advised to avoid. It states that the king should abstain from hunting, gambling and sleeping during the day.[10] Further it is suggested that a king should tactfully drive away lust, anger, pride, avarice and too much pleasure.[11] Thus the *Matsya Purāṇa* lays down very high and exacting standards for the king.

The king's lordship was affirmed by the titles assigned to him. He is titled not only as *Rājā*[12], or *Rājan,*[13] but also as *Bhūpati,*[14] *Mahīpati,*[15] *Mahīpala,*[16] *Pṛthvīshita Mahīshita,*[18] *Pṛthvīpati,*[19] *Narendra,*[20] *Nṛpati,*[21] *Nṛpa.*[22] All these titles are suggestive of his lordship over the territory of the state and the people inhabiting it.

The duties and responsibilities of the king in ancient India were great. The fullfilment of all his duties by a king was of paramount importance to the stability and orderly development of society, and to the happiness of individuals in the state. The *Purāṇa* provides us with considerable information regarding the various duties assigned to, and functions performed by the king. The primary function of the king was to protect his state with all the resources at his command from external aggression and internal lawlessness, behaving like a parent to his people.[23] The *Purāṇa,* emphasising the need to look after the subjects, says that as a well nourished calf is most fit to carry loads, so a state which is well looked after, would be able to bear the weight of regality.[24]

The suppression of enemies was an important duty of a king. The *Matsya Purāṇa* prescribes the punishment of those who disturb the proper functioning of the government. it is interesting to note that this text describes two types of provocation. One is internal and the other external. And of these, the internal factor is more dangerous. Internal friction brings about the ruin of the king.[25] Enmity of other kings is known as the external source of danger. The king should keep his vigilant eyes on internal disaffection because if the internal condition of the state is good and satisfactory, the external sources of danger can be easily overcome by a king.[26] The *Purāṇa* further advises the king that only after conquering internal dangers, he should suppress external foes.[27] A king should never lose sight of *Kṣātra dharma* and never retreat from war. He should not retire from the battle-field, and should protect his subjects and the Brāhmaṇas.[28] Protection and respect for the Brāhmaṇas are regarded as necessary because of their importance in society and the state. The *Matsya Purāṇa* desires the king to perform a series of sacrifices, in which liberal gifts should be given to the Brāhamaṇas[29]. It also states that the king should have regard for the Brāhmaṇas versed in the three Vedas ; and he should never encourage the votaries of unreal learning, for it is they that are always and obstacle to the people.[30]

The king is asked to look upon all classes of his subjects according to their merits and employ them accordingly.[31] A king should always be surrounded by regal splendour ; he should protect the

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poor and practise self-restraint.[32] Besides, a king eager for conquest should have as his assistants respected retainers, and should treat them with consideration.[33] Further, he should make appointments for various tasks according to qualifications—religious-minded people for acts of righteousness; the brave people for warfare; the specialists for economic affairs; men of high character everywhere to all posts suited to them.[34] It further states that the king should employ eunuchs to work among women ; and those devoid of compassion for acts involving ruthless acts.[35] He should thoroughly test assistants in *dharma, artha,* or *kāma* before engaging them.[36] This is how a king should conduct the affairs of the state, according to the *Matsya Purāṇa.*

The king is also called upon to support the harassed and the physically weak, as well as the widows, and provide lodgings, food and endowments for them.[37] A king who looks after his subjects is universally loved. The love and affection of the people brings wealth, name and fame to the king.[38]

Administration of justice is an important duty of the king. He has to impart justice according to the principles of *dharmaśāstra.* The *Matsya Purāṇa* states that a wise sovereign should conquer the people by launching his policy of *daṇḍa* in conjunction with his ministers according to *dharmaśāstra.*[39] The people found deviating from their prescribed order and duties should be adequately punished by a king.[40] A sovereign inflicting punishments discriminately is revered by the *devas*, not one who does the opposite.[41] The king in ancient India was always expected to honour the diginity of law and establish the reign of justice.

It is significant to note that the *Matsya Purāṇa* vests kingly duties and obligations with religious fervour by urging the king to take up such a code of conduct (*Vrata*) analogous to that of various gods and deities. It is said that just as *Yama* punishes all without discrimination, so should the king treat his subjects. This constitutes the King's *Yama Vrata.*[42] It further adds that as people appear tied down in the bonds of Varuṇa, the king should tie down the sinners. This is named the King's *Varuṇavrata.*[43] A king advised to observe *Agnivrata,* should be strong, vigorous and shining like fire to the sinners, the wicked, the feudatories and marauders.[44] Next comes the *Pārthivavrata.* As the earth holds up and nourishes all creatures, so should a king look after all his subjects.[45] The king is further asked to follow the *Indravrata* by sustaining his subjects like Indra pouring rain for four months.[46] The king should realize revenue from his subjects as the sun draws in moisture by his rays for eight months. This is known as *Sūryavrata.*[47] Further, as air prevades and enters all beings, so should the king know the hearts of all his subjects through spies. This is *Vāyuvrata.*[48] It has also been pointed out in the *Matsya Purāṇa* that a king who is the protector of the subjects and the state, cannot protect his kingdom unless he himself is protected. A king is advised to live peacefully in his fortress, always well guarded by all the *mantras*, medicines and jewels.[49] Further, a sovereign is the source of well being to his subjects ; and everybody should guard the king in every way.[50]

Next to king in importance in the administrative machinery of ancient India is the crown prince. It is necessary that the crown prince should be well educated and trained, so that he may be able to run the state administration with great efficiency after the death of king. The *Matsya Purāṇa* states that princes should also be trained in archery, the use of the chariot, elephants and horses, and in mechanical arts and various other physical exercises.[51] Attention should be given to instructing him in physical culture in order to make him an able warrior.[52] The princes should be

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so conditioned by training as not to speak untruth and harsh words before their teachers.[53] The princes are further required not to mix with men of angry or avaricious dispositions, nor with persons who are looked down upon.[54] An important restriction prescribed for the royal princes is that they should not sleep during the day time; nor should they undertake travel with no purpose in view.[55]

The *Matsya Purāṇa* throws light on relations between the king and his subjects. The king is required to protect their progeny.[56] The *Matsya Purāṇa* remarks at one place that the king is the root, and his subjects are the branches of the tree; indeed, the king is the source of their well-being.[57] It lays down that a king should always administer justice with a strong hand. He should also avoid the use of repressive measures lest his subjects become discontented.[58]

Thus, like the other eminent authorities on ancient Indian polity, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, too, contains very valuable information regarding the duties and functions of the king. The king is always warned by authorities[59] to follow his duties and live up to the ideals for the welfare of the country and the people. The sovereignty, the territory and glory of the king rest on the affection and good-will of the people. The *Matsya Purāṇa*, in graphic language, states that a king should not show his temper even to those fit to be condemned to death.[60] Further, a king who is bountiful and generous towards his subjects always conquers the world, and makes himself dear to his subjects.[61].

The political organization as described in the *Matsya Purāṇa* embodies the concept of an ideal state, which sought to promote the moral and spiritual progress of the people. The body of the king was not really meant for enjoyment of pleasure, but for putting up with great hardships in carrying out the royal duty of protecting his subjects and following the *dharma*.

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16. *Ibid.*, 220.24.
17. *Ibid.*, 215.33, 220.35 & 220.14.
18. *Ibid.*, 220.10, 220.22.
19. *Ibid.*, 220.8, 241.21.
20. *Ibid.*, 220.37, 216.26, 220.26.
21. *Ibid.*, 217.87.
22. *Ibid.*, 219.7.
23. *Ibid.*, 220.44.
24. *Ibid.*, 220.41-43.
25. *Ibid.*, 223.7.
26. *Ibid.*, 223. 8-10.
27. *Ibid.*, 223.11.
28. *Ibid.*, 215.61.
29. *Ibid.*, 215.56.
30. *Ibid.*, 215.51.
31. *Ibid.*, 215.60.
32. *Ibid.*, 215.75.
33. *Ibid.*, 215.76.
34. *Ibid.*, 215.77.
35. *Ibid.*, 215.78.
36. *Ibid.*, 215.78-79.
37. *Ibid.*, 215. 62-63.
38. *Ibid.*, 220. 46-47.
39. *Ibid.*, 225.2.
40. *Ibid.*, 225. 5-6.
41. *Ibid.*, 225.15.
42. *Ibid.*, 226.4.
43. *Ibid.*, 226.5.
44. *Ibid.*, 226.7.
45. *Ibid.*, 226.8.
46. *Ibid.*, 226.10.
47. *Ibid.*, 226.11.

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48. *Ibid.*, 226.12.
49. *Ibid.*, 219.33.
50. *Ibid.*, 219.34.
51. *Ibid.*, 220.1.
52. *Ibid.*, 220.2.
53. *Ibid.*, 220.3.
54. *Ibid.*, 220.4.
55. *Ibid.*, 220.9.
56. *Ibid.*, 220.44.
57. *Ibid.*, 219.34.
58. *Ibid.*,215.81-82.
59. *Manu*, VII.144; *Gautama*, X.7-8; *Artha*, 1.19 & *Nītivākyāmṛta*, 7.21.
60. *Matsya Purāṇa.*, 220.28.
61. *Ibid.*, 220.29.

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12

Jainism and Early Medieval Rajasthan : An Appraisal

M.M. Mukhopadhyay

Jainism came to be known in Saurāṣṭra region of the Gujrat sector of Western India a little later than Buddhism. Girinagara (Junagadh), but more definitely Valabhai (Vala) in Saurāṣṭra which became the capital of the Maitrakas, was a stronghold of Jainism. Against the vast, organised monastic settlements of the Buddhists, Jainas have not much to show between the fifth and seventh century of the Christian era. Equally, there is not much evidence which can allow us to estimate the degree of munificence shown to Jainism by the Maitraka monarchs and their relatives who, by the overwhelming testimony of their inscribed charters, are known for their enthusiasm for Buddhism. Its existence in the earlier half of the Maitraka period in Gujrat territory has doubtlessly been proved. Jain bronzes at Valabhi, the Akoṭa bronzes,[1] the earliest of which belong to the sixth century A.D., the Digambara Jina image from Khedbrahma and the rock-cut relief from Dhank, together with a few literary evidences, endorse the fact.[2] But Jainism could show its strength only when Buddhism faded from the scene. By the eighth century Buddhism was almost tottering throughout the subcontinent, except in Eastern India. At Valabhi itself it was dwindling in strength, when at the same time, Jainism was slowly gaining in stature and weight. But before it could take fuller advantage of the situation, Valabhi was devastated (783-84 A.D.) by the marauding Arabs from Sindh. The sacred Jaina images were just before the Arab encounter shifted by later Jaina *prabandhas* to safer sanctuaries like Devapaṭṭana (Prabhas Patan), to Vardhamāna (Wadhwas) and to Bhillamāla (Bhinmal).

Jainism did not supplant Buddhism. In expanse it covered many more sites (some of which later on grew to be its centres) where Buddhism never had sway. Some of the well-known towns and cities of early medieval period were not even founded when Buddhism had its heyday in Gujrat. Anahilapāṭaka (Patan), which came to be established in 746 A.D. (according to Jaina tradition) by Vanarāja Cāpotkaṭa,[3] was to become a focal centre, a proud and prosperous metropolis of an empire in the twelfth century. There prince Vanarāja founded a temple of Pārśvanātha of Pancasar. An immigrant from Rajasthan, *Prāgvāṭa* Ninnaya, the ancestor of Governor Vimala of Dilwara fame built a temple to Jaina Ṛṣabha at the newly founded capital for the benefit of Vidyādhara *Kula* of the Śvetāmbara Church. At the same moment, at Thārāpadra (Tharad) in north-West Gujrat,

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Vaṭesvara *sūri* of Candra *Kula* established *Thārāpadra gaccha* : at its centre stood a temple to Jina Ṛṣabha.

Digambara Jainism, too, is known to have been followed in a few centres in Gujrat area in this period as well. At Vardhamāna it had a temple sacred to Pārśvanātha (Nannarāja *Vasatī*), where Jinasena wrote his *Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa* in 783 A.D. This work was adored in the temple of Śāntinātha at Dastaṭikā. Another work composed at Vardhamāna in 931-32 A.D., was the *Bṛhatkathākoṣa* of Hariśeṇa. *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa* refers to Simhavāhanā Śāsanadevī Ambikā atop Mt. Girnar, whose origin is associated with Koṭṭinārī (Kodinar) on the West Coast of Saurāṣṭra. By the end of the eighth century, the sectaries of the Digambara church were established at Prabhāsa; they had, like the Śvetāmbarins, a temple of Jina Candraprabha there. At a subsequent date, they founded a temple of Pārśvanātha near Unnatapura (Una), and another Jina temple at Stambhatīrtha (Khambat).

When we turn to Rajasthan, no centre of the stature of Valabhi is discerned at that age or earlier. A completely ruined brick temple of Jaina affiliation at Kesorapur near Bundi is supposed to be a fifth century construction. Next of note is the hoard of bronzes from Vatapura (Vasantagarh)[4], in which the oldest inscribed document is the pair of handsome Kāyotsarga Jina images dated to the year 688. The image of Mahāvīra in the temple of Nandiya with its two superb Vāhikās (*Chaurī*-bearers) would come next. The image of Pārśvanātha from Bhatewa is stylistically of the same age.

Equally significant are the evidences furnished by the literary sources. A renowned Jaina *gani* (monk) Yaśadatta is said to have built many temples and holy sanctuaries in West India as far as Bhinmal. His successor, Udyotana *Sūri*, the author of *Kuvalayamālā*, completed his work in the *Aṣṭapada prāsāda* of Ādinātha at Jalora in 779 A.D.[5] In the time of Haribhadra *Sūri*, there was a famous Jaina temple at Citrakūṭa (Chittor). Ninnaya of Anhilapāṭaka had founded a temple of some Jina at Candrāvatī for the benefit of Jilihara *gaccha*. At Nāgpur (Nagaur) a Jain temple existed in 859 A.D., as mentioned by Jayasimha *Sūri* in his *Dharmopadeśa Vivaraṇamālā Vṛtti*. Jayasimha *Sūri*'s master, Kṛṣṇarasi seems to have founded a temple in the fort of Nagaur.

I

In the early medieval period, a competition among the Rajput princes to build Jaina shrines was noticeable. The eighth century is a time of great architectural achievement both in Gujrat and Rajasthan.[6] To resurgent Jainism, from eighth century onwards, the kings, princes and chieftains of Western Indian dynasties were favourably disposed. Some even extended positive patronage, which included acceptance of Jainism as a personal faith. There was one prince, Raghusena of an unknown dynasty, who founded a *Jina-bhavana* at Ramasainyapura (Ramsen) in north-west Gujrat sometime in the second quarter of the tenth century A.D. More improtant instances are known from the Imperial Cālukya (Solānkīs) of Aṇhilapāṭaka. King Mūlarāja I (961-96 A.D.)[7] founded, it would seem, Mūlavasatikā prāsāda for the Digambara sect, and a temple sacred to Mūlanāthājinadeva for the Śvetāmbara church at Anhilapāṭaka. His successors Cāmuṇḍarāja as well as Durlabharāja respected Jainism. In 977 A.D., Cāmuṇḍarāja gave a charitable endowment to the temple at Varuṇaśarmaka (Vedasama). Bhīmadeva I (1022-64 A.D.) held learned Jaina monks in high esteem. Surācārya and Śānti *Sūri* rallied round the throne in the battle of wits between Mālava and Gujrat. Bhīmadeva's son and successor Karṇadeva was also generous to the Jains. He granted land

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for the temple of Jina Sumatinātha at Takavavī or Takovi (Takodi) in 1084 A.D. His son and successor Jayasimha Siddharāja made a further grant, presumably to the same Sumatinātha temple in 1100 A.D. But Siddharāja did more than for the Jains. By about 1127 A.D., he founded Rājavihāra (c.1140 A.D.) at Śrīsthala a Siddhapura (Sidpur). Out of all Solaṅkī monarchs, Kumārapāla, under the influence of Hemacandra, showed the deepest leaning towards Jainism, and displayed as much zeal in founding Jaina temples as Siddharāja.

In Rajasthan, the Imperial Gurjara-Pratihāras as well as the Pratihāras of Maḍḍodara Medāntaka Mandor-Medta) branch were votaries of Jainism. Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭṭa I founded *Yakṣa-vasati-prāsāda* at Jābālipura, his capital, in honour of his preceptor Yakṣadatta gaṇi. The sanctuary of Mahāvīra at Satyapura (Sachor), as well as the temple of the same Jina at Koraṇṭa (Korta), are traditionally ascribed to him. The Mahāvīra temple of Usia was founded by Pratihāra Vatsarāja(772-93 A.D.). His successor Nāgabhaṭṭa II was under the influence of Bappabhaṭṭi *sūri*[8], and built temples at Kānyakubja (Kanauj) and Gopagiri (Gwalior). The Pratihāra Emperor Mihirabhoja (c. 836-85 A.D.) favoured Nanna Sūri and Govinda Sūri, the two disciples of celebrated Bappabhaṭṭi. We have no means to ascertain how early Pratihāras of the collateral branch in *Maru-Maṇḍala* reacted towards Jainism. Pratihāra Kakkukarāja of Maḍḍodara founded a *Jina-bhavana* at Rohimsakupa (Ghatiyala) in 861 A.D. Guhila Bhartṛbhaṭṭa I, king of Medapāṭa (Mewar), built Guhilavihāra in the second quarter of the tenth century A.D., at the town founded by him after his name, Bhartṛpadra (Bhatewar) in Mewar. His successor, Allaṭa is said to have erected a *Kīrtistambha* at Citrakūṭa.

The relations between the early Cāhamānas of Śākambharī (Sambhar) or Sapadalakṣa are not very clear. The later Cāhamānas were of course generous to Jainism. Prithvirāja I placed golden pinnacles on the Jaina temple at Ranthambor. His successor Ajayarāja placed similar pinnacles on the temple of Pārśvanātha at Bijolya in 1169 A.D. Cāhamāna Someśvara, son of Arṇorāja, granted a village to the temple of Pārśvanātha at Bijolya in 1169 A.D. Cāhamāna Someśvara, son of Arṇorāja, granted a village to the temple fo Pārśvanātha at Rewa.

Jainism had equally happy relations with the Cāhamānas of Naḍḍula (Nadol). How Lakṣmaṇadeva of the Nadol branch looked upon Jainism is not known with certainty. But his great-grandson Katukarāja, son of Aśvarāja, made grants in 1110 A.D. and 1115 A.D., to the temple of Jina Mahāvīra at Samipāṭi (Sewadi). Cāhamāna king Ālhaṇadeva of Naḍḍula promulgated a commandment of non-violence at Kirātakūpa (Kiradu) in 1152 A.D., and allowed a grant to the temple of Mahāvīra at Saṇderaka (Sanderav) in 1171 A.D. Another Cāhamāna prince, a scion of the Naḍḍula branch, Kīrttipāla, made a grant to the temple of Jina Mahāvīra at Naḍḍuladāgikā (Nadlai), the twin city of Nadol in 1160 A.D.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hastikuṇḍī (Hathundi) seem to have been ardent followers of Jainism. Vidagdharāja's son Harivarman founded a shrine to Jina Ṛṣabha at Hastikuṇḍī in 917 A.D. His son and successor Dhavala renovated the temple with care.

The queens of the princely households of the various dynasties of Rajasthan were equally favourable to Jainism. Rājñi Manaladevī, wife of Cāhamāna Rāyapāla of Naḍḍula, together with her two sons, made a grant to the aforementioned temple of Mahāvīra at Naḍḍuladāgikā in 1132 A.D. Queen Āhaladevī, consort of Ālhaṇadeva, made a grant to the Saṇderaka temple in 1169 A.D.,

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two years earlier than her husband's grant to the same temple. Queen Śringāradevī,consort of the Paramāra prince Dhārāvarṣadeva of Candrāvatī, granted some land to the temple of Jhāduli or Jhadavalli (Jhadoli)in 1197 A.D. Guhila queen Jaitalladevī, mother of Mahārāṇā Samarsiṁha founded a temple to Jina Pārśvanātha in 1278 A.D., at Chitrakūṭa.

II

Side by side with royalty the ministers and high officials also professed Jainism. The latter were munificent in founding Jaina temples, monasteries and libraries. Vimala Sāha, a minister (*Daṇḍanāyaka*) of the Solaṇkī Court, built a magnificent temple of Ādinātha, at Delwada, Mt. Abu in V.S. 1088 (1031 A.D.). A temple of extraordinary beauty, it shows the extent to which marble could be finely chiselled as an example where exuberance could be beauty.[9] Poet Meha (1443 A.D.) refers to two other works of Vimala, a Vimala *Vasati* at Śatrunjaya and the other at Árāsaṇa (Kumbharia). Sāntū, prime minister to Solaṅki potentate Karṇadeva, built Sāntu Vasatika at Aṇhilapāṭaka as well as at Karṇāvatī (Ahmedabad). Muñjāla, minister to Karṇadeva founded Muñjāla *Vasati* at Aṇhilapāṭaka before 1093 A.D. Minister Udayana founded Udayana *vihāra* (in 1093 A.D.) at Karṇavatī, and Udayana *Vasatī* at Stambhatīrtha. He also founded a temple to Jina Sīmandhara at Dhavlakka (Dholda) in 1119 A.D. Mantrī Solāka founded Solāka Vasati at Aṇhilapāṭaka sometime before 1112 A.D. In 1119 A.D., *Daṇḍanayaka* Kapardī erected a Jaina shrine at Patan. Sajjana, *Daṇḍanāyaka* of Sorath, built the famous sanctuary of Neminātha(Karṇa vihāra) atop Mt.Girnar in 1129 A.D. Prithvīpāla, minister to Kumārapāla, added *maṇḍapas* to Vanarāja *vihāra* at Aṇhilapāṭaka, Vimla-Vasahi at Dilwara (1150 A.D.), and Ninnaya's temple at Chandrāvatī. In addition, he founded a shrine sacred to Jina Śāntinātha at Sāyaṇavāḍapura. Minister Vāgbhaṭṭa, son of Udayana, replaced the old temples of Ādinātha on Śatrunjaya with a new edifice (between 1155 and 1157 A.D.). He also extended Udayana *vihāra* at Dholka in 1167 A.D. His brother Amrabhaṭṭa replaced the antiquated Śakunī *Caitya* at Brigukaccha (Broach) with a magnificent new shrine in 1166 A.D.

In the early thirteenth century, the centre of political gravity shifted to the strongholds of the Vāghelas, whose ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla, brothers, are perhaps the greatest builders of early medieval period. A statesman of extraordinary ability, Vastupāla was an equally great literary figure, and still greater perhaps as a devotee of Jainism. Chief among his creations were the Indramaṇḍapa and six other shrines in front of the great temple of Ādinātha on Śatruñjaya, the Vastupāla *Vihāra* (1231 A.D.) and temple of Pārśvanatha on Mt. Girnar, temple sacred to Ādinātha at Dholka and *Aṣṭapada prāsāda* at Prabhāsa. The best preserved example of Tejapāla's creation is the marble temple of Neminātha, which is popularly known as Luna Vasahi shrine (Dilwara) built (in *c.* 1232-42 A.D.) on Mt.Abu.[10] The temple of Luna Vasahi illustrates further efflorescence of the style, accompanied by a richer elaboration of decoration. The elephant court is now imcorporated on the rear side within the enclosure. The pillars of the assembly hall are loftier and display different types. Its ceiling, however, is carved equally lavishly and culminates in a larger and more delicately ornamented central pendant, rivalling the finest filigree work in metal. In the Dilwara group of Jaina temples at Mt. Abu, the medieval architecture of the Rajasthan and Sonaki styles may be found to have reached its climax. Besides Nandīśvara *Caitya* on Śatruñjaya, Tejapāla also founded Asarāj *vihāra* at Aṇhilapāṭaka in memory of his father, and built one temple each at Darbhāvati (Dabohi)

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and Stambhatīrtha to commemorate the name of his mother Kaumāradevī. The tradition of brothers Vastupāla and Tejapāla continued in the generation of Jagaduśā of Bhadrāvatī and Pethaḍa of Māṇḍū.

The late Vāghela times were by comparison less lustrous. A few works by the notables of this age, Jagaḍuśā of Bhadrāvatī and Pethaḍa of Mandavgarh seem to be of some significance. Jagaḍu founded temples at Dhanka (Dhank), Vardhamāna and Śatrunjaya. Pethaḍa's constructional activities were centered at Prabhāsa, Dhavalakka, Salakṣaṇapura (Shankhalpur) and Śatruñjaya in the late thirteenth century.

In later years the royal patronage was withdrawn; but the Jaina community upheld the munificent artistic traditions of Western India. The recorded instances of foundations by ministers and other dignitaries in Rajasthan are relatively fewer compared to Gujrat.The monuments erected between eighth and tenth century when the Pratihāras, the Guhilas and the Cāhamānas were supreme, are more numerous in Rajasthan than in Gujrat. By eleventh century the power of the Guhilas waned chiefly due to the powers of the Paramāras of Dhārā and of Abu. The Cāhamānas of Śākambharī and Naḍḍula progressively lost ground against the imperial policy of the Solankīs of Gujrat. Gujrat rose to heights in mid-eleventh and twelfth century under the aegies of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla. Consequently, the monuments of this age are more numerous in Gujrat territory of Western India. Kuṅkana, a minister possibly of Paramāra Araṇyarāja of Abu founded a temple to some Jina at Chandrāvatī in 954 A.D. A minister to Guhila King Allaṭa erected a temple of Jina Pārśvanātha at Aghāṭa (Ahar) in the latter half of tenth century A.D. Bhaṇḍārī Yaśovīra added a *maṇḍapa* to the Aṣṭāpada prāsāda at Jābālipura. It is evident that Jainism contributed substantially to the architectural activities in early medieval Western India.[11]

III

By the eleventh century the Jaina fraternity helped to form a self-sustained and strong organisation. Occasional royal patronage and the support of the high officials doubtless strengthened its structure. But its potency rested mainly on the contributions of the innumerable lay followers of the church. They came from the wealthy mercantile community of Western India, which consisted largely of *Vaṇika* (*baniā*) or merchant class. The Prāgvāṭas (Porwards) from the region east to Abu, Ukeśavālas (Oswalas) from Ukeśa (Osia), Śrīmallis from Śrīmāla, *i.e.*, Bhinnamāla, Pallivālas from Pallikā (Pali) and Gurjarasa, professed Jainism. Prāgvāṭas[12] and Śrīmallis migrated into Gujrat and definitely multiplied their numbers by the twelfth century. These two communities produced not only great tradesmen, but also statesmen and generals of stature and eminence in the early medieval period. Ukeśavālas and Pallivālas contributed largely to the commercial prosperity of western India. From literary records supplemented by epigraphic evidence, it may be suggested that at least three hundred Jaina temples existed in Western India before the close of the thirteenth century. Gujrat alone could claim two thirds of these. Several of them were vast complexes with surrounding chapels, donated often by separate individuals, usually the relatives and descendants of the founder of the main shrine. Symbolic of opulence, but also of devotion, the Jaina sanctuaries of Western India, some having the most richly decorated interiors, form part of the rich, varied legacy of Indian architecture and culture as a whole.

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IV

The moving spirit of Jainism were undoubtedly the clergy and/or the monks. By their high ethical conduct, selflessness, piety and profound learning, and above all their persistent efforts, they kept the faith alive and popular. The Śvetāmbara clergy were, from the days of the Kuṣāṇa, divided into *gaṇas*, Śākhās and Kulas.[13] The waves of Jainism which passed through Rajasthan in the post-Gupta period, may have had their epicentre in Śūrasena country. Between the eighth and eleventh centuries, the four *kulas*—viz. Nagendra, Candra, Nivṛtti and Vidyādhara—flourished in Western India. Their ramifications into *gacchas* (sub-orders)—had alreday started, or were at least foreshadowed in the eighth century itself. Eventually, the *Kulas* were lost and *gacchas* took their place. Several of these *gacchas* were the direct derivatives of the *Kulas*, but many new orders of the type came to be established. The process of proliferation and branching was at its greatest intensity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There were also instances of parochial attitude, disputes, which culminated in prolonged hostilities in the case of some later *gacchas*. These inconsistencies apart, the general attitude of the Jainas possessed many positive aspects, uncrippled by sectarian, territorial or racial ouotlook. They were concerned more with the Faith and the following, not so much with the linguistic, regnal and regional criteria. They treated Western India as one single unit. They moved freely from one to another principality and received honour from each quarter, inspite of the fact that the political relations among the different states in Western India were often far from friendly. Much do we owe to these travelling Jaina monks, who fostered and forged the overall cultural unity of Western India.

V

From the *Paṭṭāvalīs, prabandhas* and epigraphic sources, we find exhaustive information regarding the various sub-orders, their internal organisation and inter-relationships. The number of followers initiated into the order of monks was quite large. The spiritual quest apart, and the zeal for the propagation of the faith, many among them achieved distinction in the field of learning.[14] Their literary pursuits contributed substantially to the enrichment and preservation of the cultural heritage of Western India, and established a tradition whose impact continues even to the present day.

The Śvetāmbara Jainism possessed certain inherent qualities, which helped its growth as well as survival in Western India. To cite a few, its philosophy, high ethics, peacheable disposition, its stoicism, persuasive power and above all its faculty of accommodation commanded respect of the priests and princes alike. This should not lead us to believe that Jainism had no hard times or occasions to suffer humiliation. Nor did all kings look upon Jainism with equal reverence or sustained respect. *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*[15] records that the flags of the Jaina temples (together with those of non-Śaivite temples) at Siddhapura were ordered to be lowered down whenever a (new) flag was hoisted on the great temple of Rudramahālaya in imitation of the custom observed at Ujjain, Mahākāleśvara. Had Siddharāja foreseen the ominous course of destiny which ordained that the flags of all the temples between Śākambharī and Brigukaccha, whether Brahmanical or Jaina, would roll down in dust towards the close of the thirteenth century, he would have preferred humility and refrained form insulting the friendly benevolent Jainas who served the state with great competence and devotion. But far ourtageous was the policy adopted by Ajayapāla, a nephew and successor of Kumārapāla. Not satisfied with the perfidious assassination of his Jaina prime

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minister Kapardei and minister Amrabhaṭṭa, he extended his cruel hand to Muni Rāmacandra, a disciple of Hemachandra, and proceeded to destroy Jaina temples. Ajayapāla had some personal reasons for his wrath towards Jainism, though no moral justification can be found for his flagrantly vindictive onslaught. But for these unpleasant incidents, the overall picture for Jainism in Western India in the early medieval period is colourful, bright and vibrant with life.[16]

Before it could attain its full growth, the Śvetāmbara Jainism had to overcome at least two obstacles, one purely internal, the other being the rivalry of the Digambara order. By the eighth century, as among the Buddhists, some disciplinary lapses in the order of Śvetāmbaras became a regular, hardened, almost integral feature of the organisation. A monastic (*Caityavāsī*) order which did not require the abbots to follow the severe ethical code, came into existence and became very widespread in Western India. The luxurious life-style of the *Caityavāsīs* was exposed and condemned by Haribhadra *Sūri* in no uncertain terms. The heads of such establishments exercised powerful influence both in the State and society. They were hostile to the ascetics of the *Vanavāsī gaccha* (mendicants who practised rigorous austerities in the forest) and to the travelling monks of similar orders known as *Vihāruka*, *Saṁvegī*, *Suvihita* and *Saṁvijñavihāri*. Though it was known from the seventh century in Saurāṣṭra region, Digambara Jainism compared to its counterpart, the Śvetāmbara, did not prevail with the same intensity in Western India. It attempted a confrontation with the Śvetāmbara belief. This war of talents fought at the kingly courts through disputations eventually put it in an unenviable position. At least three instances of historic importance may be mentioned, which throw significant light on the future development and spread of Śvetāmbara Jainism in Western India. Kamalakīrtti, the Digambarin, proceeded for a doctrinal collision with Padma *Sūri*, the Śvetāmbarin at Guhila King Allaṭa's court at Aghāṭapura. There he was defeated. Kumudacandra blundered in challenging the astute and erudite Deva *Sūri* at the court of the Solanki potentate Jayasimha Siddharāja. Kumāracandra's defeat was as disastrous as his retreat was unceremonious. Gunacandra debated with Dharmaghoṣa *Sūri* at the court of Cāhamāna Ajayarāja at Ajayameru. The Śvetāmbara Jainas emerged victorious.

But despite these setbacks, the Digambaras did thrive and retained a foot-hold in Western India, particularly in the eastern sector of Rajasthan. There are Digambara Jaina caves near Śrīnagara (Ramgarh) assignable to eighth-ninth century. Padmanandī at Nagadṛhi (Wajda) refers to the existence of Jaina temples at Bara (Baran) in the tenth century. The rock-cut shrine of Padmāvati is dated 954 A.D. The older portions of the Digambara Jaina temple at Sanganer are referrable to 954 A.D. There are remains of Jaina temples of late eleventh as well as twelfth century at Atru and Kishanvilas.

It is evident that the chief *Vaṇika* communities also extended thier support to Digambara Jainism in Rajasthan. Māthura and Mūla *Saṁghas* were dominantly represented in the region. Movements from Gujrat, Mathurā and Mālava all had their share. Central India in the tenth century possessed a fairly large number of Digambara centres in all its sub-divisions which included a portion of the Mewad and Uparmal tracts of Rajasthan, Gopagiri, Jejākabhukti, and Dāhala of the Cedis. The adjacent Rajasthan tracts where Digambara Jainism prevailed, thus remain united with the greater and more expansive and extensive movements of the Digambaras in central India. Digambara Jainism seems to have suffered an eclipse soon after the twelfth century in Eastern Rajasthan, as well as in central India. It however, prospered fervently during the fifteenth century,

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when it penetrated into Idar area of Gujrat as well. But these are times which lie outside the purview of our present discussion.

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   The Vimala Vasahi temple consists of a *sanctum*, a closed hall with lateral transepts, a pillard portico and an asssembly hall in front, the whole placed in a quadrangular court, surrounded by an enclosure of shrine-cells facing two bays of colonnaded corridors. The colonnaded cloister is later than the halls by about a century .The entrance hall, has lavishly ornamented pillars, surmounted by attic sections, with multicusped toraṇa arches in between. The architraves are heavily ornamented and support a circular ceiling of ten diminishing rings loaded with a bewildering wealth of carvings. Krishna Deva, *ibid*.

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11. Dhaky, M.A., "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara temple Architecture," in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, P. Chandra (ed.), New Delhi, 1975, pp.121-27.

12. Prāgvāṭa is the Sanskrit form of the name *Por* or *Porwar* belonging to the Porwal community of merchants of Western India, being one of the eighty-four *gacchas* or families of the Jains. Sircar, D.C., "A Jaina historical Tradition," in *Religion and Culture of the Jains*, D.C.Sircar (ed.), Calcutta, 1973, p.97.

13. *Luders'List* Nos. 18-20 ; K.Bajpeyi, "Jainism in Early Inscriptions of Mathura,"in D.C. Sircar (ed.), *Religion and culture of the Jains*, pp. 35-45.

14. Among the celebrated personalities in the line, mention may be made of Haribhadra Sūri of Vidyādhara Kula. Besides, there were Silānka Siddharṣi of Nivritikula, Nanna Sūri, Pṛadumna Sūri, Abhayadeva sūri and Dhaneśvara Sūri of Rajagachha, Yaśodhara Sūri of Sanderaka *gaccha* and many others. Towering above them was Hemacandra of Pūrṇatalla *gaccha*.

15. Jinavijaya Muni, ed., *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, Singhi Jaina Series No. 1, Shantiniketan, 1939.

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13

Bāleśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka : Hitherto Unknown Śaiva Establishment at Śrīpura

Ajay Mitra Shastri

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśins were the supreme political power in South Kosala (Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining region of Orissa) during the seventh-eigth centuries AD[1], and the Somavaṁśins, who played such an important role in Orissan history, were their lineal descendants.[2] Under them religion, art and architecture witnessed a great efflorescence, and some of the finest specimens of the Nāgara style at Sirpur and Bhubaneswar were built under their active patronage.

The Pāṇḍuraṁśins, to begin with, in keeping with their being political successors of the Śarabhapurīyas, were dovotees of Viṣṇu, and some of their early members including Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva and Mahānannarāja (Nanna II) were styled *Parama-Vaiṣṇava*.[3] Even though no records of the next two members of the family have yet come to light, they, too, were apparently adherents of Vaiṣṇavism, as can be inferred from the fact that it was in order to please his mother Vāsaṭā that the last known king of the family, Mahāśivagupta (Śivagupta) Bālārjuna built a Viṣṇu temple at Sirpur (presently known as Lakṣmaṇa temple),[4] even though he himself had switched over to Śaivism and styled himself accordingly as *Parama-Māheśvara* in all his official records. Though in keeping with the age-old Indian tradition, he practised religious catholicity, and Buddhism also received his patronage,[5] there can be absolutely no doubt him being a devout Śaiva. Most of his own records register charities to Śaiva establishments. Thus, the Lodhia plates of his last recorded year (57th) register a grant for the temple of Īśāneśvara-bhaṭṭāraka erected at the *pattana* (commercial centre) of Khadirapadra at the request of the divine (*bhagavat*) Śūlapāṇi, the pupil of the divine Pramathācārya hailing from the penance-grove (*tapovana*) known as Pañcayajña at the famous Dvaitavana, in order to meet the various needs of the temple.[6] Likewise, one of his undated Mallar charters records his land-grant in favour of the shrine of god Kapālésvara Śiva at Kosala-nagara erected by a certain Śivanandin.[7] These records as well as the devices on the seal attached to these and other charters[8] should leave absolutely no doubt about the religious transformation of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa from Vaiṣnavism to Śaivism during his reign.[9]

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But while these records clearly indicate the tremendous popularity of Śaivism in South Kosala during the period of Śivagupta Bālārjuna, as in practically the whole of the Indian subcontinent, a hoard of as many as nine copper-plate charters from Sirpur (ancient Śrīpura) and another grant from Mallar in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh indubitably show that Śrīpura was a great centre of Śaivism during his long reign. They bring to light the fact that Śivagupta himself had erected a temple of Bāleśvara-bhaṭṭāraka[10] at Śrīpura, the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa capital,[11] fairly early in his reign, and some of the members of the royal family also had erected some subsidiary shrines in its premises which resulted in the transformation of this temple into a huge establishment. Students of ancient Indian religious history, more especially Śaivism, can ill afford to wait for the publication of these records, which would easily take a few years.[12] It is, therefore, proposed to highlight here the important evidence afforded by them without prejudice to their full publication.

Seven of the inscriptions of the said hoard and the Mallar grant are directly connected with the Bāleśvara-bhaṭṭāraka temple, and record charities to it and its adjuncts by Śivagupta. The earliest record mentioning this temple belongs to the thirty-seventh year of the king's long reign, and refers to the installation of the temple. It may thus be concluded that the temple was completed in his thirty-seventh regnal year. This inscription records that at the time of the installation of the temple of Bāleśvara on the fifth day of first fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, Śivagupta gave away the village of Hastipadra situated in the division called Svalpasarkarāmārga[13] to the divine (*bhagavatpāda*) Vyāpaśivācārya, pupil of the divine (*bhagavat-pāda*) Dīrghācārya belonging to Nandapura.[14] Apparently Vyāpasiva had some connection with the installation of the Bāleśvara temple : perhaps he had installed it after getting it erected by Śivagupta. As we shall see in the sequel, Dīrghācārya and Vyāpaśiva figure in some other records of Sirpur hoard.

The next inscription, chronologically speaking, supplies us a very valuable piece of information about the Bāleśvara temple. It tells us that it was erected by the king himself (*sva-kārita*) on the low-lying land at Śrīpura itself (*ih-aiva Śrīpura-tala*), and records the grant of the village Bhāṇḍāgāra-cuttāka (?) located in the Aryaṇka-*bhoga*[15] to the divine Vyāpaśivācārya, pupil of the divine Dīrghācārya and grand-pupil of the divine Śaivācārya Aghoraśiva, hailing from Nandapura at the time of the establishment of the monastic residence (*maṭhikā*) attached to the shrine of Bāleśvara-bhaṭṭāraka for the performance by the line of pupils and grand-pupils etc. of perpetual sacrifice, initiation, discourses, and provision of food and maintenance of a free feeding house. The grant is dated on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa in the king's thirty-eighth regnal year.

The monastic residence was obviously added to the temple over a year after its installation.

Next to be added was a shrine of Dayeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka inside the monastic residence in the forty-sixth year by the king himself. On the occasion of its installation on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa in that year a village named Bhāṇḍagāra-takkaḍaṁśaka included in the Devī-*bhoga*[16] was given for its repairs, maintenance of its precincts, daily worship and musical concerts.

Amaradevī, evidently closely related to the king, next added to the *maṭhikā* another shrine called after herself Amareśvarāyatana-bhaṭṭāraka. The divine Astraśiva, pupil of Vyāpaśivācārya and grandpupil of Dīrghācārya, also known as Aghoraśiva, of Nandapura, received, on the occasion of its installation the king's grant of the village Devapadrullaka attached to Bhāṇḍāgārāśvatthaka,

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forming part of the district (*bhoga*) of Cullāṭa-sīmā.[17] The date of this event is given as the twenty-fifth day of the month of Phalguna in the forty-eighth regnal year, which is removed from the previous event by about two years and seven months.

Another undated grant register the gift of the village Katambapadūllaka[18] situated in the district (*bhoga*) of Cullāṭa-sīmā in favour of the Amareśvara. The shrine is said to have been established (*pratiṣṭhāpita*) by Vyāpaśiva, pupil of Dīrghacārya and grand-pupil of Aghoraśiva of Nandapura. The grant, which was made at the request of queen Amaradevī, was intended to meet the cost of repairs, sweeping, anointment, worship and musical performances. It excluded the produce of the village, a *pala* of milk (*gavāṅga-rasa*), vegetables and water meant for running a free feeding house.

The next charter was given on the fourth day of the first fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the king's fifty-fifth regnal year. It records other addition to the Bāleśvara temple. We are told that the queen named Abbanibbaḍi had built a shrine called Abbeśvara after herself in the campus of the Bāleśvara temple, and Astraśivācārya, pupil of Vyāpaśivācārya, acted as its teacher-in-charge (*sthāna-guru*). It records the grant of the village Virttoḍaka forming part of the district (*bhoga*) of Uni[19] divided into two parts. Half of the village was granted to defray the expenses on the repairs to the shrine (*devakula-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-saṁskāraṇa*) and offering of worship, and other sundry things, while the remaining half was meant to be a gift to her preceptor (*guru-dakṣiṇā*) in order to meet the expenses on the religious sermons by the line of spiritual teachers (literally, pupils and grand-pupils) and for the maintenance of a free feeding house. This village was granted at the time of the installation of this new shrine at the request of queen Abbanibbaḍi.

The above inscriptions are dated, so that it is possible to reconstruct chronologically the history of the Bāleśvara temple and additions made to it after its construction. However there is an undated charter from which we learn that the king's wife (*dharma-patnī*) Ammādevī had caused to be constructed a shrine named after herself, Ammeśvara, in the proximity of the Bāleśvara temple (*Bāleśvara-samīpastha*) on the low-lying land at Śrīpura; and at her request her husband had given the village of Kośambraka included in the Svalpaśarkarā-mārga[20] to this shrine on the occasion of the Viṣuva saṅkrānti of Uttarāyaṇa in the month of Māgha for meeting the expenses on repairs, *bali* and *caru* offerings, musical performances, incense, worship, sweeping and anointment. Whether Ammeśvara, like Amareśvara and Abbeśvara, was a part of the Bāleśvara establishment cannot be decided at present, though the wording of the inscription seems to indicate that it was a separate shrine only situated close to the Bāleśvara temple. We have, therefore, to take both these possibilities into consideration.

The site of the Bāleśvara temple can be identified with what is now known as Bhālesar Pahāḍ near the southern bank of the river Mahānadī in the suburb of the town of Sirpur. This site now conceals a lot of antiquarian remains, including the temple of Bāleśvara and its adjuncts mentioned above.

The above-mentioned Mallar plates of the fifty-seventh year, which form the latest dated record of Śivagupta,[21] also supply very valuable information bearing on the history of the Bāleśvara complex. This record supplies the important information that the penance-grove (*tapovana*) attached to the Bāleśvara shrine was placed at the disposal and under the management of another line of Śaiva ascetics, perhaps belonging to the Somasiddhānta school. We learn from this epigraph

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that Śivagupta granted the twin villages of Pāśipadraka and Kurapadraka[22] situated in the Uṇi-*bhoga* in lieu of the earlier granted village of Bhāṇḍāgāra-Tulapadraka included in the same *bhoga* to a renowned Śaiva ascetic for certain charitable activities connected with the Bāleśvara temple. We are told that he gave for the maintenance of the *tapovana* of this complex built by the king himself the above-mentioned villages to the illustrious revered Bhīmasoma, pupil of the illustrious Tejasoma and grand-pupil of the illustrious Rudrasoma[23], who belonged to the line of spiritual teacher descending from the celebrated Lakulīśa-nātha, who himself is said to have been born in the Brāhmaṇa family of the famous Somaśarman, and was the very 'moon for the world' and was initiated with the *mahāvrata*.[24] We are told that sixty-six incarnations of Śiva take place in various aeons (*yugas*) for the world[25] and that Śiva incarnated himself as Lakulīśa in the Kali age.[26] There is also a reference to the eight forms of Śiva.[27] The grant, which was intended to be perpetual, was placed at the disposal of Bhīmasoma in order to enable him to meet the expenses on sacrifices, initiatory rites, preaching and residence of his pupils and grand-pupils (*i.e.*, the line of Śaiva teachers emanating from him) and repairs to the shrine.[28]

We also get a detailed description of the extent of the gift villages in terms of the well-known *hasta* (cubit) measure, which is expressly stated to be equal to twenty-four digits (*aṅgulas*). We are told that in the east extending north-south from the half-river (Mahānadī) the land measured 7350 *hastas*, in the south extending north-west 6151 *hastas*, in the west extending south-north7000 *hastas*, and in the north extending west-east 6350 *hastas*. This sort of detailed measurement, which is quite common in medieval South Indian epigraphs, is unique not only in the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin inscriptions, but also in the entire range of early and medieval epigraphy of North India, as far as our knowledge goes. In fact, this is the exact measurement of the land from Pāśipadraka to Kurapadraka, now represented by the villages Pāsida and Koapadar respectively situated almost diagonally opposite, on the southern bank of river Mahānadī with the temple of Bāleśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, presently represented by what is known as Bhāleśar Pahad situated between them diagonally. As we have seen above, the Bāleśvara complex stood on the low-lying land at the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa capital Śripura; and the places mentioned in the grant under reference at present have been shown to have been actually situated in the neighbourhood of Sīrpur.

The inscription is of great value for the history of Śaivism and its sects. The name-ending *soma* in the names Rudrasoma, Tejasoma and Bhīmasoma, and their said distant connection with the Brāhmaṇa Somaśarman make it clear that this line of teacher belonged to the Somasiddhānta school of Śaivism. Lakulīśa, the exponent of the Pāśupata school, is said, as we have seen, to have been born in the family of Somaśarman, a tradition not knwon to have been recorded anywhere else. This shows that in the early medieval age, certain traditions connecting Brāhmaṇa Somaśarman with the Pāśupata school and also with its founder (or exponent or reviver if we were to concede V.S.Pathak's view of its foundation by Śrīkaṇṭha)[29] Lakulīśa were prevalent and are reflected in this record. This also finds an echo in some of the *Purāṇas* which mention Somaśarman as an incarnation of Śiva which took place at Prabhāsa (Prabhās Pāṭan) in Gujarat.[30] He is apparently the same as Soma who is said in an inscription from Prabhās Pāṭan belonging to the time of the Calukya king Kumārapāla (Valabhī Samvat 850 = AD 1169) to have erected a golden temple of Somanātha at Prabhāsa, and after originating his cult at the behest of Śiva given the place to the Pāśupatas.[31] Not only Lakulīśa and thereby the Pāśupata school of Śaivism were sought to be brought into

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connection with the Somasiddhānta school, but there appears to have also been attempted an interrelationship as regards religious beliefs. As pointed out above, the Mallar plates in question refer to the eight forms (*aṣṭa-mūrtti*) of Śiva. This concept also is typically Pāśupata, and is referred to by Kālidāsa[32] and represented by an early Vākāṭaka sculpture from Māṇḍhaḷ near Nāgpur.[33] It is found mentioned in numerous Indian and South-East Asian Sanskrit inscriptions of a considerably later period,[34] ours being probably the oldest epigraphic reference to it. The concept itself is very ancient and includes the following eight forms: (1) Sarva; (2) Bhava, (3) Īśāna, (4) Rudra, (5) Ugra, (6) Bhīma, (7) Paśupati, and (8) Mahādeva, which find mention in the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra literature.[35] Attempts also appear to have been made to establish the relationship of the Somasiddhānta school with some practices typical of the Kāpālika sect, one such practice being the observance of *mahāvrata*. As stated above, our Mallar plates state that Lakulīśa was initiated with the *mahāvrata*. As a Kāpālika practice it finds mention in a number of early medieval Indian inscriptions and literature.[36]The Indo-Parthian king Gondophares styles himself on most of his coins as *deva-vrata*,[37] *deva* here referring to god Śiva who figures on his coins and *vrata* (vow) alluding to the Kāpālika practice and showing that Gondophares was a Śaiva of the Kāpālika variety. It may thus be reasonably concluded that a conscious effort was made to strike a great synthesis among the Pāśupata, Somasiddhānta and Kāpālika sects of Śaivism by inventing and modifying certain traditions, and adopting religious practices and beliefs of each other in South Kosala during the close of the eighth century A.D. As these references are met with in connection with the Somasidhānṭin ascetics, it may naturally be inferred that they took initiative in the experiment in religious (or rather sectarian) synthesis by trying to bring the votaries of the principal Śaiva sects closer; and in this exercise they perhaps had the support and blessings of the Pāṇḍuvamśin king Śivagupta. How far this attempt was successful remains uncertain.

This inscription must have originally belonged to Sīrpur where the temple as well as the donated villages were situated; and it must have come to Mallar with the family owning it.

The Somasiddhāntin ascetic Bhīmasoma was in charge only of the penance grove (*tapovana*) attached to the Bāleśvara complex, while the temple itself and its other adjuncts were managed by the Śaiva ascetics of the Śaivasiddhānta school as indicated by their Śiva-ending names. The Śaivasiddhānta ascetics attained great celebrity under the Kalacuris of Tripuri, and elsewhere in the Deccan and South India.[38] The ascetics mentioned in the inscriptions from Sīrpur and Mallar are new additions to the list of known ascetics of these schools, and the value of these records from this point of view is quite great indeed. To recapitulate, the last known Pāṇḍuvamśin king Śivagupta Bālārjuna undertook the construction of the magnificent temple of god Śiva known after himself as Bāleśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, and it was completed in the thirty-seventh year of his long reign. Next year a monastic residence (*maṭhikā*) was added to it. In the forty-sixth year a shrine called Dayeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka was erected inside the *maṭhikā*. Two years later was added another shrine called Amareśvara after its builder, Amaradevi. Abbeśvara shrine built by and named after queen Abbanibadi, was next erected in the campus of the Bāleśvara temple in the fifty-fifth year to be followed by the grant of the villages Pāśipadraka and Kurapadraka to Bhīmasoma for the maintenance of *tapovana* attached to it in the fifty-seventh year. In short then, the Bāleśvara, first built by Śivagupta in his thirty-seventh year, took nearly two decades for the completion of its complex including a penance-grove, a monastic residence (*maṭhikā*), which must have served not only as redidential but also as an educational centre of the Śaivas, and the shrines of Amareśvara

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and Abbeśvra. The shrine of Ammeśvara, built by Ammadevī and christened after herself, also probably formed a part of this complex. This establishment naturally turned the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa capital Śrīpura into an important centre and stronghold of Śaivism. In giving it this status the generations of Śaivasiddhānta and Somasiddhānta ascetics, the former hailing from Nandapura, which must also have been a great centre of Śaivasidhānta ascetics, also played a great role.

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1. This follows our own chronology which materially differs from the commonly accepted chronology. See our *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and Somavaṁśins*, I, Delhi, 1991, pp. 139-57.
2. See *ibid.*, pp. 172-76.
3. *Ibid.*, II, Delhi, 1991, Nos. III : II-V.
4. *Ibid.*, III : XI.
5. *Ibid.*, No. III : IX (undated Mallar plates) which records a gift for a Buddhist monastery (*vihārikā*).
6. *Ibid* ., No. III : VIII.
7. *Ibid.*, No. III : X.
8. It shows the couchant figure of Śiva's mount. Nandin, to left flanked by a trident on left and a *pūrṇa-kumbha* on right in its upper part.
9. Some private records (stone inscriptions) of his reign also record charities to Śaiva establishments, showing thereby that the religion was popular among masses as well. For these records, see *ibid.*, Nos. III : XII-XV and Appendix I.
10. The temple was obviously named after the initial part of his personal name, *viz*, Bāla. It was a common practice to name the temples after the persons responsible for their erection or the places of their location.
11. The Pāṇḍuvaṁśins had inherited it as capital from the later members of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty, for the penultimate known member of the dynasty, Sudevarāja, is known to have had his second capital at Śrīpura while his son Pravararāja finally shifted his capital to it.
12. These records have been brought to my notice by Shri Rahul Kumar Singh and Shri Ved Prakash Nagayach of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Madhya Pradesh, with the permission of Shri Kalyan Kumar Chakravarti, Commissioner of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh. They are being edited by me with the assistance of some of the officers of the Department.
13. The headquarters of the division called Svalpaśarkarāmārga may perhaps have something to do with the village Śarkarāpadraka mentioned in the Pipardula plates of Narendra as situated in the Nandapura-*bhoga* (*ibid.*, No. I:I, text-line 6) or Śarkarā-pāṭaka mentioned in the Bonda plates of Śivagupta himself (*ibid.*, No. III : VII, pp. 124, 126). But in view of the fact that the donee hailed from Nandapura, the former alternative looks more likely. The addition of the prefix *svalpa* indicates that there were two villages of this name, larg and small, the latter being intended in the present context.
14. Nandapura may perhaps be identical with the locality of he same name mentioned in the Pipardula plates of the Śarabhapurīya king Narendra. See *ibid.*, No. I:I. But there it is mentioned as the name of a district named after it. For its possible identification, see *ibid.*, p. 7, fn.13.
15. Aryaṅka is evidently identical with modern Arang in the Raipur District, and was apparently the divisional headquarters in those days. The donated village, however, defies attempts at its location.
16. Devī-*bhoga* and the donated village cannot be identified.

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17. Cullaṭa-sīmā-*bhoga* is already known from the Kurud plates of the Śarabhapurīya king Narendra with the only difference that the first part of the name is spelt there as Cullāḍa instead of Cullāṭa as here (see *ibid.*,No. I:II, text-lines 2-3), while the villages Bhāṇḍāgār-āśvatthaka and Devapadrullaka cannot be identified now.

18. The village Katambapadūllaka reminds one of the locality called Kadambapadrullaka mentioned in the Mallar plates of the Śarabhapurīya king Jayarāja dated in his fifth regnal year (*ibid.*, pp. 17, and 19), on account of the near identity of the two names; but there it is said to have formed part of the administrative division called Antaranālaka, whereas the village in question was situated in the Cullāḍasīmā-*bhoga*, which is well-knwon from several records. Thus, in spite of the closeness of the two names phonetically, they cannot be identified without assuming some change in the boundaries of the two administrative divisions, of which no evidence is at present forthcoming.

19. The Uṇi-*bhoga* is evidently identical with the Oṇi-*bhoga* known from the Lodhia plates of the fifty-seventh regnal year, and the undated Mallar plates of Śivagupta himself (*ibid.*, pp. 128 and 132 for Lodhia plates, and pp. 138 and 140 for Mallar plate), while it is difficult to say anything definitely regarding the village of Virttoḍaka situated in this *bhoga*.

20. The village Kośambraka cannot be identified at present. As regards the administrative division, we already know it from one of the inscriptions noticed earlier.

21. The grant was issued on the *first* twelfth day (*dvādaśī*) of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna in the fifty-seventh year of the king's reign. There were apparently two *dvādaśīs* in the dark fortnight of Phālguna that year, the first of which was intended. The Lodhia plates of the same year were given on the full-moon day of Kārttika (*ibid.*, p. 131, text-lines 31-32), whereas the stray plate from Mallar, attributable to him, was issued on the thirtieth day of Māgha in the same year (*ibid.*, p. 164, text-lines 7-8). The present grant is, thus, later than the other dated Mallar charter by twelve days.

22. The expression *Pāśipadraka Kurapadraka-sahite* would literally mean 'Pāśipadraka together with Kurapadraka', indicating that greater importance was attached to Pāśipadraka. In a subsequent line also the village Pāśipadraka is said to have been given along with Kurapadraka.

23. Rudrasoma alone of the line is styled *guru*.

24. It is only a vague description with no mention of the generation from Lakulīśa which would have been of greater value from our point of view. Historically also it would have been somewhat important, as it would have provided some evidence for fixing roughly the period of Śivagupta Bālārjuna more dependably.

25. Actual wording of the relevant portion is *Gahaneśasya mūrttayo Rudrāḥ ṣaṭṣaṣṭy-anugrāhkā yuge yuge parivartamānā*. Here the sixty-six Rudras are, in fact, described as exact replicas (*mūrti*) of Śiva, here called *Gahaneśa*.

26. The relevant portion reads *adhunā Kali-Kālamāsādya śrīmalLakulīśanāthovatīrya*.

27. The relevant expression is *Śivasya mūrttinamaṣṭau Vigraheśvarāṇām*, the word *vigraheśvara* being quite significant.

28. The relevant portion of the record runs as *śiṣya-praśiṣyāṇām yāga-dīkṣā-vyākhyānānvasatṛti-pravarttanaya bhagna-vidīrṇṇa-devakula-saṁskṛtaye ca*.

29. V.S.Pathak, *History of Śaiva Cults in Northern India from Inscriptions*, Varanasi, 1960, pp. 7-8.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 24, fn. 5, where the *Vāyavīya Saṁhita (Śiva Purāṇa)*, V. 41-42, are quoted. See also *ibid.*, p. 13, fn. 7.

31. For quotation of the relevant stanza, see *ibid.*, p. 24, fn. 4.

32. *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala* (with Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary, 12th ed., Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1958), I.1:

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Yāsṛṣṭiḥ sraṣṭurādyā vahati vidhi-hutaṁyā haviryā ca hotrī
Ye dve kālam vidhattaḥ śruti-vipatha-guṇā ye sthitā vyāpya viśvam
Yāmāhuḥ sarva-bīja-prakṛti itp yayā prāṇinaḥ prāṇavanath
Pratyakṣābhiḥ prapannas-tanubhir-avatu-vas-tābhir-aṣhṭābhir-iśah.

33. Found in the excavation conducted by the Nagpur University's Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, under the direction of the present author, this beautiful figure depicts the eight forms of the god in eight faces with different expressions: four on top, two on shoulders and two on hips.

34. For these references, see V.S. Pathak, *op. cit.*, p. 17 and fn.7.

35. See *ibid.*

36. For these references, see *ibid.*, pp. 20-21. S.R. Goyal, *A Religious History of Ancient India*, II, Meerut, 1986, pp. 267-68.

37. Gardner P., *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, Reprint, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 103 ff., V.S.Pathak, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

38. For a detailed discussion on the Mattamayūra and Golakī line of this school, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Tripurī* (Hindi), Bhopal, 1971, pp. 96-108.

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14

Śiva and Viṣṇu in Early Kambuja Inscriptions

Kaushal Kishore

Possibly Indian contacts with Kambuja developed in the early centuries of the Christian era. Inscriptions, both dated and undated, allow us a glimpse into the political, social and religious conditions prevailing in Kambuja. Indian religions were well known; and Śiva and Viṣṇu find frequent mention in the Kambuja inscriptions.

Śiva :

The early Kambuja inscriptions furnish enough evidence about Śiva worship. He was known by different names, like Śambhu, Paśupati,[1] Hara,[2] Śankara,[3] Maheśvara, etc.

Śiva worship both in human and the liṅga forms was well established. One inscription refers to eight Śiva idols.[4] There are various references in the inscriptions to the installation of Śivalingas.[5] Briggs, while dealing with the reign of Bhavavarman I (6th century A.D.), observes that the reference of *liṅgas* is interesting, because they are the first ones mentioned in Cambodian epigraphy. There are also references to Umā[6] and Gaurī[7] and the worship of 'Śakti'.

The combined worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu was well known. This is corroborated by the images of Hari-Hara. Jayavarman II (*c.* 790-850 A.D.) even shifted his capital to Hari-Harālaya. The Phnom Dei Temple inscription of Yaśovarman dated 815 A.D., mentions that he had fixed the limits of the domain of the temple, dedicated to Hara Acyuta, united in one body.[9] The joint worhsip of Śiva and Viṣṇu was a unique religious feature, as revealed by the early inscriptions.

The mythology associated with the worship of Śiva was well known in Kambuja. The Prasat Ta Keo inscription dated 815,[10] invokes Śiva as one, who achieved victory over Manmatha. The Basak tele inscription of Rājendravarman[11] refers to Rudra, who drank the Kālkūṭa poison.

The worship of the Trinity was also well known,[12] pointing towards a certain harmony that prevailed between different religious sects. We have the Phimeanakas inscription, which contains a prayer for the preservation of an Aśvattha tree, which is identified with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.[13]

The literature connected with Śaivism was a subject of study.[14] There is a reference to āśramas related to different religious sects; and the Prei Prasat Inscription contains royal ordinances for the *Śaiva āśramas.*[15] During the reign of Indravarman I (A.D. 877-889) a Śivāśrama was duly founded. His chief advisor was Śivasoma who learned the *Śāstras* from the mouth of *Bhagavat* Śankara,

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possibly the Hindu philosopher Śankarācārya according to Coedes. The Bakong temple further demonstrates the Śaivite leanings of Indravarman I. Pāśupatācāryas were known. Śiva worship in Paśupati form has a very old history, and its prevalence in Kambuja is not surprising. The roots of Śaivism appear to have gone deep in Kambuja; and the evidence of the inscription is further corroborated by that of the temples.

Among the three religions mentioned by Chou Ta Kuan who visited Kambuja in A.D. 1296-1297, one has been called Pa-sseu-wei. Chou Ta Kuan calls them Taoists, but Briggs feels that they were not Chinese Taoists. One possibility expressed is that they were perhaps 'Pāśupatas', a Saivite sect, although Coedes thinks that they were worshippers of the liṅga.

Viṣṇu:

Among the early epigraphs of Kambuja which refer to the worship of Viṣṇu, may be mentioned an inscription of Queen Kalprabhāvati;[16] and another of Guṇavarma[17]. Viṣṇu was a well known god, when Bhavavarman (6th centruy A.D.) and his successors occupied the throne of Kambuja. The Veal Kantel inscription of the time of Bhavavarman refers to the two Indian epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.[18] This period saw the coming into importance of the Hari-Hara cult. There are several references to the combined worship of these gods and to the installation of their images. Jayavarman III (9th century AD) had Vaiṣṇava leanings, as appears from his posthumous name Viṣṇuloka.

In the following period, the reign of Yaśovarman (889-910 A.D.) is of special interest. This period is significant for the harmony in which the different Indian sects lived together. The Prasat Komanap inscription[19] of this king deals with the rules of the Vaisnava Asramas. The *kuladhyaksa* was to look after the affairs of the *Vaiṣṇavāśrama*.[20] We are also given an idea of the type of *Bhāgavatas*, who lived in the *āśrama*.[21] The Vaiṣṇavas of the āśrama were not allowed 'though' to grant entry to women.[22]

Sūryavarman I (1002-1049 AD), although a Buddhist himself, did not fail to construct temples for Śiva and Viṣṇu.

The reign of Sūryavarman II (12th century AD) is the most glorious period in the history of Vaiṣṇavism in Kambuja. It was in this period that the famous temple of Angkor Vat was built. The temple was dedicated to the God Viṣṇu, whose idol was placed in the temple. The bas-reliefs of this temple depict beautiful scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Rāma reliefs of Angkor Vat remind one of similar scenes in the Prambanan valley in Java. Although Vaiṣṇavism was not furtunate enough to have another Sūryavarman II in Kambuja, yet the frequent references to the worship of Viṣṇu in the later inscriptions, reveal the continuation of the sect in the period that followed.[23]

REFERENCES

1. R.C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No.8, The Bayang temple inscription dated A.D. 546.
2. *Ibid.*, No.56.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 18.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 56.

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5. *Ibid.*, 9, Phnom Bantay Nam inscription of Bhavavarman, no. 16, dated A.D. 549; No. 18-Ang Pu Stone inscription of Īśānavarman, No. 26, dated A.D. 550; No. 30 dated A.D. 589; No. 32 dated A.D. 592; No. 33 dated A.D. 595 records the installation of a *Śivalinga* by an official of Jayavarman I. No. 89; No.131 dated A.D. 928 refers to a grant for Śivalinga.

6. *Ibid.*, No. 131A and 137A-C.

7. *Ibid.*, No. 73 dated A.D. 817.

8. *Ibid.*, No. 25-The Vat Cakret temple inscription of Iśānavarman dated A.D. 549 refers to *Hari Śankarau*; No. 31 dated A.D. 589-Vat Prei Var Stone inscription records the erection of an image of Śiva-Viṣṇu; No. 36 Barai inscription dated A.D. 589; the Khmer portion of this inscription dated A.D. 648, refers to donations to God Śankara-Nārāyaṇa.

9. *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 72.

10. *Ibid.*, No.71.

11. *Ibid.*, No. 101.

12. *Ibid.*, No. 60-Prasat Bat Stele inscription of Yaśovarman dated A.D. 811,Nos. 73, 75A; No. 138C.

13. *Ibid.*, No. 186 - *Brahamamūla Śivaskandha Viṣṇuśākhā sanātano.*

14. *Ibid.*, No. 191, refers to *Śaiva vyākaraṇajyotiṣa.*

15. *Ibid.*, No. 66.

16. Neak Ta Dambeng Dek inscription of Queen Kulprabhāvatī. The invocation has an eulogy to Viṣṇu. It also refers to Viṣṇu on the Śeṣanāga. Majumdar's *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 1.

17. *Ibid.*, No. 2 - Prasat Pran Voven Inscription of Guṇavarman. It records the consecration of a foot-print of Viṣṇu called Cakratīrtha Svāmī.

18. (i) *Ibid.*, No. 13.

    (ii) The Bayon gallery also depicts scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata.*

19. *Ibid.*, No. 66 - *Śrī Yaśovarmaṇa .... Krito ayaṁ Vaiṣṇavāśrama.*

20. *Śāsanaṁ Śrī Yaśovarmaṇasyetham ihāśrame kulādhyakṣena Kartavyaṁ.*

21. *Tri Sandhyāvidhi Sanśaktāḥ Śīlādhyayana Tatparāḥ, gṛhastha Karma nirmuktāḥ Śāśvadindriya nigrahāḥ varṣāsvananyaṣayita ekabhaktena jīvinaḥ evaṁ vidha Bhāgvata Vāstaya Vaiṣṇavāsrame.*

22. *'na Vaiṣṇavāśramasyāsya vaiṣṇavo vasyet striyam kadācidup śalye api sahadharmacarīmapi;* also verses 92 and 93:

    Rājatmajā rājapūtri rajvṛddhastriyaḥ satī atrānyatithivatpūjyā nāroheyuḥ kuṭīsutaḥ and yāsvadanya striyo hina yā vā catur vibhramaḥ nātrapraveśamarhantita evābhyāgata api.

23. *Ibid.*, No. 186- Prasat Tor Stele inscription of Jayavarman VII dated A.D. 1111 and No. 190. The Angkor temple stele inscription of Srindra - Jayavarman has a Vaiṣṇava invocation.

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15

Sarvādhikāri and Daṇḍanāyaka in South Indian Administration

A.V. Narasimha Murthy

Administration in ancient and medieval south India has certain unique features, obviously necessitated by the local conditions. In fact one would be bewildered by the number of officers who were holding charge of different departments and areas. Among the large number of such officers *sarvādhikāri* and *daṇḍanāyaka* stand foremost both by way of references in inscriptions as well as the power they enjoyed at various levels of administration in south India. From the chronological point of view they are found mentioned in epigraphs from the sixth century to the eighteenth century A.D. Thus they were in service of various dynasties for over a thousand years and performed a variety of bureaucratic functions. An attempt is made here to highlight their role in south Indian administration of ancient and medieval periods with the help of epigraphs.

Though the word *sarvādhikārī* literally means an autocrat, south Indian inscription do not portray these officers in that light. Strangely, T.V. Mahalingam does not comment on this word in his book on south Indian polity. However, he refers to two officers, *sarvādhyakṣa* and *sarvanāyaka*, and identifies them as officials of the palace like a chamberlain, who exercised control over the palace establishment.[1] According to him, his duty was to regulate interviews with the kings with the help of other officers. He even quotes the Sanjan plates of *Rāṣṭrakūta* Amoghavarṣa, wherein it has been mentioned that officers and feudatories were waiting indefinitely to have an audience with the king, and perhaps the *sarvādhyakṣa* regulated it.[2] But from the references that are found to *sarvādhikāri* in Karnataka inscriptions, particularly those of the Hoysaḷa and Sevuṇa dynasties, it becomes clear that the opinion of Mahalingam is not correct, and that the *sarvādhikāri* and *sarvādhyakṣa* were two different officers. It is also of interest to note that the term *sarvādhikāri* does not occur in Choḷa epigraphs ; and K.A.Nilakantha Sastri does not refer to this officer while dealing with the Choḷa administration.

The inscriptions of the Western Gangas of Talkad refer to many *sarvādhikāris* who were in the service of the Ganga kings. B. Sheikh Ali thinks that *sarvādhikāri* was the prime minister, and was the most powerful of all the ministers.[3] He was the spokesman for the council of ministers and acted as a link between the king and council of ministers. Ali even characterised him as a person of great skill and wisdom, who was either appointed from among the nobles, or from the lower ranks. In short, next to the king, the *sarvādhikāri* was supreme and the success of the kingdom depended

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upon his ability to supervise every department of the administration. Ali has quoted two inscriptions, which unfortunately do not belong to the period of the Gangas, but to that of the Hoysaḷas, and hence the duties of *sarvādhikāri* during the Ganga period become conjectural.

A.S. Altekar has furnished some more details regarding this officer, while dealing with the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*. He has equated him with *pradhāna* who is described in Śukranīti as *Samadarṣi* or the general superintendent over the members of the ministry.[4] He gives the example of an individual by name Jiyanta, who is described as *sarvasya anuṣṭhātā* or the person in charge of the entire administration. Then he has referred to the word *sarvādhikāri* and taken it to mean a person with power over the whole administration. Obviously this is a literal translation of the term, rather than the exact meaning given in the epigraph. Perhaps the only person who could have had such wide powers, apart from the king, was the prime minister ; and hence Altekar has equated *sarvādhikāri* with *pradhānā*.

The word *sarvādhikāri* occurs more frequently during the Hoysaḷa, Sevuṇa and Kākatiya periods. It is worthwhile to note some of the *sarvādhikāris* that are mentioned in the Hoysaḷa inscriptions. An inscription of the time of Hoysaḷa Ballāla II dated 1183 A.D., refers to Mariyāne and Bharateśvara who held the office of *sarvādhikāri* and *mānikabhanḍāri* simultaneously, under Viṣṇuvardhana.[5] Another inscription of the same king refers to *mahāpradhāna sarvādhikāri heggade Ballayya* who built a *jināḷaya*.[6] Another epigraph of Hoysaḷa Narasimha III mentions another individual who was a *sarvādhikāri, mahāpāśāyita* and *śrīkaraṇādhipa*.[7] Yet another inscription of the time of Narasimha I refers to *mahāpradhāna sarvādhikāri Biṭṭiyaṇṇa* who made a grant.[8] From these stray references quoted above, it becomes clear that the office of the *sarvādhikāri* was combined with others like *mahāpradhāna, śrikaraṇādhipa* etc., and nobody was exclusively designated *sarvādhikāri*. Perhaps this prompted Derrett to state that those who had rendered regular distinguished service, were given the title of *sarvādhikāri*.[9] Hence he considers *sarvādhikāri* as a title which denoted an officer with a commission in every department. Some of these top officers formed themselves into a privy council which was influential, and advised the king in all matters of administration. As they were competent to give advice on all matters (*sarvā adhikāra*), they were called *sarvādhikāri*.

The position of the *sarvādhikāri* during the period of the Sevuṇas of Devagiri was more or less the same. This office was also quite popular during the period. The following is the list of *sarvādhikāris* mentioned in Sevuṇa records.[10] They are *mahāpradhāna Vāsudevanāyaka, Śivarāja panḍita, mahāpāśāyita Hemmaeyanāyaka, Ācarasa, Vīra panḍita, Puruṣottamanāyaka, mahāpradhāna Prabhākaradeva, mahāpradhāna Jogamarāhuta, Kannayya, mahāpradhāna Tipparasa, mahāpradhāna Devarāja, Viṭharasa, Nāgarasa* and *Māyideva*. Most of these officers were *sarvādhikāris* in addition to being *mahāpradhānas*. However, some of them were exclusively *sarvādhikāris*. In the Sevuṇa inscriptions, *sarvādhikāris* are invariably mentioned in connection with monetary transactions such as sale of lands, gifts, of cash to temples and individuals[11]. This gives a clue that *sarvādhikāri* might have been an officer in the finance department. The concurrence of the finance department was essential in almost all transactions involving other departments, and hence the word *sarva* is used in this sense. That means one who had an *adhikāra* in all departments was referred to as *sarvādhikāri*. Perhaps this prompted Kinkar Desai to describe *sarvādhikāri* as finance member of the council of ministers.[12] But one major objection to this theory

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is that there are many transactions in which *sarvādhikāri* does not figure at all. That means his presence was not compulsorily required in all monetary transactions. He participated in monetary transactions on behalf of the king. This was an additional duty he discharged besides his basic function as *mahāpradhāna, mahāpāśāyita,* etc.

The Kākatiyas of Warangal also had a large number of *sarvādhikāris*. The Tripurāntakam inscription of Gaṇapatideva dated 1167 A.D., refers to a grant made by sarvādhikāri Pochana Pergaḍe.[13] In another epigraph *sarvādhikāri* Siviri Aṇṇayya is stated to have made a grant to local temple.[14] In the context of Kākatiya administration, *sarvādhikāri* has been intrpreted as an agent of the king, having control over all administrative matters.[15] But this interpretation is not supported by the epigraphs quoted above, and it is only a reasonable and literal surmise. But N. Venkataramanaih does not accept this opinion. According to him it was a title and not an office. It was not given only to the top or high officials, but even to the trusted lower officials such as Ellayya Reddy, Tammayya Pergade and others, who were not even ministers.[16] Actually they were the heads of the villages, who had the title *sarvādhikāri*. This shows that the title was conferred upon trusted officers at the central, provincial and even village levels. It was the trust of the king in the official reflected in the title, according to N.Venkataramanaih.

During the Vijayanagara period, this officer seems to have lost his importance, as can be seen from the inscription and the writings of the foreign travellers. Daṇḍanāyaka becomes the most important and powerful officer during the period. However, the term *sarvādhikāri* continued to be used till the 18th century, mostly in the administration of *maṭhas* and temples which earned good revenue and were in a highly prosperous state. An inscription from Bellur belonging to the Mādhavarāya temple mentions an individual by name Ramasastry, who was the *sarvādhikāri* of the Śringeri *maṭha*.[17] These *sarvādhikāris* were supreme in the administration of these religious institutions. Thus the *sarvādhikāri* who had a humble beginning in the sixth century, became dominant during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but lost importance later and made way for the importance of *daṇḍanayaka*.

Another important office which developed side by side was that of *daṇḍanāyaka*. He seems to have been a popular officer if judged by the references found in south Indian inscriptions. Though the term *daṇḍanāyaka* is found in records of the north Indian polity, its significance in south Indian inscriptions is quite different. Basically he was not a military general in south India, but an officer of high rank entrusted with civil and other responsibilities. His position ranged from that of a village headman to that of a governor of a province. Before examining the connotation of the term in south Indian inscriptions, we may briefly refer to the meaning of the term. Literally, it has been taken to mean *daṇḍadhara* or an officer in administaration. There are terms like *mahādaṇḍanāyaka, mahāpracaṇḍa daṇḍanāyaka,* the exact significance of which is not known. There are other terms like *daṇḍādhipa* and *daṇḍanātha* also. While dealing with the Gupta inscriptions, Fleet opined that *daṇḍanāyaka* was a high officer of the army. But according to Jayaswal, this officer had nothing to do with the army; the term *daṇḍa* symbolises general administration; and hence, he was a general administrative officer.

The term *daṇḍanāyaka* does not occur in the inscriptions of the Pallavas of Kānchī. However, it occurs in the inscriptions of the Choḷas. Daṇḍanāyaka Nārakkan built the encolsure of the great

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temple at Tanjore under the orders of Coḷa Rājarāja.[18] He also continued to serve Rājendra Coḷa upto at least 1044 A.D. His son Mārayan Arumoḷi was, however, a *senāpati* under Rājendra. While mentioning the *digvijaya* of Coḷa Rājarāja over the Pāṇḍays, the Tiruvālangāḍu inscription mentions a *daṇḍanatha* and his valour. This term has been translated by Nilakantha Sastri as a military commandant.[19] It suits the context well. While describing the war against Ceylon during the time of Coḷa Rājādhirāja II, the inscription states that the *pradhānis* including Jayadratha and Lankāpurī *daṇḍanāyaka* sustained defeat.[20] From this it becomes clear that even in Ceylon the term *daṇḍanāyaka* was used in the sense of an army officer. The Tiruveṇḍipuram inscription of the time of *Rājarāja* III states that the Coḷa king despatched his *daṇḍanātha* to punish all the enemy *sāmantas*.[21] From all these references it becomes clear that during the Coḷa period, *daṇḍanāyaka* was a military general, who led the army personally in wars.

In ancient Andhra, particularly during the rule of the Cālukyas of Vengi, this was a popular office. In this context, C.A. Padmanabha Sastry remarks that because of the prefix *daṇḍa* which means punishment of judicial punishment, *daṇḍanāyaka* should be taken as a judicial officer, and *mahā daṇḍanāyaka* as the highest judicial officer.[22] He also remarks that during the period of the eastern Cālukyas, the term *daṇḍanāyaka* is used in the sense of a military general. For example, Pāṇḍuraṅga is described as *daṇḍanayaka* under king Guṇaga Vijayāditya.

Ther term *daṇḍanāyaka* does not figure in the epigraphs of the Kadambas of Banavāsi and is rarely used during the time of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi. The word *daṇḍapāśika* occuring in an epigraph of the time of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi has been taken to mean a judicial officer because of the word *daṇḍa* in it.[23]

Daṇḍanāyaka is found in the inscriptions of the Gangas of Talkad frequently. He is taken as the *senādhipati* or the general.[24] He was also appointed governor of a province to keep the feudatories under control. In fact the maintenance of a body of militia was an important responsibility of the *daṇḍanāyaka*. Gaṅga inscriptions mention *daṇḍanāyakas* who were great military generals, like Siyagalla, Maṇalera, Śūdrakayya, Goggimayya and Cāmuṇḍarāya. The Gaṅga monarchs used to give liberal grants for the services rendered by these *daṇḍanāyakas*. Maṇalera was the *daṇḍanāyaka* of Butuga II, and according to the Atkur inscription, the king granted him a territory consisting of Ātkur12.[25] Another *daṇḍanāyaka* was given a badge of honour in addition to villages. They were permitted to ride elephants and the use of special musical instruments. Thus the *daṇḍanāyakas* enjoyed a high status and performed onerous duties during the Gaṅga period.

According to Altekar, *daṇḍanāyaka, balādhikṛta* and *Mahā pracaṇḍa daṇḍanayaka* were the main military designations during the period of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed.[26] However, he does not make it clear as to what were the duties of these officers and their status. The contemporary Noḷambas also had the two designations *daṇḍanāyaka* and *pracaṇḍa daṇḍanayaka,* which have been interpreted as military generals.[27]

We notice a sudden increase in the number of *daṇḍanāyakas* during the period of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, Hoysaḷas and Sevuṇas in the 12th and 13th centuries. Almost all the top officials seem to have been called *dandanayaka*, in addition to other designations like *mahāpradhāna, sarvādhikāri,*

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etc. The plurality of these offices shows that there was an increase in the number of officials. For example, when a person is referred to as *mahāpradhāna* and *daṇḍanāyaka,* the question is which of the two was more important. When we take into consideration the political situation of south India during the period in question, it becomes clear that any officer has to be basically a military officer in view of the large number of feudatories who were always eager to become independent, and also the constant wars among the later Cālukyas, Hoysaḷas, Sevuṇas and the Kākatiyas. Hence, while recruiting officers, preference was given to those who had military experience. To suggest that an officer was a distinguished soldier, they used to add this honorific term *daṇḍanāyaka.* Anybody who obtained a certain level of military skill could be designated *daṇḍanāyaka.* Hence *daṇḍanāyakas* generally held some other office, such as *mahāpradhāna, sarvādhikāri,* etc. This easily explains the plurality of the offices they were holding.

Derrett has described the *daṇḍanāyaka* as the highest officer of a province or district.[28] Harihara *daṇḍanāyaka* was the governor of Asundināḍu from 1216 to 1238 A.D. Though he was the governor, he was designated *daṇḍanāyaka.* He had his own subordinates like *bhanḍāri, senabova, heggaḍe,* etc. *Daṇḍanāyakas* were also collecting revenue and taking part in judicial administration as judges. All these show that there was no particular duty for the *daṇḍanāyaka* was a governor, he had a variety of duties to perform including participation in wars, collection of taxes, dispensation of justice and cultural activities. The central ministers used to keep a watch over these *daṇḍanāyakas* and their admisnistration. An inscription informs us that when a *daṇḍanāyaka* levied more taxes than required, the people complained to the king, who immediately came to the province, made an enquiry and reduced the tax burden.[29] From all these epigraphical evidences Derrett is positive that *daṇḍanāyaka* was an honorific title conferred upon deserving officers by the king. For example, during the time of Hoysaḷa Ballāla III, there are fifty *daṇḍanāyakas,* and only twenty of them were military officers; and others remaining were civil officers.

The same position prevailed during the period of the Sevuṇas of Devagiri. At least there were about one hundred *daṇḍanāyakas* during the period. *Daṇḍanāyakas* Bīca and Māyideva were governors of provinces ; but they were distinguished soldiers and had taken part in many wars in the cause of extending the Sevuṇa kingdom. Hence it is felt that *daṇḍanāyakas* were military officers during the wars, and civil officers during the times of peace.[30] They had a dual role to play; and the difference between the military and civil was not emphasised. Perhaps such a distinction did not exist at all. In addition to the term *daṇḍanāyaka,* the inscription of the Sevuṇas also contain *Rāyadaṇḍādhīsa, mahāracaṇḍa daṇḍanāyaka* and *daṇḍanātha,* the exact significance of which is not known.

Popularity and importance of *daṇḍanāyaka* reached its peak during the period of the Vijayanagara rulers. Inscriptions refer to hundreds of *daṇḍanāyakas* working as officers in various capacities in various departments. According to Mahalingam, *pradhāni* as also the other great officers bore the title *daṇḍanāyaka.*[31] He has given two interpretations of the term, meaning a leader of the forces and lord of the administration. That *daṇḍanayaka* was not the *senādhipati* is proved by the other term *dalādhikārī* or *dalvōy* found in Vijayanagara inscriptions. He was also called *sarvasainyādhipati* or *sarvasainyādhikārī.* This becomes clear from an inscription which states that Nāgaṇṇa *daṇḍanāyaka* was the *mahapradhāna* of Vīra Pratāpadeva, whereas Cāma Nṛpāla was *sarvasainyādhikārī* of the same king .[32] The latter was the commander in chief of the army. This

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brings out clearly the distinction between *daṇḍanāyaka* and *sainyādhikārī* during the Vijayanagara period. The *daṇḍanāyakas* were appointed governors of various provinces ; and the best example is that of Lakkaṇṇa *daṇḍanāyaka*, who was the *dakṣiṇasamudrādhipati* of Devarāya II[33]. His status was such that he could mint his own coins.[34] The word *daṇāyaka* appears in Kannada inscriptions of the period. Abdul Razzak too was impressed by the pomp and status of the *daṇḍanāyaka* during the period. He writes "A *danaik* sits upon a raised platform and presides over the administration, and below it the mace bearers stand drawn up in a row on each side. The *danaik* issues orders founded upon the rule of justice, and no other person has any power of remonstrance. When the *danaik* leaves the chamber, several coloured umbrellas are borne before him. He reports on the affairs of the state to the king, and after remaining for some time returns."[35] Thus according to Abdul Razzak, *daṇḍanāyaka* is a judicial officer. However, Saletore does not accept this statement of Abdul Razzak as true. He thinks that a military officer performing the duty of a judicial officer is against the *smṛtis* and tradition.[36] Saletore thinks that the *daṇḍanāyaka* was an exclusively military officer, which, however, was not the case as seen from other Vijayanagara inscriptions.

Thus the two officers *sarvādhikāri* and *daṇḍanāyaka* played an important part in south Indian administration. They started as ordinary officers, but later their importance increased as finance and military officers. Subsequently, it became an honour to be called *sarvādhikāri* and *daṇḍanāyaka*. The latter became more popular during the Vijayanagara period. Thus there is an interesting evolution and development of the status of these two officers in south Indian administration.

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16

The Pīṭhīpatis of Magadha

B.N. Misra

The Pālas of Bengal and Bihar were assisted by the Pīṭhīpati Kings of Gaya and Bodhgaya region in their political affairs. The Pīṭhīpatis functioned as local rulers under the suzerainity of the Pālas from the time of Gauḍeśvara Nayapāladeva (first half of the 11th cent.A.D.). The Pīṭhīpatis remained rulers of the Gaya-Bodhgaya region at least upto the end of the 13th century A.D. Thereafter, the Mahanta-Mahārājas of Bodhgaya took over the charge of the territories of the Pīṭhīpatis. The later Pīṭhīpatis had to encounter the repeated attacks of the Turuṣkas in the Patna-Gaya region, and ultimately succumbed to the Islamic onslaught in Eastern India.

It is said that Gauḍeśvara Nayapāla conferred the charge of the *Gayāmaṇḍala* on Brāhmaṇa Śūdraka probably in recognition of the material help that the latter rendered to the former in the battle fought with Kalacuri Karṇa, when he sacked the Uddaṇḍapura monastery.[1] Sinha thinks that this Gauḍeśvara was preferably Mahīpāla I who utilised the distinguished service of Śūdraka and his son Viśvāditya.[2] Śūdraka must have been a competent statesman and great warrior, as according to the undated Gaya (Satīghāt) inscription of his grandson Yakṣapāla (*c.*1075-85 A.D.) of the time of Vigrahapāla III (5th regnal year), even the Gauḍeśvara held Śūdraka in high esteem as his vassal and paid homage to him.[3] The Sītalā Temple inscription of Yakṣapāla, lines 4-5, records *Śri-Śūdrakaḥ svayaṁ-apūjayad-indra-kalpo Gauḍeśvaro, nṛipatilakṣaṇa-pūjayāyaṁ*".[4] The Kṛṣṇa-Dvārikā temple inscription of Viśvāditya and the Narasimha Temple inscription of the same king in the Visṇupada compound at Gaya, both of the 15th regnal year of Nayapāla, record that Paritoṣa was the first king of this Brāhmaṇa dynasty. His son was Śūdraka, who was honoured by Nayapāla; and Viśvāditya was the son of Śūdraka.[5] An inscription under the image of Gadādhara at Gaya refers to Paritoṣa.[6] The undated Gaya (Satīghāṭ) inscription of Yakṣapāla records that Viśvāditya was a *nṛpa*.[7] The Kṛṣṇa-Dvārikā inscription informs as that Viśvāditya erected a temple for Viṣṇu (*Janārdana*). Banerji says that the Kṛṣṇa-Dvārikā temple "is built almost entirely of ancient materials and it is quite possible that these materials are the only remnants of Viśvāditya or Viśvarūpa's temple".[8] According to his Narasiṁha Temple inscription, he constructed another temple for Viṣṇu (*Gadādhara*).[9] Banerji has published a transcribed text of this inscription of 15 lines. He is of the opinion that "the ancient materials which have been profusely used in the modern

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temple of *Gadādhara* are the remains of the temple built by Viśvarūpa in the fifteenth year of the reign of Nayapāladevga. He erected two temples for Śiva, one for *Vateśa* and another for Prapitāmaheśvara in the Gayā-*Maṇḍala* according to his Gayā-Akṣayavaṭa Temple inscription dated in the 5th regnal year of Vigrahapāla III.[11] Banerji has re-edited this inscription which contains both the names of the Brāhmaṇa kings Viśvarūpa (verses 6th,14th, 18th, 23rd) and Viśvāditya (verse 25th).[12] The Gaya (Satighaṭ) inscription of Yakṣapāla mention him as a *narendra* and does not give any date or name of the overlord of Magadha. Banerji enlists the Sītalā Temple inscription of Yakṣapāla, which records the erection of a temple dedicated to various deities, and excavation of the tank named as *uttaramānasa*.[13] This inscription is the same as the Gaya (Satīghāṭ) inscription of Yakṣapāla referred to by Kielhorn,[14] and subsequent scholars, such as Sinha.[15] But Banerji "could not find any Satīghāt or any old inscription." He says that the inscription was found hidden behind a door inside a small temple on the side of a paved tank called the Sītalā temple close to the river Phalgū and just behind the Gaya Zilla School.[16] This shows that Yakṣapāla ruled independently. Banerji observes that the test-letters of the Sitalā Temple inscription, "are much earlier than those of Rāmapāla. Most probably Yakṣapāla assumed independence during the troublesome reigns of Vigrahapāla III, Mahīpāla II and Śūrapāla II. Perhaps he was a contemporary of Rāmapāla during the earlier part of the latter's reign."[17] Ganguly observes that Yakṣapāla became independent after the death of Rāmapāla;[18] but it does not appear to be a fact, because Yakṣapāla was the contemporary of Vigrahapāla III (*c.*1055-70 A.D.). Then came Mahīpāla II (*c.*1070-75 A.D.), and Rāmapāla (*c.*1077-1130). Yakṣapāla was followed by Vallabharāja, Devarakṣita and Bhīmayaśas. Devarakṣita and Bhīmayaśas were the contemporaries of Rāmapāla. Thus, Yakṣapāla must have pre-deceased Rāmapāla. Sinha thinks that *Pīṭhīpati* Devasena, who was a vassal of Madanapāla, may have overthrown Yakṣapāla.[19] This observation is also equally untenable. As already discussed above, Yakṣapāla was the contemporary of Vigrahapāla III, whereas Devasena was the vassal of Madanpāla. In between Vigrahapāla III and Madanapāla ruled Mahīpāla II (*c.*1070-75), Rāmapāla (*c.*1077-1120 A.D.), Kumārapāla (*c.*1120-25), Gopāla III (*c.*1125-44 A.D.), followed by Madanapāla (*c.*1143-44-c.61-62 A.D.). In these circumstances Yakṣapāla and Devasena appear to have been generations apart.

With Yakṣapāla ended the dynasty of the Brāhmaṇa rulers of the Gayā-*maṇḍala*. Then the kingdom passed on the Cikkoras of Kannaḍa origin. Vallabharāja Cikkora Sinda, who became king of Pīṭhika (i.e. Vajrāsanapīṭha or Bodhgayā) after Yakṣapāla, marks the beginning of the second dynasty of rulers of the Gayā-*maṇḍala* or Pīṭhī. The Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī (1st half of 12th century A.D.) records that the gallant king Vallabharāja ruled as lord of Pīṭhī.[20] According to Sircar, Pīṭhī denoted some parts of South Bihar, probably the Buddhist religious establishment at Bodhgaya, together with its landed properties.[21] It is also said that the Ārmā inscription for the first time shows that the western region of the Monghyr District also formed part of the territories of these *Pīṭhīpatis*, normally identified with the Patna-Gaya region. Pīṭhī was the Vajrāsanapīṭha at Bodhgaya explained as Magadha or South Bihar in the commentary on Sandhyākara Nandin's *Rāmacarita*. The *Pīṭhīpatis* appear to have maintained their seat at Bodhgaya. Sinha says that Vajrāsana was the capital of Magadha when Buddhasena and Jayasena ruled.[23] Jayaswal thinks that Gaya was probably the capital of Magadha during the later Pāla and Sena periods, and that in the early Sena times the whole of Bihar province (except Mithilā) was known as Pīṭhī.[24] These details

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would show that, broadly speaking, the western region of the Monghyr district, Patna district, Gaya district, Bodhgaya, Nālandā and the neighbourhood probably formed the kingdom of Pīṭhī. Vallabharāja was succeeded by his son Devarakṣita who has been referred to as *Pīthīpati* and *Gajapati* in the same inscription.[25] Devarakṣita was lord of Sindhu, *Pīthīpati* and *Magadhādhipa* also. Riding his great elephant, Bindhyamāṇikya Mahaṇa defeated him.[26] It appears that Devarakṣita was also a powerful ruler. Rāmapāladeva, who desired to strengthen his political position in Magadha, approached his uncle, Mathaṇa or Mahaṇadeva of Kannaḍa origin, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Anga, to subjugate Devarakṣita. Mahaṇa defeated Devarakṣita in battle; and in order to win him over to his side, Mahaṇa married his daughter Śankaradevī with him. Kumāradevī, the daughter of Śankaradevī, was married to the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra.[27] The Tibetan sources record that king Buddhasena of Pīṭhī had Rājā Devasthira as his ancestor.[28] This Devasthira is none else but Devarakṣita himself. Altekar appears to be illogical when he treats Devasthira as a "purely legendary" personage.[29] Sinha thiks that if Devasthira, whose descendant was Buddhasena, was the same as Devarakṣita, the king of Pīṭhī and Magadha in the time of Rāmapāladeva, then the Sena dynasty of Chindas of Pīṭhī "might have been derived from the Cikkora family of Devarakṣita."[30] It appears that Devarakṣita could not continue as king of Pīṭhī even after becoming a close ally of Rāmapāladeva. Banerji rightly observes that Sandhyākara Nandī totally left out the details relating to the enmity and wars of Rāmapāladeva with Devarakṣita, the lord to Pīṭhī and Sindhu. Devarakṣita was either Rāmapāla's rival claimant to the throne of the Pālas, or he invaded the Pāla dominions at that critical time. The obstruction caused by Devarakṣita was thus removed by Mahaṇa as is evident from verse 7 of the Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī.[31] Sircar assigns *c.*1090-1115 A.D., as the tentative period for Devarakṣita.[32]

The third dynasty is represented by Bhīmayaśas, who may or may not have been the son of Devarakṣita. Scholars have assumed that he succeeded Devarakṣita.[33] He was ruler of Pīṭhī before Rāmapāla crushed the Kaivarta king Bhīma. Bhīmayaśas was *Magadhādhipati* and *Pīṭhīpati* and had defeated Candradeva, the king of Kānyakubja (*Kānyakubjarājavājinī-ganṭhana bhujango Bhimayaśo' bhidhāno-Magadhādhipatiḥ, Pīṭhīpathiḥ*).[34] Bhīmayaśas rendered distinguished military help to Rāmapāladeva in his battle against the Kaivarta king Bhīma.

The successor of Bhīmayaśas is again unknown.[35] The Govindapur stone inscription, dated A.D. 1137-38, mentions king Varṇamāna who became lord of Magadha (*Śri-Magadheśvara*) towards the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century A.D. His son and successor was king Rudramāna (*Rudramānojani*), whose minister Gangādhara constructed a tank during his reign-period.[36] It appears that Madanapāla or Govindapāla wiped out this fourth dynasty of the rulers of Pīṭhī.[37] Madanapāla ruled from c.A.D. 1143-44 to c.A.D.1161-62, and was followed by Govindapāla who reigned for four years (*c.*1162-63 to *c.*1165-66 A.D.). It was probably Madanapāla who destroyed the power of the Māna kings, because Govindapāla inherited or snatched away the Gaya District from them. The actual position is, however, not known. It is also difficult to say as to why the Māna rulers established their capital in the Nawadah District and not at Gaya or Bodhgaya, as was always the case with the earlier rulers.

After Rudramāna's extinction, there appeared the fifth dynasty of the rulers of Pīṭhī. It was the dynasty of the local Senas of whom the first ruler was Devasena, whose Ārmā inscription of c.A.D., 1157 has since been published. The inscription records that Devasena was the Pīṭhīpati

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and a vassal of Madanapāla during his 14th regnal year. Devasena ruled over the Patna-Gaya region "together with the western fringe of the Monghyr District as a subordinate of Madanapāla (*c.*1143-61 A.D.)[38]. As shown above, Govindapāla started ruling over the Gaya District from *c.*1162. This means that Madanapāla was about to relinquish the Gaya District in favour of Govindapāla, when Devasena issued his inscription at Ārmā. Sinha rightly observes that either Devasena immediately after changed his allegiance to Govindapāla or Govindapāla came in possession of the Gaya-Nālandā region immediately after the 14th year of Madanapāla's reign in *c.*1157.[39] Govindapāla appears to have retained the Gaya District for four years, i.e., upto *c.*1166 or so. Devasena also might have continued as his vassal till that date. Thereafter, Magadha or at least its major part passed into the hands of the Senas of Bengal. It is doubtful if Devasena was still the Pīthīpati in *c.* 1203 A.D. when Bakhtyār Khaljī conquered almost the whole of Magadha. Apart from his Ārmā inscription, no other source makes any mention of Devasena. The Senas of Bengal ruled over the major part of Magadha including Gaya. The Gāhaḍavālas did not lag behind in extending their supremacy over the western parts of Magadha. The Bodhgaya stone inscription of Jayacandra of c.12th cent. A.D., shows that the region belonged to the Gāhaḍavālas at least till his time.[40] Lakṣmaṇasena is said to have defeated Jayacandra and stopped him from extending his power further east. According to the inscription of his successors, Lakṣmaṇasena raised pillars of victory at Pūri, Kāśī and Triveṇī (Allahabad).[41] Sinha also holds the view that the Gāhadavālas under Jayacandra, being mauled by the Cahamānas and the Turks, could not hold Bihar for long and Lakṣmaṇasena certainly came in possession of Bihar.[42] This would show that when Bakhtyār Khaljī conquered South Bihar, its overlord was most probably Lakṣmaṇasena himself. At present it is, however, difficult to say if he had any local vassal king ruling anywhere in South Bihar. But it is a fact, as Sinha also observers, that his "*atīta-rājya*" regnal years were being used by the Pīṭhīpatis of Bodhgāyās and king Aśokacalla; and thus they appear to have ignored the presence of the *Turuṣkas* at least in this respect. It may, however, be presumed for the present, as suggested by Sircar[43] and Sinha[44] also, that Buddhasena may have been a descendant of Devasena. Sinha hinted at this probability earlier also, though with a question-mark.[45] It is not until the early thirteenth century A.D. (c.1234-35), that the second ruler of the dynasty, that is, Buddhasena is introduced through the Tibetan sources. Thus, an interregnum of 76 years (1234-1158-76) lies between Devasena and Buddhasena, which is a long gap indeed, not easy to explain, particularly in view of the fact that in his Janibigha inscription Buddhasena's son[46] Jayasena traces his pedigree from Buddhasena only, and not from Devasena; and in his Bodhagaya stone-slab inscription of the time of Aśokacalla, now in possession of the Berlin Museum, Buddhasena does not name his father or grandfather.

There are three schools of opinion regarding reckoning of the "atītarājya" years of Lakṣmaṇasena's era. Vidyāvinod equated the "atīta-rājya" years 51 and 74 of the Bodhgaya inscriptions of the time of Aśokacalladeva to *c.*1238 A.D., and c.1253 A.D., respectively. Sircar has accepted these equations. In case of the year 51 he writes, "probably 1230 A.D."; and for the year 74 he says that "the date seems to correspond to 1253 A.D." Thus, it is clear that they have taken *c.*1179 A.D., the year of the accession of Lakṣmaṇasena, as the year to which they have added the years 51 and 74 of the Bodhgaya inscription of the time of Aśokacalladeva as if the two years were "*vijayarājya*" years.[47] The other group of scholars, Altekar and Sinha, has not accepted the year *c.*1179 A.D., as the year of the "*atīta-rājya*". Altekar says that "Vidyāvinod has no doubt

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translated the "atīta-rājya-Sam.51" as of the year 51 since the (commencement of the) reign, (now) past of the illustrious Lakṣmaṇasena, but this interpretation is obviously forced and unnatural. This obviously refers to an era connected with the end of the rule of king Lakṣmaṇasena. People were usually accustomed to count years with reference to the prosperous and victorious reign of a living king referred to as "*pravadhamana vijaya-rajya*'.... If we accept this hypothesis, all known facts of history can well be explained. The year 83 for Jayasena would correspond to c.1283 A.D." Thus, Altekar has suggested *c.*1200 A.D., the year when Lakṣmaṇasena lost his kingdom, as the year of the era to which the "*atīta-rājya*" years 51 and 74 should be added.[48] Sinha also observes that "counting of the dates from the commencement of the *La.Sam.era* is proved to be wrong, and as such *c.*1283 A.D. (1200+83) is the correct reckoning taking c.1200 A.D.as the last year of Lakṣmaṇasena or probably when he was ousted from Nadiā.[49] It would, therefore, follow that the group represented by Altekar and Sinha has made more convincing suggestions than the group of Vidyāvinod and Sircar at least in respect of the *La.Sam.atīta-rājya* reckoning. The third group of scholars is represented by Sahai, whose dating in this respect is not always clear. On one hand he seems to belong to the first group of Vidyāvinod and Sircar who treat expired years of the Lakṣhmaṇasena era to commence from 1179 A.D. On the other hand he equates the "*atīta-rājya*" year 51 with 1157 A.D., where it is difficult to ascertain the era used. He takes the *atīta-rājya* year 74 to correspond to 1194 A.D., which means that he has followed the "*atīta-rājya*" era of Lakṣmaṇasena, i.e., 1119-20 A.D. In case of the expired year 83 of the Janibigha stone inscription of Jayasena also, he has used the expired year of the Lakṣmaṇasena era commencing from 1119 A.D., equating it with 1202 A.D. He has not given any reason for reckoning these expired years in this manner.[50]

It is said that originally the Chinda kings were the spiritual guides (ācāryas) of the *Pīṭhīpatis* of the Cikkora family of the Sindha clan of the Kannaḍa origin; but later, when the Cikkoras became weaker in power, they were ousted by the Chindas.[51]

Buddhasena is referred to in an undated Buddhagaya inscription;[52] as the father of Jayasena in the Janibigha inscription of *c.*A.D.1288; and in the *Rājādhirāja* Aśokacalla's Bodhgaya inscription of Lakṣmaṇasena's *atītarājya Samvat* 74 (c.A.D.1274). Sinha feels that Buddhasena "must have become lord of Pīṭhī before c.1234-35 A.D".[53] Of course, the Tibetan sources record that Buddhasena was a descendant of Rājā Devarakṣita,[54] but Devarakṣita was a Cikkora and Buddhasena was Chinda. Although some scholars have suggested that these two clans were one and the same,[55] it is very difficult to prove that Buddhasena was really a descendant of Devarakṣita in the present state of our knowledge. Altekar prefers to assign Buddhasena a reign period from 1230 to 1260. The tentative year c.1230 is probably assumed by him in view of the somewhat fixed date of A.D. 1234, When Dharmasvāmin met Buddhasena, i.e., Buddhasena might have started ruling a few years earlier than *c.*A.D.1234. But the basis for the year 1260 is not certain, because it is not yet known as to when Jayasena came to the throne of Pīṭhī. Alekar also feels that Lakṣmaṇasena's *atīta-rājya Samvat* denotes an era connected with the end of the rule of king Lakṣmaṇasena.[56] Thinking probably that the year *c.*1200 marks the end of Lakṣmaṇasena's rule, Altekar equates, as Sinha has also done,[57] the year 83 of the Janibigha inscription of Jayasena with *c.*1283 A.D., and places his reign-period tentatively between *c.*1260 and *c.*1285. As already noted above, the basis for the year *c.*1260 has not been specified, although the year *c.*1285 is just two years

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more than the year *c.*1283; Sinha assigns tentatively *c.* A.D.1274-70 as Buddhasena's period,[58] although the ground on which the year *c.*1270 has been based, is not made clear. Some scholars place Buddhasena and Jayasena in the second half of the thirteenth century A.D.[59] Another view is that "Jayasena's reign falls in *c.*1200 A.D."[60] If the reign-period of Buddhasena extended upto *c.*A.D. 1274, as suggested above, that year might have been the year when Buddhasena expired and Jayasena succeeded him. Thus, factually speaking, the reign-periods for Buddhasena and Jayasena could be put for the present as *c.*A.D.1234-74 and *c.*1274-88 A.D. This hypothesis also stands subject to further discoveries. Some Tibetan sources record that Buddhasena was one of the Sena kings of Magadha and Bengal,[61] which is difficult to believe in the present state of our knowledge, because the *Turuṣkas* had already conquered much of Magadha and Bengal by *c.*1206 A.D.,when Lakṣmaṇasena expired. Sircar thinks that "Buddhasena and Jayasena, however, ruled after the establishment of supremacy of Turkish Musalmans in Bihar apparently over a small territory in the Bodhgaya region".[62] The Bodhgaya stone inscription of *Pīṭhīpati Ācārya* Buddhasena of the time of Aśokacalla records that it was issued from the illustrious Vikramapāṭaka, probably an area in or around Bodhgaya, which contained the palace of king Buddhasena. This charter (*Śāsana*) Buddhasena had granted on ṭoday's date (*adya-dine*) to the donee Rājaguru Bhikṣu *Paṇḍita* Srī Dharmarakṣita, who was the chief among king Aśokacalla's teachers, and was the royal preceptor of Kamā country" in the presence of *Sādhanika* (modern Sahni) *Rāṇaka* Śrī Brahmadhara, *Māṇḍalika* Śrī Sahajapala, Pandita Śrī Brahaman and others. With the help of this grant (*vṛtti*) Dhamarakṣita had to arrange the rehabilitation of Ceylonese monks (*Siṁhala-Sthavirāṇāṁ*) at Bodhgaya. He had to hand over the rent-fee property at Mahābodhi together with the Buddha's shrine and other establishment (*Gandhakuṭyādi-sakala-Śrīmān-Mahābodhi-vṛtteryathā...*) to the Ceylonese. This property (*Mahābodhi-Viṣayam*)was not to revert to the state. Buddhasena advised the inhabitants and cultivators to remain loyal to the donee Dharmarakṣita, and pay to him the proper dues and cultivate their plots of land and live happily in the state. All this Buddhasena could do, daring and undaunted, for his subjects under the very teeth of the *Turuṣkas*. This probably proves that he was not a vassal of the *Turuṣkas*.[63] While the information about Buddhasena is gleaned from at least four epigraphic records, the details about his son and successor Jayasena are recorded in his Janibigha inscription only. The inscription of *c.*A.D. 1288 begins with "*Om Svastī, Śrī Manhābodhi ...*" and records that at the Vajrāsana there lives the Bhikṣu Mangalasvāmī, who is Ceylonese and is well-versed in the *Tripiṭaka*. A village Koṭṭhalā with its land and water in the Saptaghaṭṭa district is donated to him by the "Pīṭhīpati king Jayasena, the son of Buddhasena, for the maintenance of the establishment of Srīmad Vajrāsana. (*Śrīmad-Vajrāsanāya sthala jala sahitaḥ koṭathalā grāma eṣa ācandrārka pradattastadadhi vasata ye Mangalasvāmi bhikshoḥ. Haste śrī-Singhalasya tripiṭaka kṛtinaḥ śāsanīkṛtya rājñānirvyajaḥ saptaghaṭṭe baṭakaraka-linto Buddhasenātmajena. Dato dānamimaṁ grāmaṁ Jayasenah sabhūpatiḥ Pīthīpatiruvācedamācāryaḥ satyabāgvaca Laksmaṇasenasyātīta-rājya saṁ, 83 Kārtika sudi 15.*)[64] This inscription should be dated according to Sinha, in *c.*1283 A.D., if counted from the end of Lakṣmaṇasena's rule, or in c.1179,+83=1262 A.D., if counted from the date of his accession.[65] But he himself concludes that counting of the date "from the commencement of the *La.Sam* era is proved to be wrong", and as such *c.*1283 A.D.(1200+83) is the correct reckoning, taking *c.*1200 A.D. as the last year of Lakṣmaṇasena or probably when he was ousted from Nadiā.[66]As it has been shown above, Nadiā

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was conquered by Bakhtyār Khaljī in *c*.A.D. 1204 and not in c.A.D.1200. Moreover the people of Magadha continued his regnal years even after his dislodgement from Nadiā. Thus, they were still treating him as the cherished overlord of Magadha. The last known date of Lakṣmaṇasena is *c*. 1205 A.D.[67] Therefore *c*. 1205+83=1288 A.D., would be a better reckoning for the Janibigha inscription. In *c*.A.D. 1205 (regnal year 27th), Lakṣmaṇasena granted lands in the Bhāwal parganā of the Dacca Disrict.[68]

Once, while Dharmasvāmin and his four monk-companions returned to Vajrāsana after 17 days continuous hiding at the time of the attack of the *Turuṣkas* on Vajrāsana, Buddhasena and his 500 soldiers also came out from their hiding in the forest where they had gone on arrival of the *Turuṣkas*' soldiery. This means that the small Hindu army was completely defiant but at the same time on the defensive, and did not risk a face-to-face confrontation with the *Turuṣkas*, who were certainly a much stronger military power. These "hide and seek" tactics must have been played for a pretty long time. From *c*.A.D.1200 onwards, the *Turuṣkas* went on tightening their hold on South Bihar; but this is also a fact that the *Pīṭhīpatis* also continued their rule probably upto the end of the thirteenth century A.D. Very likely, when the *Turuṣkas* could not uproot the *Pīṭhīpatis*, they might have entered into some sort of truce with them. The *Turuṣkas* must have realised that the *Pīṭhīpatis* were religious and political heads of a huge congregation possessing some military discipline and that it was risky to hurt their religious feelings all at a time. In course of time and also in the wake of ever-increasing hold of the *Turuṣkas* in most of the regions of South Bihar and Bengal, the *Pīṭhīpatis* must have felt the necessity of adjusting and compromising with the *Turuṣkas* for survival at the cost of their sovereignty. But did they agree to rule as vassal chiefs of the *Turuṣkas*? Sinha holds the view that "the Sena rulers of *Pīṭhī* appear to have continued to rule "as local vassal chiefs when the Turks were already masters of Bihar and Bengal."[69] Ray also observes that these local feudatory princes possibly acknowledged the hegemony of the Musalmans[70]. As early as the sixteenth century A.D. Tārānātha recorded that Lavasena, Buddhasena, Haritasena and Pratītasena who ruled in Magadha were almost subordinate to the *Turuṣkas*. But it appears that the *Pīṭhīpatis* did not acknowledge the exclusive political supremacy of the *Turuṣkas*, because neither Buddhasena nor Jayasena made any reference to the *Turuṣkas* in their inscriptions discovered so far. Jayasena dated his Janibigha inscription only in Lakṣmaṇasena's *atīta-rāja samvat* 83. Aśokacalla, the contemporary king of Buddhasena, also used the same overlord's *samvat* 51 and 74 in his Bodhgaya inscription. As recorded in their inscriptions, both Buddhasena and Jayasena issued charters independently. (i.e. Bodhgaya stone slab inscription and Janibigha inscription) and donated villages/lands to their subjects. Sircar informs us that these Senas of Pīṭhī (probably indicating the Buddhist religious establishment at Bodhgaya together with its landed properties), who enjoyed the title "*ācārya*" were probably the precursors of the later *Mohant Mahārājas* of Bodhgaya.[72] He says that "the Bodhgaya rulers were more powerful than the Gaya rulers. May be, the Brāhmaṇa chiefs of Gaya ruled under the control of the Bodhgaya *Pīṭhīpatis*. Thereafter, the members of an ācārya family occupied the throne of the *Pīṭhīpatis*.[73]

Dharmasvāmin records that the *Turuṣkas* led an attack on Paṭa or Simrāongarh. The Vaiśāli citizens were "in a stae of great commotion... because of rumours about the arrival of *Turuṣka* troops. They fled away one day at dawn, but after having learnt that the soldiery left for Western India they returned to the city". Vikramaśilā monastery had already been destroyed long before

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Dharmasvāmin's visit to Magadha. At Vajrāsana also the people had fled away on account of the same danger. Even Dharmasvāmin had remained away for seventeen days. King Buddhasena with his five hundred soldiers took shelter in forest. A *Turuṣka* soldier "pulled the stones out" of the eyes of the Vajrāsana-image. Some three hundred *Turuṣkas* appeared at Nālandā to kill the Buddhists and their supporters. While Dharmasvāmin was crossing the Gangā, on his return journey, two *Turuṣka* soldier demanded gold from him, as they knew that the Tibetans were rich in gold.[74] Dharmasvāmin arrived at Nālandā for studies.[75] While at Vajrāsana in *c.* 1234 A.D. he came to know that Buddhasena, ruler of Magadha, had come out of the forest on the departure of the *Turuṣkas*; which is said to prove that the latter was not a vassal of the Muslim governor of Bihar, and that there is no positive evidence of Muslim rule in the Gaya region during the 13th century. The king was just avoiding direct confrontation with the superior military strength of the *Turuṣkas*. When Narasiṁhadeva (*c.* 1188-1227) ruled in Mithilā, Bakhtyār "passed with his army through Tirhut on his way to Lakhnāutī in 1202." According to the very important testimony of Mullā Taqā (16th cent.) Bakhtyār invaded Tirhut and made the ruler of the Karnāṭa dynasty his vassal before his lightning raid on Bengal in *c.*1201-02. He came from Jaunpur to Bihar and Bengal.[76] Dharmasvāmin saw "Buddhasena riding on an elephant in a *haudā* ornamented with ivory and jewels, wearing a turban of white silk decked with various jewels. He was surrounded by five hundred soldiers armed with swords, lances and arrows, pointing them upwards towards the sky. Two men led the elephant by its nose with the help of iron hooks."[77] "The men halted the elephant by pulling at the root of the elephant's trunk with the iron hooks, and five attendants assisted the *Rājā* to alight from the elephant with the help of a rope-ladder fixed on the side of the elephant."[78] Buddhasena patronised the five *paṇḍitas* and about seventy monk students of Nālandā.[79]

Cunningham has given the text and translation of a long undated fragmentary Buddhist inscription of three lines from Bodhgaya, which, according to *Pandit* Bhagwanalal (cf.*IA*(IX),p.143) runs as follows :- "Born in the Cinda family of the Sindh country was the illustrious Vallabharāja; his son was Deśarāja; his son Aicca (Āditya) his son the beloved Sangha ... illustrious ... his son the illustrious Dharma, his son the illustrious Sāmanta; his son was named Śrī Pūrṇabhadra, whose glory is like the full moon, from whose lotus-like mouth came the grapes of ... (his) Ācārya Jayasena brightening the throne of Kumārasena, by whom in the prosperous Uddaṇḍapura ...was... made this temple (gandhakutī) with three images; may the merit of it be for the attainment of supreme knowledge to the whole world... This eulogy (Triśaraṇa) made, may the learned aprove of it."[80] The text clearly reads, "*Sindhan. Chindānvayajo Vallabharājaḥ.*" Since the inscription has not yet been fully read, it is difficult to say if this Vallabharāja is the same as Vallabharāja of the Cikkora family mentioned in the Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī. It is said that the Chinda kings were originally the spiritual guides (*ācāryas*) of the Cikkora Kings of Pīṭhī, and later the Lhindas ousted them, and themselves became kings. It is also difficult to say if Vallabharāja's son Deśarāja was the same as Devarakṣita, the son of Cikkora Vallabharāja. Some detail is given about Pūrṇabhadra who was the son of Sāmanta and grandson of Dharma. His glory was like that the full moon. Then the inscription mentions "Ācārya Jayasena brightening the throne of Kumārasena." It is tempting to identify him with Ācārya Jayasena, the *Pīṭhīpati* of the Janibhigha inscription. The inscription probably records that (*Śrīmatī Uddaṇḍapure yena... gandhakuṭī pratimātritayānvitā ricita...*). If this fact is correct, erection of the gandhakuṭī at Uddaṇḍapura under the very nose of the *Turuṣkas* is

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not a little surprising. Sahai observes that the inscription is in two lines, each 1.83 meters long. He also supports the details about Pūrṇabhadra and his erection of a *gandhakutī* at Uddaṇḍapura. He says that on the basis of its palaeography, the inscription may be assigned to the time of Mahīpāla I or to the time of the Pala ruler Madanapāla, i.e., in the latter half of the 12th century A.D.[81] Another similar kind of example may also be cited here. According to the Biharsharif stone slab inscription of *c.* 1395 A.D., Akrūra, Śreleśa, Supati and Kuśala installed the deity Kauśikanāga in a shrine or temple (*kīrtti*) which was constructed by Deśānanda (at Biharsharif). Another temple at Bihar Sharif was built for the image of the illustrious god Rājadhara in *c.*1496 A.D., during the reign-period of Sultan Sikandar Shāh (c.1489-1517A.D.) of the Lodhī dynasty of Delhi, whose kingdom included Bihar.[83]

Sinha says that after Jayasena the continutity of his dynasty is not known.[84] When the Sena Pīṭhīpatis were ruling at Gaya and the sorrounding forested regions, king Aśokacalla of the Sapādalakṣa mountain (Kumāūn-Garhwāl region), with the assistance of Puruṣottama Siriha of Kamā (Kumāun Hills), constructed a *gandhakuṭī* at Bodhgaya in the parinirvāṇa era of the Buddha 1813=*c.* 1270 A.D. Aśokacalla came to reside there after his retirement, or visited it for religious reason from time to time. Aśokacalla's younger brother Daśaratha also made some grants to the Vajrāsana establishment in the "atītarājya samvat 74" of the Lakṣmaṇasena era. Cunningham, however, gives the year of Aśokacalla's inscription as 1816 and not 1813 as quoted by Sinha[85], or by Altekar who equates the year 1813 with 1269 A.D.[86] Aśokacalla's inscription of the year 1816 was found by Cunningham at Gaya in a Sūrya temple. He says that this inscription may have been taken to Gaya from Bodhgaya. Three more inscriptions of the same monarch were found at Bodhgaya itself. Two of thes inscriptions are: (1) Bodhgaya inscription of Aśokacalladeva dated in the year 51(*c.* 1251 A.D.) and (2) Bodhgaya inscription of the same king Aśokacalla dated in the year 74 (*c.*1274 A.D.), both bearing the Lakṣhmaṇasena *atītya-rājya saṁvat*[87] as already noted above. The inscription dated in the year 51 contains 13 lines and records the erection of a Buddhist shrine (*vihāra*) with an image of the Buddha by Bhaṭṭa Dāmodara with the assent of Aśokacah-ladeva. Offerings (*naivedya*) with lamps, to be offered to the Buddha image daily by the Simhalese Order at the Mahābodhi were also arranged. The Mahābodhi establishment received income from the Simhalese pilgrims. (*vihārīiyam Buddhapratimā sahitā kāritā..... Naivedyamidaṁ tāccaityaka-trayaṁ, dīpasahitaṁ, ācandrārkkaṁ ye kecḥit Srīman-mahābodhau simhala-sanghādayastai pratyaham.*)[88] The inscription dated in the year 74 records that Sahanapāla (*kṣatryakuladīpa śrī Sahanapāla*) the treasurer of Daśaratha, who was the younger brother of king Aśokacalla,dedicated some votive offerings at the Mahābodhi. It mentions Aśokacalladeva as the king of the Khasa country of the Sapādalakṣa hills.[89] Sircar suggests the identification of the Khasa country in the Sapādalakṣa mountain with the Kumāūn-Garhwāl region.[90] According to Tārānātha, Lavasena's son was Buddhasena, Buddhasena's son was Haritasena; and the latter's son was Pratītasena, as noted above.[91] But except Buddhasena, no other king of the Chinda dynasty can be identified satisfactorily with the kings of this list. Moreover, according to Tārānātha Pratītasena was a king in Bengal and not in Pīṭhī. It appears probable that the Senas Lavasena, Kāsasena, Manitasena and Rāthikasena, who ruled for 80 years as mentioned by Tārānātha,[92] might have been the rulers of Bengal, because it is said that Lavasena of this dynasty usurped the throne from the Pāla king Yakṣapāla, son of king Rāmapāla. If this is accepted, it would be convenient to treat the later Senas,

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Lavasena-Buddhasena-Haritasena and Pratītasena as the rulers of Pīṭhī, because they include the name of Buddhasena, a known historical figure. Moreover, Tārānatha says that these later Senas were almost subordinate to the *Turuṣkas*. It might then be argued that Tārānāth's Pratītasena could be the last king of the Chinda dynasty, which ruled over Pīṭhī. In his article "the Chindas of Magadha and Gaudeśvara Madhusena", Ghosh thinks that Gauḍeśvara Madhusena, a devotee of the Buddha, as mentioned in the colophon of the Pañcarakṣā Manuscript (Manuscript No.4978 of the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Buddhist Manuscripts*, Vol.I by H.P.Sastri) might have been connected with the Buddhist Sena kings of Bodhgaya,[93] as also suggested by Mitra.[94] Madhusena is said to have ruled over eastern Bengal in 1289 A.D., as the successor of king Danuja-Mādhava.[95] May be, Pratītasena was the same as Madhusena's particularly in view of his being a Buddhist king ruling in *c*.A.D.1289. Likewise, Pratītasena's reign-period also started from *c*. 1289A.D. Thus both the kings were Buddhists, ruled in Bengal and began their rule almost simultaneously. A tentative equation between the two list of these Sena kings might then be formed as follows :-

Lavasena = Devasena?

Buddhasena = Buddhasena

Haritasena = Jayasena ?

Pratītasena = Madhusena ?

As already shown above, Jayasena ruled upto *c*.A.D.1288. And if Tārānātha is to be believed, Jayasena was followed by Pratītasena or Madhusena as the last *Pīṭhīpati* of the Gaya-Patna region. According to Tārānātha, about a 100 years after the death of Pratītasena came king Chagalarāja of Bengal, who patronised Nālandā. Chagalarāja's life-span has been put as *c*.A.D. 1347 to 1447. If it is so, about a 100 years before *c*. 1347 A.D., (i.e. 1247 A.D.), reigned king Pratītasena (Madhusena) ? But it is a well-known fact that Jayasena ruled upto *c*. 1288 to *c*.A.D.1347. It may also be a possibility that Pratītasena was a historical figure succeeded by Madhusena. Of course, these surmises are subject to confirmation from further researches on the subject. It is said that these kings enjoyed "very limited powers", and had to obey the *Turuṣkas*, and could, therefore, do nothing but very little for the cause of Buddhism.[96] At this time, the Turks had occupied the riverine strip of the Patna-Monghyr, Bhagalpur Districts. But it is also a fact that the Sena dynasty of Pīṭhī round Bodh-Gaya survived their presence.[97] Tripathi observes that when Jayacandra fell in *c*. 1194 A.D.(or *c*.1193 A.D.), the kingdom of Kanauj "lay prostrate at the foot of the Moslems."[98] And his son Hariścandra "was allowed to reign in a portion of his ancestral dominions after he had acknowledged himself as a tributary of the newly established Moslem power at Delhi."[99] Banerji observes that Bihar was divided between the Pālas, Gāhaḍavālas and the Senas, who fought with each other.[100] Sometime after *c*.1200 A.D., and before *c*. 1227 A.D., Narasiṁhadeva, the ruler of the Karṇāṭa dynasty of the Mithilā kingdom, "made an alliance with Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn of Bengal and helped him to capture the whole of South Bihar. This must have strengthened his position. Narasiṁhadeva was punished for this impudence by Iltutmish in *c*. 1229 A.D. ... the Central Government (at Delhi) lost its authority over ... Bengal. The provincial governors were fighting among themselves. At this time some half-hearted attempt might have been made by the rulers of Oudh and Bengal to attack the Karṇāṭa kingdom", and Narasimhadeva's son and successor

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Rāmasimha (*c.*1227-85 A.D.) might well have repulsed the army in 1233 A.D. without allowing it to reach his capital.[101] Dharmasvāmin, while returning to Tibet from Nālandā, passed through the city of Paṭa, Simrāongarh of Sīmrāmapattana, the capital of Rāmasimhadeva,[102] and saw the *Rājā* in procession, accompanied by a "crowd of drummers and dancers with banners, buntings, brandishing fans, sounding conches and various musical instruments. All the house-tops and street-corners were overhung with silk-trappings. The *Rājā* named Rāmasimha was coming riding, on a she-elephant, sitting on a throne adorned with precious stones, and furnished with an ornamented curtain".[103] The *Rājā's* misister sent a *ḍolī* (sedan chair) for Dharmasvāmin who "greeted the *Rājā* in Sanskrit *ślokas*". The *Rājā* was very much pleased and presented Dharmasvāmin with some gold, a roll of cloth, numerous medicines, rice and many excellent offerings and requested him to become his chaplain. But Dharmasvāmin replied that it was improper for him, a Buddhist, to become the *Guru* of a non-Buddhist. The *Rājā* said, "well, stay here for some days." Dharmasvamin was honoured by the *Rājā* with numerous gifts.[104]

There was considerable unrest in the Doab during the period *c.* 1240-70 A.D. The roads were unsafe. Hindu Zemindars were up in arms. Several Muslim expeditions had to be sent to chastise them. The king of Sapādalakṣa assumed the imperial title of *mahārajādhirāja* and exercised sway over feudatories like Puruṣottamasiṁha, and occasionally proceeded to Bodhgaya to pay his respects to the Vajrāsana and make a donation to the Mahābodhi temple.[105] The Muslims had overrun the country, but probably had not been able to establish any stable administration. In Bihar province several Hindu or Buddhist kings were leading a precarious existence. There is no reference to the Muslim military headquarters.[106] Taking advantage of political instability in Bengal and Delhi, some of the governors of Bihar, for example, Muhammad Arsalān Khān (*c.* 1259-63 A.D.) and his successor Tārtār Khān (*c.*1263-65 A.D.), ruled independently with their capital at Biharsharif, as is evident from a later Bārahdarī inscription dated *c.* 1265 A.D.[107]

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1. Majumdar, Pusalker and Majumdar (ed), *SE*,p.27
2. Sinha, *DHM*, p. 213.
3. *ibid*, Ray, *DHNI* (I), p.348; Sircar (ed.), *SI* (II) p.102.
4. Banerji, *PB*, p.56 line 4.
5. Sinha, *DHM*, p.213; Ray, *DHNI* (I), p. 325; *ASIR* (III). p.123, No.12.
6. Banerji, *PB*, pp.42-43 and p. 55, No.4.
7. Sinha, *DHM*, p. 215, Ray, *DHNI*(I), p.348.
8. Banerji, *PB*, p.39.
9. Sinha, *DHM*, p. 213 ; Ray, *DHNI*(I), 325.
10. Banerji, *PB*, pp. 37-39.
11. Sinha, *DHM*, p.215; Ray, *DHNI*(I), p. 328.
12. Banerji, *PB*, 40-42.

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13. *Ibid*, p.55, According to Sircar the probable reason for Yakṣapāla in not mentioning his overlord was that "his inscription was issued after the the slaughter of Mahīpāla II, when the Pālas were passing through a crisis". (cf.*SI* (II), p. 102)

14. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

15. Sinha, *DHM*, p. 213.

16. Banerji, *PB*, p.56.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

18. Majumdar, Pusalker and Majumdar (ed), *SE*, pp. 31-32.

19. Sinha, *DHM*, p. 215.

20. Pandey (ed.), *HLI*, p.180, line 4.

21. *IHQ*, XXXIV-1, p. 23.

22. *EI*, XXX-1, pp.43 82-83 and 92-94; *IAR* (1960-61), p. 44; Roerich (tr.), BD, p. XV; Sircar (ed), *SERMEI*, p. 31, where Sircar explains "Pīṭhī" as the "same as Pīṭhīka meaning a seat and refers here to the Vajrāsana at Bodhgaya, i.e.the stone seat on which the Buddha is believed to have sat and meditated and obtained bodhi or the supreme knowledge."

23. Sinha, *RHC*, p.207.

24. *JBORS*, IV-III, p. 267.

25. Pandey (ed.), *HLI*, p. 180, verse 4, Sircar (ed), *SI* (II), p. 294, verse 4.

26. Sastri (ed.), *Rāma*, II, p.38-"*Sindhurājah Pīṭhī Pitir-Dearakṣito... Tathāhi Mahaṇena Bindhya-māṇikyaṁ... sa Pīṭhīpatirmagadhādhipo nirddudūhe.*"

27. Pandey (ed.), *HLI*, p. 182, lines 9, 10, 11,22,23.

28. Roerich (tr), *BD*, p.64.

29. *Ibid.*, p.XIV.

30. Sinha, *DHM*, p.243, fn.87.

31. Banerji, *PB*, p. 46.

32. Sircar (ed.), *SERMPEI*, p.31.

33. Sinha, *DHM*, p.218; Ray, *DHNI* (I), p.339 with fn. 1 and p. 341.

34. Sastri (ed.), *Rāma*, II, p.36; Sinha, *DHM*, pp.218 and 221, Ray *DHNI*(I), p.340 with fn.8 and p.341.

35. Sinha, *DHM*, p.221.

36. *EI* (II), pp. 330-36; Sinha, *DHM*, p.221.

37. Sinha, *DHM*, p.221.

38. Sircar (ed.), *SERMPEI*, p.31. with fn.2 referring to *EI* (XXXVI), pp. 42 f. where the Armā inscription of Devasena has been published by Sircar.

39. Sinha, *DHM*, pp. 229-30; *EI* (XXXVI), pp.42ff, Armā inscription of Devasena; Sinha thinks that Govindapāla started ruling over the Gaya District from *c.* 1158-59 A.D., i.e., immediately after the 14th regnal year of Madanapāla.

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40. Sahai, *IB*, p.121 where it is said that the inscription is not dated, but palaeographically it may be assigned to the 12th Cent. A.D. In his *History of Kanauj* p. 376, Appendix B. Serial 71, Tripathi informs us that the Vikram Samvat given in the inscription is 124 ? which is incomplete. It is said that the Gaya District was included in the Kingdom of King Jayacandra (cf. Majumdar, Pusalker and Majumdar (ed) *SE* p. 54).

41. Majumdar, Pusalker and Majumdar (ed.), *SE*, pp.38-39; Sinha, *DHM*, p. 234.

42. Sinha, *DHM*, p. 234.

43. Sircar (ed.), *SERMPEI*, p.31.

44. Sinha, *DHM*, p. 235.

45. Sinha, *RHC*, p.208 with fn.8

46. In *SERMPEI*, p. 30. Sircar suggests "son (or disciple)" for Jayasena. But the Janibigha inscription clearly records "*Buddhasenātmajena*" for Jayasena. cf. Choundhary (ed.), *SIB*, p.113 and *IAI*, p.183.

47. *EI* (XII), pp. 29-30; Sircar (ed), *SI* (II), p. 146 and 149; Sircar (ed.), *SERMPEI*, p.32.

48. Roerich (tr.), *BD*, p. XVII.

49. Sinha, *DHM*, p.234; Sinha, *RHC*, p.206.

50. Sahai, *IB*, pp. 17, 135-36.

51. Sircar (ed.), *SERMPEI*, p.31.

52. Roerich (tr), *BD*, p.XV; *IA*, XLVIII, p.45. This inscription is the same as the Bodhgaya stone inscription of Buddhasena in the Berlin Museum (cf. Sircar (ed.), *SERMPEI*, p.30).

53. Sinha, *DHM*, p. 236.

54. Roerich (tr.), *Bd*, p.64

55. *JPASB*, N.S., XXIX, pp.24-25. *SERMPEI*, p.31, where Sircar uses "Chikkora-Sinda" nomeclature for Vallabharāja and Devarakṣita.

56. Roerich (tr.), *BD*, p.XVII. The Bodhgaya stone inscriptions of Aśokacalla (years 51 and 74) have been edited by Vidyāvinod (cf. *SI* (XII), pp. 29-30), and Sircar (ed.), *SI*(II), pp. 146-48 and 149-50. Although both the inscriptions are dated in the *atīita-rājya* of Lakṣmaṇasena (i.e. 1179 A.D.), as if these were "*Vijayarājya*" years.

57. Sinha, *RHC*. p.205.

58. *Ibid.*

59. Majumdar, Pusalker and Majumdar (ed.), *SE*, p.49.

60. Majumdar (ed.), *HB* (I), p.260.

61. Das (ed.), *PSJZ*(I), p.74.

62. Sircar (ed.), *SERMPEI*, p.31.

63. *Ibid*, pp. 29-34.

64. *JBORS*, IV-III, p.279. On pp. 276-77 of this journal Pandey maintains, probably out of confusion that the Janibigha inscription "proves the continuity of Sena rule in Bihar after the raid of Muhammad-ibn-Bakhtyār and the alleged capture of Nudiāh in 1199 A.C.D."; Choudhary (ed.), *SIB*,p.113; Choudhary (ed.); *IAI*, p. 183.

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65. Sinha, *DHM*, p.236.

66. *Ibid*, p.234; Sinha, *RHC*, p.206.

67. Majumdar, Pusalker and Majumdar, *SE*, p.40.

68. *Ibid.*

69. Sinha, *DHM*, p.236.

70. Ray, *DHNI*(I), p. 383.

71. Chattopadhyaya (ed.), *THBI*, p.320.

72. *IHQ*, XXXIV-I, p. 23.

73. *EI.*, XXXVI-I, pp. 43, 82-83, 92-94.

74. Roerich (tr.), *BD*, pp. 58, 61-62, 64-65, 70, 94, 98, Sīmrāongarh is the same as modern Simrāon with in the border of Nepal, north of the Champaran District (cf. Majumdar, Pusalker and Majumdar (ed), *SE*, p. 47).

75. Roerich (tr.), *BD*, p. 95.

76. Diwakar (ed.), *BTA*, pp. 325-27, 387, 56-57.

77. Roerich (tr.), *BD*, pp. 64-65.

78. *Ibid*, p.65. On its p.XIV, Altekar observes that the "information about Buddhasena that he was a descendant of Rājā Devasthya who belonged to the family of the Buddha's maternal uncle is purely legendary."

79. *Ibid.*, p.90.

80. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pp. 64-65.

81. Sahai, *IB*, pp. 12 and 104-05.

82. Sircar (ed.), *SERMPEI*, pp. 43-48.

83. *Ibid.*, pp.48-52.

84. Sinha, *RHC*, p.206; Sinha, *DHM*; pp. 235-36.

85. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p.78.

86. Roerich (tr.), *BD*, pp. XVI-VIII; Altekar quotes from *IA*, X, p.342.

87. Cunnigham, *Mahābodhi*, pp. 48-79; Roerich (tr.), BD, p. XVIII. In *EI*, XII, pp. 29-30 the year 74 of this inscription has been equated to A.D.1194.

88. *EI*, XIII, pp. 28-29, lines 8-10; Sircar (ed.), *SI*, II, pp. 146-47, verse 2.

89. *EI* XII, p.29, lines 3-4; Sircar (ed.), *SI*, II,p. 149, lines 3.

90. Sircar (ed.), *SERMPEI*, p.32.

91. Schiefner (tr.), *TGB*, p. 256; *IHQ*, XXVII-3, p.239.

92. Chattopadhyaya (ed.), *THBI*; Schiefner (tr.), *TGB*, p.252.

93. *JPASB*, N.S.,XXIX-1, pp.23-25.

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94. Mitra, *BM*, p.239.
95. Banerji, *PAHIB*, p.269.
96. *IHQ*, XXVII-III, p.241.
97. Majumdar, Pusalker and Majumdar (ed), *SE*, p.146.
98. Tripathi, *HKMC*, p, 333.
99. *Ibid.*, p.334.
100. Banerji, *PAHI*, p.268.
101. Roerich (tr.), *BD*, pp. XIII-IV.
102. *Ibid.*, p. XIII.
103. *Ibid.*, p.100.
104. *Ibid.*
105. *Ibid.*, pp. XVII-VIII.
106. *Ibid.*, p.XVIII.
107. Diwakar (ed.), *BTA*, p.56.

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17

Tin in the Ancient World : A Literary Study

D.N. Tripathi

The metal tin presents many problems to the students of antiquity. Not only are the sources of the tin used in the Bronze Age still shrouded in mystery, but even the various words used for tin present a very difficult problem in lexicography. This seems to be partly the result of the fact that tin, grayish-white in colour, is similar in appearance to other metals, principally lead. It has often been suggested that the word for tin used in a particular language can give an indication of the source of that tin. It is this last problem which formed the basis of this paper.

The English word 'tin' is of little help or interest in this respect. It (and related words such as German *Zinn*, Old English *tin*, Old High German *Zin*) represents a Germanic development going back to an original *tin* of uncertain origin.[1] The Romance languages have a common word for tin. French *etain*, Provencal *estan*, Catalan *estany*, Spanish *estana*, Portuguese *estanho*, Italian *stagno*, all go back to Latin *stagnum-stannum*.[2] The Latin *Stagnum-stannum* provides the modern scientific word for the metal. All chemical terminology is based upon the form *stannum*, which even furnishes the chemical symbol *Sn.*, used to designate tin. But the Latin word is again of uncertain origin, and its connection with Latin *Stagnum*, 'a pool, pond, or swamp' is not at all clear. Latin *stagnum-stannum* only come to mean 'tin' in Late Latin. The word originally designates 'a mixture of lead and silver'.[3] Again, it is not clear why the word came to mean 'tin'[4]. The original Latin designation for tin is not a distinct word at all, but the expression *Plumbum album*, sometimes *plumbum candidum*, literally 'white lead'. Julius Caesar describes Britain as 'the place where tin is found' (*Nascitur ibi plumbum album*)[5]; and he is here clearly speaking of tin, as the tin trade from Britain to Britanny is well described by classical authors[6]. This meaning is confirmed by the description given by Pliny the Elder:

"The next topic is the nature of lead, of which there are two kinds, black and white. White lead is the most valuable; the Greeks applied to it the name *Kassiteros*... It is now known that it is a product of Lusitania and Gallaecia found in the surface strata of the ground which is sandy..." Thus it is clear that Pliny is describing 'tin'; and gives to 'white lead' the Greek name *Kassiteros*. What is more, he is describing stream tin, or alluvial placer deposits of tin, exactly the form of tin utilised

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in the beginning of bronze metallurgy. Pliny goes on to say that 'Homer testifies that white lead had a high position even in the Trojan period', giving it the name of *Kassiteros*. *Plumbum album* clearly designates 'tin', but the only thing the name indicated is that the Romans were conscious of the close similarity between tin and lead, and to distinguish them, designated the one as white and the other as black.

Greek word for tin:

The Greek word for tin, *Kassiteros*, is again of unknown origin[8]. Various proposals have been made. Some feel that the word is to be analysed as *kassi-ti-ra*, 'from the lands of the *Kassites*'[9]. This derivation is of considerable interest in the light of the suggested connection of the Cassites with the Zagros mountains[10], and the indications that this area might have been an important source of tin. Yet this etymology is quite improbable and cannot be substantiated. Others have sought Celtic origin for *Kassiterous*[11]. Although the Celts are associated with tin in the Greek tradition[12], and the tin trade which ran from Cornwall down to the Seine to the Celtic emporium at Mont Lessois (Latisco), near the site of the Vix burial was in their hands, there is no indication that the Greeks played any role in the trade before the grounding of Massalia (modern Marseilles) around 600 B.C.[13] Since the Greeks did not come into contact with the Celtic peoples of Gaul[14] much before the end of the seventh century B.C., it would be strange to find a Celtic word already in Homer. This factor, quite apart from philological problems, rules out a Celtic origin for *Kassiteros*[15]. Like many other words in the Greek lexica, there is simply no satisfactory etymology for *Kassiteros*.

There is one major conclusion to be drawn from this discussion. Unlike the various words for copper, there is no common Indo-European word for tin. Of course, the various Roman languages have a common word borrowed from Latin, and the various Germanic languages (with the exception of Gothic) seem to have a common word, which may ultimately derive from the same source. This is all the result of a late development. The fact that Latin uses an expression like *plumbum album* to mean 'tin', indicates that the languages lacked a real word for the metal. The Greek *Kassiteros* again has no relationship with any other word for tin, though it, in turn, influenced other languages. This clearly indicates that there was no common Indo-European word for tin and that the metal had nothing to do with the earlier history of the Indo-Europeans, contrary again to the situation regarding copper. Furthermore, the situation suggests that there was no common source for tin, so that no common word developed, derived from the geographical area which was the source of all tin.

Hittite word for tin:

In fact, the earliest Indo-European texts, such as the Mycenaean Linear 'B' tablets and the earliest Sanskrit texts, seem to lack a word for tin. What of Hittite? Unfortunately, here the situation is once again problematic. A word has been suggested, namely *DANKUI*[16]. However, even if correct, it says nothing significant about the source of tin in the Hittite empire. The word is a clearly manufactured one, derived from the adjective *DANKUI*, 'dark', very common in Hittite texts, especially in reference to the dark earth. It might be objected that this is an old word to apply a greyish-white metal and that, on the analogy of *plumbum nigrum*, it should really be translated 'lead'[17]. However, a lexical text from Ras Shamra seems to equate the Hittite *DANKUI* with

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Sumerian *AN.NA*, Akkadian *ANAKU*, both words translated as 'tin'[18]. Also, if the reference is to the black tinstone of alluvial deposits, the name is quite appropriate.

Hebrew word for tin:

The basic Hebrew word for tin is B^{e}DIL. The principal reference is from the book of *Ezekiel*:

'Tarshish traded with you because of your abundant wealth of every kind. They bartered with you silver, iron, tin, and lead'[19].

This passage suggests that tin came to Israel from Tarshish, sometimes identified with the south coast of Iberia[20]. The tin trade with Tarshish is thought to have been in the hands of the Phoenicians. But Hebrew B^{e}DIL does not seem to reflect this trade. In fact, this Hebrew word for tin has been compared with Sanskrit *Patiraḥ*, 'tin'[21]. This is a very difficult problem as *patiraḥ* is only a late lexical word in Sanskrit, and seems to belong to that group of words which includes French *peutre*, Italian *peltro* and English *pewter*[22].

These words all go back to an original *peltirum* or *peltrum*, often said to be of Ligurian origin[23]. With the Ligurians occupying a position on the north coast of the Gulf of Genoa, this might suggest a western, even an Iberian source for tin[24]. However, the Ligurians, once very popular amongst scholars, especially Italian Indo-Europeanists, have been losing favour lately, as has the entire doctrine of substrate languages and 'Mediterraneismo'; and it is not very profitable to base any argument upon such evidence[25]. These words may all be based on the stem *pel*, meaning 'grey, blackish'.[26]

If *B^{e}DIL* is a Semitic word, then its literal meaning is 'that which is separated'[27]. This again says nothing to explain the origin of the metal. In addition to *B^{e}DIL*, the Old Testament also has another word, which may represent tin. *ANAK* is traditionally translated 'plumb line' or 'plummet'. The most important reference is in the book of Amos:

'Thus he showed me, and to, the lord was standing upon a wall, with a plumbline in his hand'[28]. The passage has grammatical difficulties rendered in this fashion and, if Hebrew *ANAK* is to be compared with Akkadian *ANAKU*, then the *MOMAT NAK* should be a 'wall made of tin'[29]. The implication of this can hardly be discussed here.

The Sumerian word for tin:

The Sumerian *AN.NA* is sometimes transcribed *NAGGA*, but there are objections to this reading, and it is best to retain the reading *AN.NA* in capitals[30]. The meaning 'tin' is established by the fact that the cuneiform texts contain recipes involving the mixture of copper (Sumerian *URUDU*, Akkadian *ERU*) with *AN.NA* in order to produce what can only be bronze (Sumerian *Zabar*, Akkadian *Siparru*). The first of these texts dates from the pre-Sargonic period: *1 ma-na 1/3 urudu-iuh-ha AN.NA-bi gin 13 igi-3-gal*[31].

That is, 30 Shekels of pure copper and 13/1/3 shekels of tin are mixed together, producing a bronze with a copper-tin ratio of 6:1. Third Dynasty of Ur uses the expression *Zabar-7-la*, indicating a bronze with a copper-tin ratio of 6:1....[32]. A ratio of 7:1 is also known from this period. In the Old Babylonian period, the ratio is again 6:1.

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There are other texts which indicate similar ratios; and such a ratio receives archaeological support from some of the analyses made of ancient Mesopotamian bronzes, which, however, vary greatly in their content. A recent study concludes: '.... the ancient Mesopotamians apparently used bronzes primarily to facilitate casting and while the composition of the pieces analysed varies greatly, apparently they aimed for a composition of about 1/6 tin'[33]. Such a ratio means a bronze with about 17% tin. This is somewhat higher than that normally used today. In general modern bronzes average about 10% tin and rarely go beyond 15%. This connection between the texts mentioning the mixture of *urudu* and *AN.NA* and the copper-tin ratio established through the analysis of ancient Mesopotamian bronzes is one of the most convincing arguments for the translation of *AN.NA* as 'tin'[34].

The evidence is now convincing and there is no longer any need to carry on the old tin-lead controversy. Therefore, Sumerian *AN.NA*, Akkadian *anaku* means 'tin'. The Akkadian word seems to have cognates in Hebrew *anak*, Arabic *anuk*, Syriac *an^{e}ka*, Ethiopic *na'ek* and perhaps even Armenian *anag*[35].

Egyptian word for tin:

The tin-lead confusion is said to exist also in ancient Egyptian. Thus, concerning *dh*, a word which has been translated 'tin'[36], J.R.Harris, in his recent study of Egyptian minerals, says: 'all that can be deduced is that *dh* was a metal, obtained from Retenu, transported in bars or ingots, of less value than lead, and apparently blue-grey in colour... It therefore seems that *dh* is to be regarded either as unknown metal, or as same kind of oxide, perhaps an oxide of iron, lead, manganese or tin, though the evidence is insufficient to warrant any more precise identification'[37].

Harris observes that the spellings used in Egyptian texts frequently make it difficult to distinguish between *dh* and *dhty*, 'lead', and he suggests that the Egyptians like and Assyrians, confused lead and tin[38]. But the Assyrians made no such confusion[39], and it is doubtful that Egyptians did either. *Dh*, then, is a metal which comes from Retenu or Syria[40], is bluish-grey in colour, and is transported in bars or ingots. Syrian origin is of interest. Egyptians might have received tin from Syria, as is clear from Cape Gelidonya ship-wreck, in which Late Bronze Age examples of tin ingots were found. The excavator of the wreck, G.Bass, is clear in his mind about this[41]. In addition to this, copper and tin ingots have also been found at Harappa.[42] The existence of tin ingots is well attested from all periods and all areas of the ancient world, from *c.*2000 B.C. to 400 A.D. Such an ingot Egyptians called *nms'.t dh*; and *dh* must then be the Egyptian word for tin. So far as the colour is concerned, it is depicted so in the Egyptian painting. The blush-grey or greyish ingots are distinguished from the copper ingots which are coloured red[43]. The two metals are distinguished not only by colour, but also by shape. The copper one is the ox-hide form; and the other one is oval form. There even seems to be a lexical distinction. The copper ox-hide ingots are called *dh.t*[44]; while the oval or rectangular ones are designated as *nm's.t.* This is shown most clearly by a passage from *Papyrus Anastasi IV* which reads:

'Many ingots (*dh.t*) of raw copper and bars (*nms't*) of *dhw* are on the neck of the children of Alasia as gifts from His Majesty'[45]. The later one *nms't.dh* designates an ingot of tin.

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The above discussion has attempted to show the lexical problems regarding the various words for tin. There are, in fact, distinct words which represent tin and only tin. However, the use of compound expressions together with the general lack of a common word amongst related languages, shows that the words for tin are relatively late-comers in many languages. This suggests that tin did not play an important role in early metallurgy; and the evidence of archaeology confirms this. Whereas knowledge and use of copper seems to go back into the ninth millennium B.C., tin does not come into use until around 3000 B.C. There are several reasons for this. Tin is rather scarce, and simply was not as readily available as copper. More important is the fact that, with certain rare exceptions, tin does not occur as a metal, but only as an oxide ($Sn O_2$, Stannic dioxide, Cassiterite or tinstone)[46]. Therefore, the technique for smelting the oxide had to be developed. A recent study concludes that:

'There were no facilities for smelting copper prior to 3500 B.C., and no true tin bearing bronzes have been found that are much older than 3100 or 3200 B.C.'.[47]

Finally, it is the conclusion of this analysis that the words for tin themselves give little or no indication as to the source or sources of the metal itself.

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18

Symbols in the Indian Rock-Art

K.D. Bajpai

The region of Madhya Pradesh is rightly regarded as the richest area of rock art. More than two-thirds of the rock-shelters in the entire country are located in about 25 districts of this State. Majority of the rock shelters in Madhya Pradesh bear paintings on their walls and ceilings. The technique and subject-matter of the paintings in different parts of Madhya Pradesh clearly indicate certain regional traits, which differentiate one group from the other. The three major river-valleys where rock-shelters are located in M.P., are those of Narmadā, Betwā and Chambal.

The problem of dating Indian rock-shelters is being tackled by scholars engaged in their study. No definite consensus has so far been reached, particularly in regard to the dating of pre-and-protohistoric rock-shelters. Roughly, the earliest painted rock-shelters are believed to go as far back as the upper palaeolithic or mesolithic times. The other limit is reckoned as late as the 14th century A.D., or later still.[1]

The ancient civilizations of the world have revealed the role played by art and religion in interesting ways. The regional geography, flora and fauna, attitude of people to life, the socio-economic set-up and political vicissitudes make their impact on the cultures of different areas, duly reflected in their art and religion.

Besides the chief Indian religious systems based on the Vedic-Purāṇic, Jaina and Buddhist pantheons, various folk-religions (*loka-dharmas*) were cultivated by a large number of villagers and forest-dwellers. Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* refers to several such *loka-dharmas* and to their significance.[2]

Indian rock-paintings, particularly those found in Madhya Pradesh, bear some interesting elements representing the *loka-dharmas* associated with the popular cults of village-deities, such as the Yakṣas, the Nāgas and several popular *devīs*.

Here it would be interesting to refer to Indian mythology, which had a considerable influence on the masses. The myths, as noticed in art, including the rock art, can be classified under the following categories:

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I. *Myths* woven around the Vedic deities, representing mainly the manifestations of Nature and ritualistic aspects. In the *Brāhmaṇas* and works such as the *Brhaddevatā*, the significance of these myths is explained. Some of them are elaborately treated in the Purāṇic works.

II. *Myths associated with settled life* in the *āśramas* with their Ṛṣis. The *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads* contain significant references to them, mentioning various anecdotes connected with Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Agastya, Yājñavalkya and others.

III. *Those related to the Epics and the Purāṇas*. Here the germs of *avatāravāda* also take their roots. Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and several other personalities are eulogized in these works as ideal heroes.

IV. *Popular stories*. They are those of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā, Riṣyaśṛṅga and Śāntā, Nanda-Sundarī, Śūrpaka-Kumudvatī, etc.

V. *The world of animals, birds and the inanimate objects of Nature*. Some of the myths related to them go back to the Proto-historic times.

The myths put under these five categories are portrayed realistically in Indian art in symbolic, plastic or pictorial forms.

VI. *Those representing Tāntric beliefs*. These are discernible in different forms during the medieval period.

The purpose of these myths in Indian literature and art is generally four-fold:

1. Propagation of the established ethical principles.

2. Teaching of social behaviour.

3. To attain a wide experience of the world.

4. To widen the horizon of learning and encourge free thought.[3]

Several of the rock-shelters in Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamilnadu served as shrines of deities, such as the goddesses Haimavatī, Parṇaśabarī and Vindhyavāsinī. The Gangadhār inscription dated V.S. 480(423 A.D.), refers to the images of popular goddesses, including the Ḍākinīs, enshrined in a cave-temple.[4]

The representation of Yakṣas and Nāgas can be seen in several rock-paintings of Madhya Pradesh.[5] The Yakṣa figures are generally massive in form, carrying different weapons in their hands.[6] They signify immense power and influence of the Yakṣas on human beings.

The occurrence of several auspicious symbols in the historical rock-paintings is noteworthy. These symbols are : the *sun, moon, fire, cakra, padma, svāstika, nandipada, kruśa, sarpa-yugma, matsya, ghaṭa-pallava, vedikāvṛkṣa, candra-meru*, and a few others.[7]

These symbols can well be compared with those on Indian coins, seals, sealings, inscribed slabs and copper plates. From the aesthetic point of view, some of these symbols in the rock-art, e.g., *cakra, svāstika, nandipada, ghaṭa-pallava, vedikā-vṛkṣa* and *candrameru*, show a high artistic awareness. Some of the artists who painted these symbols on rocks, seem to have been quite familiar with the symbology on copper-plates, coins, seals and sealings. They also possessed a fair knowledge of Indian mythology.

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As regards dating of symbols for the rock art, most of them, along with some of their associated figures, can be bracketed between *c*.300 B.C. and *c*.500 A.D.Several Brāhmī inscriptions, incised along with the symbols in the rock-shelters, are helpful in this regard. At Bhimbaiṭhkā, there is a label inscription written in Mauryan Brāḥmī. It reads : Siṁhakasa lena (shelter of Siṁhaka). This Siṁhaka may have been the owner of the shelter in question.

At Rāmgarh in the Ambikāpur district of Madhya Pradesh, there is a man-made big rock-shelter, which served the purpose of a theatre *raṅga-maṇḍap*. Several Brāhmī inscriptions assignable to the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. are still preserved in the shelter. Traces of a few paintings can be noticed on its ceiling. It may be surmised that some of the original paintings here belong to the *3rd-2nd* centuries B.C. Pictorial art seems to have continued at the site till the Gupta period. Of particular interest are the names of Devadatta, called a *rūpadakṣa* (proficient in dramaturgy), and of his lady associate Sutanukā, who in several inscriptions at the site is called a *Devadāsi*. This is the earliest epigraphical reference to a *devadāsī*, which may indicate Sutanukā's association with certain religious performances held at Ramgarh. The stairs carved out of the rock below the *raṅga-maṇḍapa* at Ramgarh indicate that the dramatic performances were enjoyed by the people in general.[8]

Reference may be made to several other Brāhmī inscriptions incised in the rock-shelters found near Gwālior, Shivpurī and Koṭā (Rajasthan). One large Brāhmī inscription engraved in a rock-shelter near Shivpurī and assignable to the second half of the first century B.C., mentions the excavation of the cave by one Śivarakṣita, son of Kauśikī. The language of the inscription is Prākrit. One of Shivpurī groups shows a *svāstika*, a shrine and some other religious symbols.[9]

A label Brāhmī inscription in a painted shelter at Modī near Gwālior mentions the name of one artist called Damuka (*Damukena kāritam*). Similarly, at a site called Kolā-jī-kī Kuī in the Koṭā district of Rājasthan, Dr. Giri Raj Kishore has discovered some rock-paintings depicting the symbols of *cakra, kalaśa*, deer and peacock. By the side of the paintings are written names in *Brāhmī* script of 2nd-1st century B.C. One name is of *Bhikhuni* (nun) Apābhasenā of a village named Ghaṭasāsī. Another name is that of *Śramaṇa* (monk) Sipisena, who is called the resident of *Apara-deśa viṣaya* in the inscription. From other sources, some of Buddhist monks are known to have been expert artists.[10]

Depictions of certain rituals being performed by groups of person shave been noticed in several rock-shelters. In some cases people are shown circumambulating burning fire. Such a scene is preserved in the south belt of the Firangi Chabutara hill.[11] An unusual ritual dance can be seen at Kathotia Karad.[12]

Several of these auspicious symbols are seen in ancient Indian sculpture and on inscribed slabs. The chief centres where symbols like *padma, cakra, svāstika, śrīvatsa, nandipada, Indradhvaja*, etc. occur in art relics are : Sanchī, Bodhgayā, Mathurā, Bhāja, Karle, Kauśāmbī, Mahāsthān, Hāthīgumphā, Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunīkoṇḍā.

A Brāhmi inscription of unusual interest exists in Duwe-Gala cave in Śri Lankā. It is assignable to the second century A.D., and refers to the consturction of the *leṇa* (rock shelter). Near the inscription is the figure of a stick-shaped man standing on a boat, with hands stretched [13]

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Apart from the usual Brāhmī inscriptions found in association with sysmbols, several inscriptions written in the so-called shell or conch script (*śaṅkha-lipi*) have been discovered mostly in Madhya Pradesh.

The symbols of the rock art furnish some valuable material bearing on the geographical and socio-religious aspects of regional culture.

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   The temple was caused to be built by one Mayūrākṣa, counsellor of king Viśvavarmā of the Aulikara dynasty. According to the inscription, it was a terrible abode, "full of female ghouls of divine mothers, who stir up the oceans with mighty wind."
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19

Interaction between Mathurā And Gandhāra

R.C. Sharma

The two great schools of early sculptural art, viz., Mathurā and Gandhāra arose, flourished and also disintegrated almost simultaneously. As schools of art these began in the middle of the 1st century B.C. ; had their blooming phase under the patronage of the early Kuṣāṇa kings from the last quarter of the 1st century A.D. to the 3rd century A.D.; and both suffered heavily and almost ended as effective art styles owing to fierce attacks of the white Huns and other forces from 5th to the 7th century A.D.

While qualitatively, Mathurā continued to ascend upto the end, the Gandhāra idiom lost its glamour just after the fall of the mighty Kuṣāna rule in the third century A.D. Gandhāra seems to have based itself mainly on royal patronage; hence it became difficult for the ateliers to survive after the political turmoil. On the other hand, the Mathurā school was mainly supported by the society itself, particularly the wealthy merchants, officers of high rank and monks and devotees. Thus even after the disintegration of the Kuṣāṇa rule, the artists continued their work. Of course, the export of products decreased due to less demand from distant quarters in the post-Kuṣāṇa epoch, but this loss was well compensated by the improvement of quality:[1] and we have several outstanding specimens of the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina pantheons from the Gupta period. Inspired by its counterpart of Mathurā, Gandhāra tried to recover in the late 4th and 5th century, and a large number of fine works came out of the workshops both in stone and stucco.

While the Mathurā studios were unconcerned with creed or sect,[2] the Gandhāra sculptors had a great fascination for the Buddhist theme, and the other deities are only casually seen.[3] The Mathurā school used the locally available stone, i.e., the spotted red sand-stone, but the Gandhāra artists first chose the local variety of stone, the schist or slate stone, and subsequently switched over to the easier medium of stucco.

The Mathurā school was concentrated in a small region with headquarters in the city itself. Sometimes the services of well known artists were commissioned outside also, although they preferred to work in their ateliers. On the other hand, the Gandhāra school was spread over a large region, and had different off-shoots. Consequently, despite some variations the Mathurā art style

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is compact and integrated, while the Gandhāra school had various regional peculiarities. At the same time, the Mathurā school even after bearing and absorbing several alien trends looks uniform in exposition; but the Gandhāra style presents a somewhat complex picture with Hellenistic, Roman, Iranian, Bactrian and Indian influences.[4] Sometimes one trend is dominating; at others it is obscurely mixed.

A good number of Mathurā sculptures bear the year and date of consecration; and it has been possible to frame a reasonably correct chronology of Mathura art.[5] But surprisingly, despite their close association with the West, the Gandhāra artists did not bother to record dates ; and so far only eight dated Gandhāra sculptures are known to us, and three of these are in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[6] All these factors have led to the uncertainty of dating of the Gandhāra art.

Both Gandhāra and Mathurā regions were included in the Kuṣāṇa empire. One important western metropolis was Puruṣapura (Peshawar), which was also known for some time as Kaniṣkapura after the name of the great king. The metropolis of the vast kingdom in the east was Mathurā.[7] It was but natural that the two great styles developing contemporaneously in different regions came in close contact with the fast political and social movements. The doors for such intermixing were already open; and we have references to the Gandhāra region and its people in the Vedic and Epic literature.[8] The great grammarian Pāṇini of the 6th-5th century B.C., belonged to this country.[9]

We, therefore, find the cultural and political links already established with Gandhāra ; and this intermixing is not confined to the Kuṣāṇa period. But here we are concerned with the interaction of the two schools of art; and this seems to have begun towards the end of the 1st century A.D., or the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.

Since the Buddhist pantheon was common and popular in both the schools, we shall mainly deal with this aspect to analyse the process of interaction. There has been a good deal of debate on the basic issue of the origin of the Buddha image, and the scholars are divided into two camps, one favouring Mathurā and the other siding with Gandhāra.[10] There are strong arguments in favour of each, and the present author has discussed this problem in detail elsewhere.[11] But the fundamental point is that the essential requirements of the Buddha figure either in Gandhāra or Mathurā have no significance in the Greek, Roman, Iranian or Bactrian art traditions, which have direct bearing on the Gandhāra school. The *Nāsāgradṛṣṭi, Dhyāna, Padmāsana, Siṁhāsana, Ūrṇā, Uṣṇīṣa*, celestials showering flowers, flywhisk bearers, etc., are assoiciated with a *Yogin* or *Cakravartin* in Indian traditions.[12] As such, Gandhāra must have been at the receiving end for the evolution of the Buddha image; and the only place which could contribute to this great event was the eastern metropolis Mathurā, which had a long religious, spiritual, philosophical, literary and artistic background even before the inception of the Gandharā school of art. Owing to canonical interdiction, Mathurā Buddha figures were sometimes recorded as Bodhisattva;[13] but the Gandhāra school did not have such a compulsion.

The early seated Buddha/Bodhisattva images of Mathurā carved upto the end of the reign of Kaniṣka do not bear any Gandhāra impact. Their salient features are[14] : high relief, nimbus with scalloped border, back-slab with foliage of the Bodhi tree, celestials on the upper back-slab with

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flowers, two flanking acolytes with flywhisk, top hair of the Buddha shaped like the snail-shell, right hand raised in *Abhaya*, left hand resting on the left thigh or knee, a shaven head, *Ūrṇā* between the eye-brows, almond-shaped wide open eyes, small earlobes, slightly smiling expression on the face, the left shoulder covered with garment and thick pleats on the upper arm, the legs crossing each other in *Padmāsana*, soles of feet marked with auspicious motifs, lower garment covering legs only, frill of this cloth falling on the seat, deep navel, prominent chest, rather stiff posture, the corpulent effect of the *Yakṣa*, the seat fabricated as an altar with ridges, lions supporting the seat, or an object of worship with devotees or donors. The famous image from Kaṭrā (Mathurā Museum No. A1) can be cited as the best example of this group.

The early standing Buddha/Bodhisattva are noted for the following characteristics[15]: the left hand held akimbo, resting on the waist, lower garment reaching below the knee with its hem on the left hand, the waist terminating into a double knot with two fillets hanging on the thigh, the thin cloth with transparent effect, a bunch of flowers or knot of hair or a lion between the two legs. The colossal statue of the Bodhisattva of year 3 of Kaniṣka installed at Sārnāth is an important representative of this group.

These statues represent the pure indigenous rendering, and no Gandhāra impact is noticed. It is quite likely that Gandhāra school was in its infancy, and it took some time to establish itself and to impress others. After about three decades the Buddha figures seem to experience some novelties, which are somewhat unfamiliar to the native traditions. These as seen in the Delhi Museum statue No. L. 55.25 are : One attendant holds a thunderbolt in the right hand (Vajrapāṇi); he wears short pants (*Udīcyaveśa*); he also wears buckled scarf round the neck ; the turban has a criss-cross motif. Beside the drapery and neck ornament, his physiognomy looks non-Indian. The presiding deity does not convey a feeling of natural peace as reflected in the case of earlier icons. The legs suggest an upward trend which makes the figure somewhat uneasy. Additional thick pleats on the left shoulder are also a new feature. This conceals the transparent effect of the garment and a beginning is made to provide somewhat thick cloth. We are well aware of the fact that the region of Gandhāra was known for fine quality of woollen blankets.[16]

The image unearthed at Ahicchatra is dated in the year 32 (A.D. 110), which falls in the early reign of Huviṣka, the successor of Kaniṣka I. This seems to be the first Mathurā product clearly bespeaking the first stage of romance with its counterpart Gandhāra. Prof.Van Lohuizen thought that the affair began in the year 51 with the statuette from Anyor (Mathurā Museum No. A. 65).[17] She observes : "During the reign of Huvishka, however, is a great revolution in the style of Mathura. This change is caused by a strong influx from Gandhara probably due to the fact that the art of this country had by this time risen to such a height that its products passed the borders and drew the attention of sculptors from other parts of India. The result of this can clearly be seen for instance in the Buddha images at Mathura".[18]

While the assessment of Prof. Lohuizen is justified, we feel that this influence has different stages, and she missed the development due to the paucity of material available to her. The second stage is marked by the following peculiarities: the drapery covers both the shoulders; the feet of the presiding deity are covered with the garment; the broad pleats covering the feet fall in a semicircular fashion; the left hand is now raised up for holding the hem of the drapery, and it is

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almost parallel to the right hand held in *Abhaya*; the left elbow does not rest on the knee; and the upper garment forms a semicircular 'V' shaped pattern round the neck.[19] The representative specimens are : a) headless seated figure in the Lucknow Musemum (No.B. 14) ; and (b) standing figure in the Mathurā Museum (No.A. 4). While no dated sculpture of this stage had been acquired, it may be concluded that the phase had a brief spell of about twenty years between the dated figures from Ahicchatra of the year 32 (A.D.110) and from Anyor of the year 51(A.D.129).

The third stage of development is marked by the furtherance of the Gandhāra impact, which displays these trends: the garment is coarse with thick pleats and a rib effect; but the somewhat transparent effect is retained; a triangular shape is formed on both sides at the shoulders by the wearing of the robe; the right hand which in earlier statues was in profile now becomes frontal; snail-shell fashion of hair is replaced by rows of circular notches; the *Dhyānamudrā* appears for the first time; the lions on the pedestal give a frontal appearance and are often standing; and the flanking acolytes generally disappear.[20]

The Buddha figure from Anyor dated in the year 51 (A.D.129), of the Mathurā Museum (A.65), is the best citation in this category.

The fourth stage of contact of Mathurā with Gandhāra is noticed in the culmination or a free adoption of the Gandhāra traits in Mathurā with these additions: the drapery becomes more stiff and thick with broader folds; the rib effect is replaced by the shutter effect; a control or master pleat is formed at the elbow from where the lower pleat is seen covered by the upper one ; a 'V' shaped scarf seems to have been added round the neck; the folds suspending from the left shoulder are gathered to the right side, and the frill of the garment on the pedestal takes the shape of a cushion.[21]

The best examples are : (a) Buddha from Govindnagar (Mathurā Museum No.76.69) ; and (b) Buddha in the Lucknow Museum (B.5).

Subsequently, the Mathurā products show somewhat different features, viz., the shutter drapery becomes fan-shaped on the right side; the 'V' shaped space below the neck is roundish, and a cushion of Kuśa grass covers the pedestal. A yellowish figure of the Buddha from Śrāvastī (Lucknow Museum No.66.183), and the lower part to of the Buddha image dated in the year 93 (A.D. 171 Mathurā Museum No. 76.1) are notable specimens.[22]

The harmony in relations between the schools of Mathurā and Gandhāra continued for about three generations, and then began a feeling of revulsion against the dominating alien features. In the last quarter of the second century A.D., old fashion reappeared. The drapery becomes relaxed and light, giving away the rib or shutter treatment. Snail-shell of hair, *ūṣṇīṣa*, bare feet and *padmāsana* also return. The recycling of the indigenous trends gained further momentum with the decline of the Kuṣāṇa power. The Buddha image from Govindnagar now in possession of the Archaeologial Survey of India is a beautiful specimen announcing the retreat of the Gandhāra idiom. There are several statues in the Mathurā Museum which betray the same phenomenon (Mathurā Museum Nos. 42.2919, 76.33, 76.21, 76.18 and 46.3231).[23]

There are some dated Mathurā Buddha figures with Gandhāra impact, but these do not comfortably fit in our frame of chronology. These have been discussed by scholars like Van

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Lohuizen, J.M.Rosenfield, B.N.Mukherjee and G.S.Gai with different options and explanations. We have scrutinised their theories elsewhere,[24] and offered our own suggestions and possibilities to solve such controversies of date and style ; and it is not possible to furnish such details here.

The post-Kuṣāṇa phase of the Mathurā school continues the process of reverting to the original form with these changes: rejection of the Gandhāra influence; resurgence of transparent drapery but retaining the folds; also experimenting with foldless drapery; serene expression of the face; horizontal shaping of eyes; tendency of elongation of earlobes; curly hair; slim body; clear and elaborate carving of halo and concentration on refinement in carving.[25] Some of the notable examples of this phase of transition (between the 3rd and 4th century A.D.) are the standing Buddha of the year 230 in the Lucknow Museum (B. 10); the statue from Govindnagar with foldless robe (Mathurā Museum No.76.26); and the seated Buddha from Bodhgayā dated in the year 64 (Indian Museum, Calcutta).

Beside the Buddhist images, the Gandhāra influence is noticed in the Brahmanical sculptures where the Scythians in *Udīcyaveṣa* are seen worshipping the *Śivalinga* ;[26] in Sūrya clad in the same fashion;[27] in an attendant of Kubera; in Bacchus or Silenus in drinking scenes;[28] in Herakles and the Nemean lion, and the sculpture showing *Keśibadha* (Mathurā Museum No.58.4476).

The Tīrthankara images do not furnish elaborate evidence, as they are nude, but the carving of pedestals, the position of lions and some devotees bear unmistakable Gandhāra influence.[29] Drinking goblets as depicted at Mathurā and Sanghol are a Gandhāra item.

The other area of Gandhāra influence on Mathurā is the royal portraiture. Life-size or heroic size statues of Vīma Kadphises, Kaṇiṣka and Chaṣṭana or Maṣṭana were recovered from the mound of Tokrī or Itokrī at Māṭ about 12 km. to the north to Mathurā city. It has been mentioned as *Devakula* in the inscriptions, probably for the fact that the Kuṣāṇa kings used the epithet of *Devaputra* ; so the place where their statues were installed was called *Devakula*. Scholars like S.K. Saraswati opine that these portraits may not be the products of Mathurā art, being strikingly overwhelmed by alien trends.[30] This is of course a debatable issue; and we have the earliest tradition of *Devakula* or *Ālekhyagṛha*.[31] Resembling the so called European sitting posture as seen in the case of Vīma Kadphises, we have the earlier inscribed image of Yakṣī Layava from Naglā Jhīngā (Mathurā Museum No. 72.5), datable to the 2nd century B.C. Similarly, about the lion throne we are reminded of the *Cakravartins* who are supposed to sit on *Siṁhāsana* and the Śākyasiṁha Buddha who was also provided with a lion throne as his seat in the Buddha images. Thus every element is not alien; of course this impact is conspicuous on garments, shoes with embroidery and weapons worn or held. It may be conjectured that the Māṭ royal portraits were the outcome of a joint venture of Mathurā and Gandhāra sculptors, who were probably also associated with the carving of other *Devakula* images at Surkh Kotal near Kapiśā and Balkh in the greater Gandhāra region.

The Mathurā sculptures unearthed in 1985 at Sanghol in Ludhiānā district of Punjab do reflect several Gandhāra traits in dress, wavy hair style of the Buddha, pseudo-Corinthian pilasters, etc. It has, therefore, been suggested that it was a meeting place of Gandhāra and Mathurā schools.[32]

The Mathurā school also influenced the Gandhāra sculptures. Although the workshops of Mathurā were localised in a small region, the products were in great demand in distant quarters of

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the Indian sub-continent; and these were taken to the Gandhāra region as well.[33] *Jātaka* narrations, curly hair, lotus seat, drapery covering one shoulder only, *abhaya* pose, monks with *dhotī* and *shawl*, ladies wearing *sarī*, lion throne, railing pattern, *śālabhañjikā*, *brāhmana* ascetics wearing sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*), several auspicious motifs or symbols, particularly lotus, wheel and *triratna*, half or full lions used as supports for doorjambs, etc., elephants, peacocks, *Garuḍa* with human ears and ear-rings, lady with parrot perched on shoulder, four or five rectangles of diminishing size arranged one over the other (*Pancapaṭṭikā*), lotus creeper, wheel on palm, etc.,[34] are features noticed on numerous scluptures hailing from different sites ; but it is not possible to form a convincing chronology to discuss them in a sequence.

On the other hand, the large number of ivory objects recovered from Kapiśā, (Begram) bear an unmistakable imprint of Mathurā sculptures.[35] The ivory specimens could not withstand the adverse climatic conditions at Mathurā, but remained intact in the emporia at Kapiśā. We come across the well-established ivory trade guild in the Sāncī Gateway epigrahpic record.[36] It appears that the beautifully carved light objects of ivory were taken away from Mathurā as souvenirs by visitors coming from the western region. When these became very popular, the emporia of Kapiśā started selling them. Kapiśā was famous for excellent wines; and Kauṭilya has also recorded this fact in his *Arthaśāstra*.[37] We therefore have some drinking scenes in the Mathurā sculptures.

A Sūrya temple was exposed at Khair Khaneh about 20 k.m. to the north of Kabul. Datable to the 4th century A.D., the deity sits in a squatting pose with his attendants Daṇḍa and Pingala. He is drawn in a chariot of Aruṇa without legs.[38] This image is to be compared with the earlier Sūrya images of the Kuṣāṇa period from Mathurā. There is a good deal of similarity in the architecture of Khair Khaneh and the Śiva temple of Bhumarā in Madhya Pradesh.

The stucco sculptures in the ancient palace at Termez on the north bank of the Oxus river bear figures of *kāmalatā* and *mithunas*,[39] which seem to have been derived from the Indian concept of *kalpalatā, kalpavṛkṣa*; and the source must have been the early Mathurā sculptures.

In the hall of the fortress at Gyaur Kala in the vicinity of Khwarezm are pillar bases identified as *kumbhakas*[40] recovered from the Huviṣka monastery.

Stone images of Devī, Srī, Lakṣmī and Bhū have been found in the Gandhāra region.[41] But these are subsequently superseded by the cult of Hārīti which became very popular. Similarly, among the male deities, Brahmā, Indra, Śiva, Sūrya, Candra and Kārtikeya, occasionally seen in the sculptural renderings of Gandhāra,[42] must have been inspired by the Mathurā school which had depicted a plethora of early divinities. The square tablets excavated at Taxila, and termed as *āyāgapaṭṭa* by Marshall[43] and toilet trays by Lohuizen,[44] must have been derived from the Mathurā *āyāgapaṭṭas*. A deity standing on *makara* on the entrance of a shrine at Jaulian has to be identified as Gaṅgā.[45]

While the origin of the Buddha Image was discussed inconclusively several times, scholars generally accepted the view that the Buddhist pantheon developed in Gandhāra. But now we have an excellent pedestal inscription from Govindnagar, Mathurā, dated in the 26th year, and also recording the name of Huviṣka (i.e., his first regnal year), recording the consecration of an image

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of Amitābha Buddha. This new evidence shatters the theory of the earlier non-Indian or Gandhāran origin of the Buddhist pantheon ; and we may safely conclude that this also emerged at Mathurā and later fructified in the land of Gandhāra.[46]

The Gandhāra impact on Mathurā has been studied in detail, but due justice has not yet been done to the Mathurā school influencing the Gandhāra style. The reason seems that Mathurā, being more compact, localised and accessible, did not pose the difficulties faced in studying the Gandhāra remains produced in a vast region under various influences and now scattered in numerous places under diverse controls. Political and geographical factors have also been responsible for non-fulfilment of this task. Let us hope the hindrance will be overcome, and a better picture of interaction will emerge.

Note : The paper was presented in the *Gandhāra Colloquium* held in the Indian Museum, Calcutta in February 1991.

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20

An Introduction to Nālandā Painting

Upendra Thakur

Nālandā, in the words of I-tsing, was "the most magnificent temple of learning in Jambūdvīpa" and certainly occupied a unique position in the development of Indian thought and art. By the time it came into prominence, the native artists had beautifully assimilated the various elements such as pre-Mauryan, Graeco-Bactrian, Persian, and those of Mathurā and Amarāvatī, with the result that during the Gupta period they could evolve a new school, which was at once indigenous and one of the best in Indian art.[1] This new school which produced beautiful images of the Buddha may rightly be termed as the Nālandā School of Art.

As we know, the Nālandā School of Art derived its inspiration mainly from religion. With the rise of *Mahāyāna* in the beginning of the Christian era, Vajrapāṇi, Hāritī and other gods and goddesses besides the Buddha, entered the Buddhist pantheon.[2] The emergence of *Tantrayana* in about the seventh-eighth century A.D. gave a new direction to this art. Itadvocated the worship of god-heads; and the desire of the devotees for the outward manifestation of the god-heads gave birth to a creative instinct which ultimately found expression first in stone and bronze, and then in painting. This art mainly consists of the statues of god-heads, both big and small, in stone and bronze, and a few paintings which are now commonly known as the Pāla art, because most of these images bear the names of the Pāla Kings.[3] They were the most ardent patrons of this great centre of learning at Nālandā, whose religious system inspired this unique art. The Pāla art in general lacks the vastness and the dynamic quality that we notice at Mahābalipuram and in the Śiva panels at Elephanta. The artists were mainly concerned with "the devotee's contemplation of the deity, whom he passionately adored: this evidently was the inspiration of the artist.... Then, again in Pāla art, there was not the frank delight in flesh and in the pleasure of the flesh.... Woman's beauty evidently did not move the Pāla artists so much, although some exquisitely modelled Lakṣmīs and Tārās and other female divinities attest the power of the Pāla sculpture in this line; and rarely, very rarely, indeed do we find an erotic scene."[4]

Compared to the vastness of the Gupta, Rāṣṭrakūṭa or Pallava art, the Nālandā art influenced

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a small area and was mainly confined to Magadha (Bihar). However, in course of time it spread in the east to Jāvā, Sumātrā and Bāli, Cambodia and China, and in the north to Nepal and Tibet. According to Tārānātha, "in the time of King Dharmapāla, there lived in Varendra (North Bengal) an exceedingly skilful artist named Dhīmāna, whose son was Bitpalo: both of them produced many works in cast-metal as well sculptures and paintings which resembled the works of the Nāgas. The father and son gave rise to two distinct schools. In painting the followers of the father was called the Eastern school; those of Magadha were called followers of the Madhyadeśa School of painting. So, in Nepal the earlier schools of art resembled the Western School; but in the course of time, a peculiar Napalese School was formed, which in printing and casting, resembled the Eastern types"[5].

It has been rightly suggested that the above sculptures and painters (Dhīmāna and Bitpalo) were teachers of arts and crafts at Nālandā, as is evident from the discovery of the largest number of cast models in the course of various excavations at Nālandā. According to Havell, "The universities of Nālandā and Takṣaśilā were schools of art and craft"[6]. The discovery of sculptural specimens in bronze and stone in a large number as well as some unique specimens of arched niches does point to a regular school of art and crafts in Nālandā, which has not been studied properly so far.

But, inspite of its rich sculptural and architectural heritage, unfortunately for long no specimens of paintings were discovered at Nālandā, which led scholars to believe that in course of time they must have fallen victim to the destructive agencies of nature. That the paintings were done on a large scale is quite evident from the illustrated manuscripts of the *Prajñāpāramīta*, the *Mahāmāyāpurī* and the religious texts of Jainism in Western India, as well as many other manuscripts found in the libraries of Nepal and Tibet, which contain beautiful delineations of the goddess in colour and lines.[6] Moreover, the existence of the Madhyadeśa School of Painting as referred to by Tārānātha further confirms this contention.

In 1984, the excavations conducted at Sarāi Mound brought to light the remains of a Buddhist temple which contains a polychrome painting all around its *garbhagṛha* hall. Prior to this, no specimens of painting were found in the various excavations conducted at the great monastery site by Marshall, Broadley and Spooner. But A.Ghosh had found evidence of painting on stone bricks in Temple no.14 in the course of excavations,[7] which has now perished and nothing definite can be said about it. A beautiful pedestal made of bricks adorned with double-petalled lotus over the stone pedestal meant for installing the Buddha image was discovered recently. Remains of yet another gigantic Buddha image over the stone pedestal in the main sancutm containing a few signs of red colour painting were also found.[8] These sundry evidences clearly suggest that the art of painting was practised along with architecture, sculpture, etc., at Nālandā during the Pāla period.

Coming to the Sarāi Mound temple, we find that the great height of this temple conforms to the description of a temple given by Hiuen-Tsang in his travel account. According to the Chinese traveller, this temple was constructed by King Pūrṇavarman. An inscription of 7th-8th century consisting of 14 lines has also been found inside the brick temple, which informs us that this king had established about a dozen bronze images of the Buddha including the unique copper image about 80 ft.high, which was installed in a building containing six storeys.[9]

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As we know, the Pala period witnessed a glorious era of Buddhist art in India. We have discussed elsewhere how the great Buddhist monastery at Nālandā as well as those at Odantapurī, Vikramaśila, Jagaddala and Somapura had in the course of centuries become great centres of Buddhist learning and thought. It was during the hey-day of these centres of learning that a large number of manuscripts on palm-leaf were written, which related to Buddhist themes. These manuscripts were also illustrated with the images of Buddhist deities. This Pāla style of painting as seen in the illustrated painted manuscriptes of Nālandā and elsewhere is popularly known as the Eastern Buddhist School of painting, which soon migrated to Nepal and Tibet and moulded their artistic traditions and techniques.

Thus painting played an important role in the history of Nālandā art. We have numerous references to painting of multi-coloured figures in the accounts of Hiuen-Tsang, I-tsing and Tārānātha, but for long no positive evidence was found in the excavations. Near the north wall of Temple No.13, we have an interesting feature of a damaged smelting furnace which consists of a square brick structure with two low walls across the centre converting it into four chambers, having two flues for each. The walls were plastered with cow dung, sand, etc. A heap of slag, fragments of crucibles, clay moulds, etc., were also found there. This discovery confirms the existence of a school of bronzes which flourished at Nālandā. The seals and sealings found there bear characters ranging from Gupta to the Pāla period. In temple No.14, we come across the fragmentary paintings of a deer and lion in the niches of the pedestal which are now no more.

Fortunately, the Sarāi Mound, which is situated to the right side of the gate of Nālandā excavation area, and is completely isolated from the monastic complex, has by now been exposed, and while removing the debris in 1976 from the *garbhagṛha* of the temple, a beautiful panel of a Pāla mural painting measuring 8 m. in length was discovered. This panel, besides supplying the long-needed materials for a thorough study of the Pāla art of Nālandā, also forms the only extant material throwing light on the Pāla mural painting of Eastern India. Buddhistic in character, the panel found in front of a huge pedestal depicts deities like Padmapāṇi, Bodhisattva, and Jambhāla along with male and female worshippers in different forms (*mudrā*) of adoration. A thin coating of lime constitutes the background of painting, the outlines being very bold and dynamic. The galloping horse and the elephant are remarkable features of the painting, and add to its beauty. Stylistically speaking, the painting belongs to the 10th-11th century.[10]

It is interesting to note that the huge stone-pedestal consists of stone-panels in two rows:(i) the upper portions being decorated with floral and painted designs and the (ii) lower portion depicting some human and animal figures. The paintings on the other portions of the pedestal are completely blurred and faded, and as such the figures are not clearly visible. "The sanctum walls including the rear half of the back are also painted. A few blurred faces of human figures in red-ochre colour are visible on the upper portion of the white lime-plastered walls. The lower portion of the *garbha-gṛha* wall has also yielded a few floral and geometrical designs in red, yellow and blue colours"[11]. The scroll-design on the rear-half and the black walls of the temple are probably the most fascinating feature of the painting, which is very much similar to the scroll-pattern "carved at the bottom of the famous Dhamekha *stūpa* at Sāranāth."[12] This particular symbol or design has some special significance in Buddhist art, because we find it being repeated invariably by the Pāla artists in their works of art, and specially in this lofty temple. It is for the first time that we come

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across definite evidence of Pāla painting in stone panels and on walls in the recently excavated Buddhist temple found in the ruins of Sarāi Mound at Nālandā.

Nālandā occupies a unique position in the history of art, as it is the only site where we have a wonderful combination of architecture, sculpture, bronze-art and painting from the Gupta period down to the late Pāla period. Nālandā, being a Buddhist site, its artistic origins as regards iconography, style, etc., are all rooted in Buddhist traditions. Scholars generally believe that the Ajantā style of painting has been mostly illustrated in the Pāla painting, the best examples of which are preserved in the Darbar Library in Nepal, the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, Kalā Bhavan at Vārāṇasi, Mahārāja Museum at Baroda and the Boston Museum in the U.S.A. The best specimens of Indian Painting come from the walls of caves at Ajantā, Bāgh, Ellorā, Bhīmabaiṭhakā as well as some temples of South India. It appears that the Nālandā painters were not as well versed in anatomy, artistic patterns, floral and geometrical designs, ornamentation and the use of different types of pigments, as were those of Ajantā and Bāgh caves.[13]

In respect of the artistic style, decorative designs and human figures, the upper portion of the painting is somewhat different from the lower one.[14] "In this portion the painted surface has been divided by artistically treated pilasters and in between them the panels are painted which are not of the same character as noticed in the lower portion."[15] This indirectly suggests that the upper portion of the paintings belonged to the later period, and is almost similar to the Rajput and Mughal paintings. At Nālandā we also notice white, black, red and yellow pigments, which have generally been prescribed in the *Śilpa texts*. These colours are also to be seen in the famous Mithilā paintings popularly known as "Madhubani painting"[16]. Besides the stone pedestal, the sanctum walls at Nālandā are also painted with flowery and geometrical designs in polychrome, i.e., white, yellow, red, blue and black colours. It is interesting to note that "the double-petalled lotus attached to the brick-pedestal over the huge stone-pedestal is also painted in red colour, as a result of which the originality of the lotus flower is fully maintained."[17]

The flowery design appears to be a common feature of the early medieval paintings in India in general, and at Nālandā in particular. According to the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, every side of the painting should be decorated with the representation of different kinds of flowers. A characteristic feature of the temple-architecture in India, these motifs served as the common heritage of the art of painting. Thus, the animal and plant motifs were quite popular with the Nālandā artists. Like the Madhubanī painting, in Nālandā paintings also the outlines were first sketched in red and black, followed by various figures. A study of the faded colours and motifs would show that the main temple was at one time fully decorated. The resting seat of the gigantic Buddha image is also adorned with a bunch of double-petalled lotuses all around it, painted in red colours. The lotus-flower, as we know, is regarded as a sacred symbol of worship by the devotees of the three main religions of India — Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Both in sculpture and painting, we come across the depicition of the lotus flower, which also serves as the seat of Lord Viṣṇu and other deities. But in Buddhist painting the lotus flower finds more prominence than in Brāhmaṇical and other paintings. "The most noteworthy aspect of the Nālandā murals is that a bunch of the big-sized stucco lotuses are adorned with the seat of the main deity in semi-circular forms. Such adorned seat with a pool of lotuses has not been found elsewhere."[18]

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The other common feature of the Nālandā paintings, as in other Buddhist paintings, is the skilful depiction of a standing elephant looking north to south. As we know, the elephant in many *Jātaka* stories is directly associated with Buddha's life. Another noteworthy figure is the horse (in galloping pose), which indirectly symbolises the first phase of Buddha's renunciation of the world. Jambhāla, a Buddhist deity of wealth, commonly regarded as the counterpart of Kubera, the god of wealth in Hindu mythology, also finds prominent mention among the human figures. He is depicted as being seated and pot-bellied, like Kubera. Just adjacent to the Jambhāla image, we have the figure of a lady holding a mirror in one raised hand. In the same panel we also have a male figure looking south to north, but as the painting of its face is completely blurred, it is difficult to suggest its identification.

As regards dresses, costumes and hair styles, we have little information. "The female figures in the Nālandā murals wear close-fitting bodices, and a scarf is thrown over the shoulder to cover the breasts fully." Costumes in the Nālandā murals do not show as great a variety as is noticed in Ajantā. *Dhotīs*, often striped, are worn both by men and women. The dancing female figures at "Nālandā" wear ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets on the upper arms and bangles on the wrists; and these constitute their usual jewellery."[19] On the whole, we find that the style of the Nālandā paintings resembles more or less that of Ajantā and Bāgh, and the painters of the Pāla period followed generally the style and technique of the Gupta period. In other words, the Nālandā paintings constitute fine specimens of painting of the medieval period of India; and no such discovery of murals has been made in eastern India so far.

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21

Śiva Temple at Sherwasa

B. L. Nagarch

The village Sherwasa is located fourteen kilometres north of the village Teonda and five kilometres east of village Pathari in Vidisha district of Madhya Pradesh. There is a *kacca* road from Teonda to Sherwasa. It is connected with Pathari by bus.

Recently a Pratihāra temple has been discovered at Sherwasa. The temple is located on the northern outskirts of the village and is dedicated to Śiva. The temple is in worship. It consists of a plan of a *pancaratha* sanctum, an *antarāla* and an *ardhamaṇḍapa,* and faces west. (Fig.1 PL.I, PL.II and Fig.I). The *ardhamaṇḍapa* in front of the temple has collapsed and its ruins are lying at the site on a platform measuring 2.75 mt. long, 3.40 mt. broad and 75 cms. high. A portion of the southern wall of the temple had also collapsed, and was rebuilt in later time.

The sanctum

The sanctum is square internally, and each of its sides measures 1.76 mt. square. The height of its wall is 1.87 mt. The sanctum enshrines a *śivaliṅga* installed on a square *yonipaṭṭa*. The *śivaliṅga* measures 13 cms. high, and has a circumference measuring 60 cms. The *yonipaṭṭa* measures 44 cms. square. The walls of the sanctum are plain and its ceiling is flat. The ceiling is supported by four pilasters, one at each corner. At present a number of fragmentary sculptures are kept inside the sanctum.

The sanctum-doorway

The sanctum-doorway measures 1.14 mt. high and 53 cms. wide. (pl. III) It is decorated with five *śākhās*. The first *śākhā* is plain; the second *śākhā* is decorated with *nāgas* having intertwined tails; the third *śākha* is carved with two niches, each containing an image of a female standing in *tribhaṅga*. The female in the lower niche on the flank carries a lotus-bud and a *chaurī*, while the female in the upper niche of the same flank is seen plying on *vīṇā*. The image of the female in the lower niche of the northern flank has been chopped off, while the female in the upper niche of the same flank carries a lotus-stalk in her left hand. Her right hand is on her *kaṭi*. The fourth *śākhā* is a *rūpa stambha* decorated with a vase-and-foliage motif at the base and at the top. The shaft of

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the *rūpa-stambha* is decorated on the top with a *kīrtimukha*, from which issues out a lotus-creeper.

The lower portions of the *śākhās* are carved with figure sculptures. The sculptures on the northern flank of the door-way show from right to left the following:-

1. Two-armed Gaṅgā standing in *tribhaṅga*. Both of her hands and legs have been chopped off. Her mount, the crocodile on her left has also been chopped off.

2. A female attendant stands in *tribhaṅga* and carries a lotus-stalk. Her breasts have been chopped off.

3. A *śaiva-dvārapāla* stands in *tribhaṅga* and carries a *khaṭvāṅga*.

The southern flank of the sanctum-doorway shows the following figure sculptures on the lower portion from left to right:-

1. Two-armed Yamunā standing in *tribhaṅga*. Her right hand has been chopped off. The mount tortoise carved on her right has also been chopped off.

2. A female attendant standing in *tribhaṅga*, carrying a lotus-stalk and a mirror.

3. Four-armed *Śaiva dvārapāla* standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying *abhaya*, *triśūla* and *sarpa*.

The lintel of the sanctum-doorway is carved on the *lalāṭabimba* with an image of ten-armed Naṭarāja (dancing Śiva) holding *Khaḍga*, *ḍamarū*, *triśūla* and *sarpa* in his surviving right hands, and a *kapāla* and a *sarpa* in his surviving left hands. His remaining hands, head and right leg have been chopped off. He wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*, *kuṇḍalas*, *vaikakṣyaka*, *yajñopavīta*, *keyūras*, *valayas*, *nūpuras*, a long *mālā* and *dhotī* fastened by a *mekhalā* with loops and tassels. His seated mount, the bull is carved on his right. A male drummer playing on a drum is seen seated on his left. Naṭarāja is flanked on the right by a male attendant playing cymbals, and on the left by another male attendant playing on a flute. The head of the bull has been chopped off.

On the right end of the lintel of the sanctum doorway is shown multi-armed Brahmā standing in *samapāda* and carrying a *pustaka* in his only surviving upper left hand. He wears *jaṭāmukuṭa kuṇḍalas vaikakṣyaka*, a long *mālā* and a *dhotī* fastened by a *mekhalā* with loops and tassels. He also wears a *vastra-yajñopavīta*. The seated mount, the swan is carved on his right. The left end of the lintel shows four-armed Viṣṇu standing in *samapāda* and carrying a *gadā* and *cakra* in his only surviving upper right and left hands. Both of his lower hands have been chopped off. He wears *kirīṭamukuṭa*, *kuṇḍalas*, *vaikakṣyaka*, *yajñopavīta*, *keyūras*, *valayas*, *nūpuras*, a long *mālā* and a *dhotī* fastened by a *mekhalā* with loops and tassels. The flying mount Garuḍa is carved on his left.

The first, second and fifth *śākhās* of the sanctum-doorway have been carried over the lintel. The portion of the lintel above the second *śākhā* is carved with two friezes. The lower frieze depicts six flying *vidyādharas*, each holding a garland, three on either side of Naṭarāja shown on the *lalāṭabimba*. Beyond the figures of flying *vidyādharas* on either side is a niche containing an image of a seated deity. The niche on the right end contains an image of two-armed Lakṣmī seated in *lalitāsana*, holding a lotus-stalk and *kalaśa*, while the niche on the left end contains an image of two-armed Sarasvatī seated in *lalitāsana* and playing on *vīṇā*. The upper frieze shows seated *Navagrahas*, of whom Sūrya is seen seated in *padmāsana* and holding lotuses in both hands. Soma,

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Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra and Śani are seen seated in *lalitāsana*, each having his right hand in *abhaya* and holding a *kalaśa* in his left hand. Rāhu is shown in *tarpaṇamudrā* and ketu in *añjail-mudrā*.

In elevation the temple shows from bottom upwards *pīṭha* mouldings consisting of a plain *bhiṭṭa* and *jāḍya-kumbha* decorated with lotus-petals, *adhiṣṭhāna* mouldings showing plain *khura*, *kumbha, kalaśa, kapóṭa*, decorated with *kuḍūs* and *vasantapaṭṭikā* carved with lotus-scrolls and *jaṅghāna* (wall portion). The *jaṅghāna* is decorated on each *bhadra* of the sanctum with a niche containing an image of a deity. The niche is composed of two rectangular pilasters, and is surmounted by a tall pediment of *caitya*-arches. The remaining portion of the *jaṅgha* decorated on the northern, eastern and southern sides with six pilasters, each having a plain lower half portion, and upper half portion carved with a half medallion containing either a *kīrttimukha* or *haṁsamithuna*. The upper portion of the pilasters is carved with a vase-and-foliage motif. The *jaṅghā* is surmounted by *varaṇḍikā*, which is decorated with designs of lotus-leaves and half-lotus. It may be mentioned here that the niches on the eastern and southern *bhadras* of the sanctum are missing. The niche on the northern *bhadra* contains an image of four-armed *Pārvatī* standing in *samapāda* (Pl. IV and Figure-2). Both of her lower hands have been chopped off. She carries a *triśūla* in her upper right hand, and a *sarpa* in her upper left hand. She wears *jaṭāmukuṭa, kuṇḍalas, vaikakṣyaka, hāra, yajñopavīta, keyūras, valayas, nūpuras*, a long *mālā* and a *sārī* fastened by a *mekhalā*.

Attached to the eastern wall of the sanctum is a modern platform measuring 2.70 mt. long, 1.14 mt.broad and 45 cms. high. This platform has covered a portion of the *pīṭha* mouldings of the temple and should be removed. The present surroundings of the temple are an eye-sore. The houses of the villagers have hidden the view of the temple. In front of the temple is a platform, over which stood the *ardhamaṇḍapa*, which is now in ruins. The platform measures 2.75 mt.x 3.40 mt.x 0.75 mt. There is an old pipal tree near the platform. On this platform are kept the following sculptures and architectural components, some of which originally belonged to this temple:-

1. Two-armed Sūrya, standing in *samapāda*. His head and left hand have been chopped off. He holds a full blown lotus in his right hand. He stands inside a niche composed of two rectangular pilasters and surmounted by a pediment of *caitya*-arches. It is made of white sandstone and measures 97 x 51 x10 cms. (PL.V and Figure-3)

2. A seated Nandī. His head has been chopped off. It is made of white sandstone and measures 60 x 31 x 16cms.

3. A pediment of *chaitya*-arches. It is made of white sandstone and measures 49 x28 x 10cms.

4. The lower portion of an image of Umā-Maheśvara. Only the right folded leg of Umā has survived. Below this leg of Umā is carved her seated mount, the lion, whose head has been chopped off. On the right of the lion is seen seated mount, whose head has also been chopped off. On the pedestal is carved twenty-armed Rāvaṇa, whose three heads alone are visible, uplifting the mountain Kailāśa. On either side of Rāvaṇa are shown four *gaṇas* in a playful mood. The right and left ends of the pedestal are carved with two dancing *gaṇas*. The sculpture is made of white sandstone and measures 48 x 53 x 11cms.

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5. Śiva-Pārvatī seated in *lalitāsana*. The figure of Pārvatī and the head, hands and neck of Śiva have been chopped off. The seated mounts, the bull and lion are carved on the pedestal. It is made of white sandstone and measures 48 x 38 x 17cms.

6. Stone slab carved with a male and a female attendant, both standing in *tribhaṅga* and having their left hands on their waists. The heads of both of them have been chopped off. Above the head of the male attendant are seen two legs of a rampant *vyāla*. It is made of white sandstone and measures 37 x 13 x 12cms.

7. Stone slab carved with two images. One of them depicts two-armed Rāma standing in *tribhaṅga*, and holding a bow in his left hand. He wears a *kirīṭamukuṭa*. Above his head is carved a rampant *vyāla*. The other image is that of a male attendant standing in *tribhaṅga* and having his right hand on *kaṭi*. It is made of white sandstone and measures 47 x 19 x 14cms.

8. Stone slab showing four-armed Yoganārāyaṇa seated on the top. On the left of Yoganārāyaṇa is seen Nṛsiṁha ripping open the belly of the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu. Below is seen four-armed Śiva. This stone slab formed the upper portion of the *parikara* of a *daśāvatāra* image of Viṣṇu. It is made of white sandstone and measures 42 x 21 x 12cms.

9. Torso of an image of four-armed Pārvatī standing in *samapāda*. Her head, hands and legs have been chopped off. It is made of white sandstone and measures 20 x 25 x 9cms.

10. Bust of Hanumān, whose head and hands have been chopped off. The sculpture was repaired by use of cement plaster. It is made of white sandstone and measures 66 x 38 x 15*cms*.

The Śiva temple at Sherwasa has similarities with that of Kutukeśvara Mahādeva at Pathari in the same district. It is assignable to the eighth century A.D. It has the characteristics of the Pratihāra temples of central India, such as tall pediments of *caitya*-arches surmounting the niches on the *jaṅghā*, a *nāga śākhā* on the sanctum-doorway, rich carvings of vase-and-foliage, lotus-scrolls and *kīrttimukhas*. The *śikhara* above the sanctum is missing.

From the above it may by concluded that this temple is a notable Śaiva monument of the Pratihāra period. The Vidisha region was under the sway of the Gurjara-Pratihāras during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. Noteworthy among the other temples of the Pratihāra period in Vidisha district are *Kuṭukeśvara* Mahādeva temple at Pathāri; Gadarmal temple at Badoh; and *Mālādevī* temple at Gyaraspur. The Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers patronised Śaivism, which resulted in the construction of a number of Śiva temples in the regions ruled by them. The Śiva temples at Naresar and Batesara in district Morena, at Amrol in district Gwalior, at Mahua and Terahi in district Shivapuri, at Indore in district Guna, and *Caturmukha* Mahādeva temple at Nachna in district Panna, also belong to the Pratihāra period, and are important for the study of Śaivism in Madhya Pradesh.

The sanctum-doorway of the Śiva temple at Sherwasa is very richly carved, and the temple is noteworthy for its fine architecture and sculpture. It belongs to the early phase of Pratihāra temple architecture, and is assignable to the eighth century A.D.

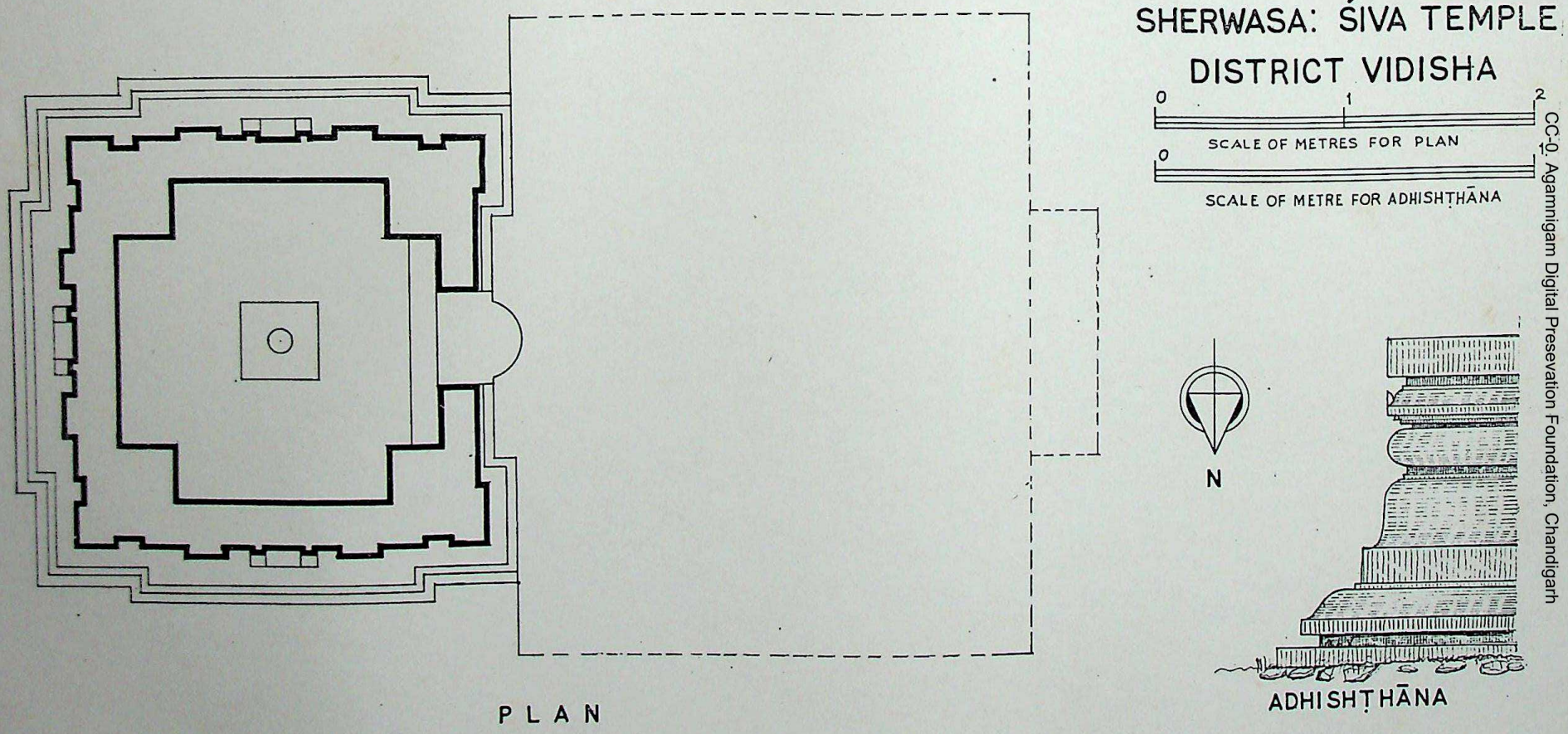

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Fig. 1: Plan of sherwasa: Śiva Temple District Vidisha

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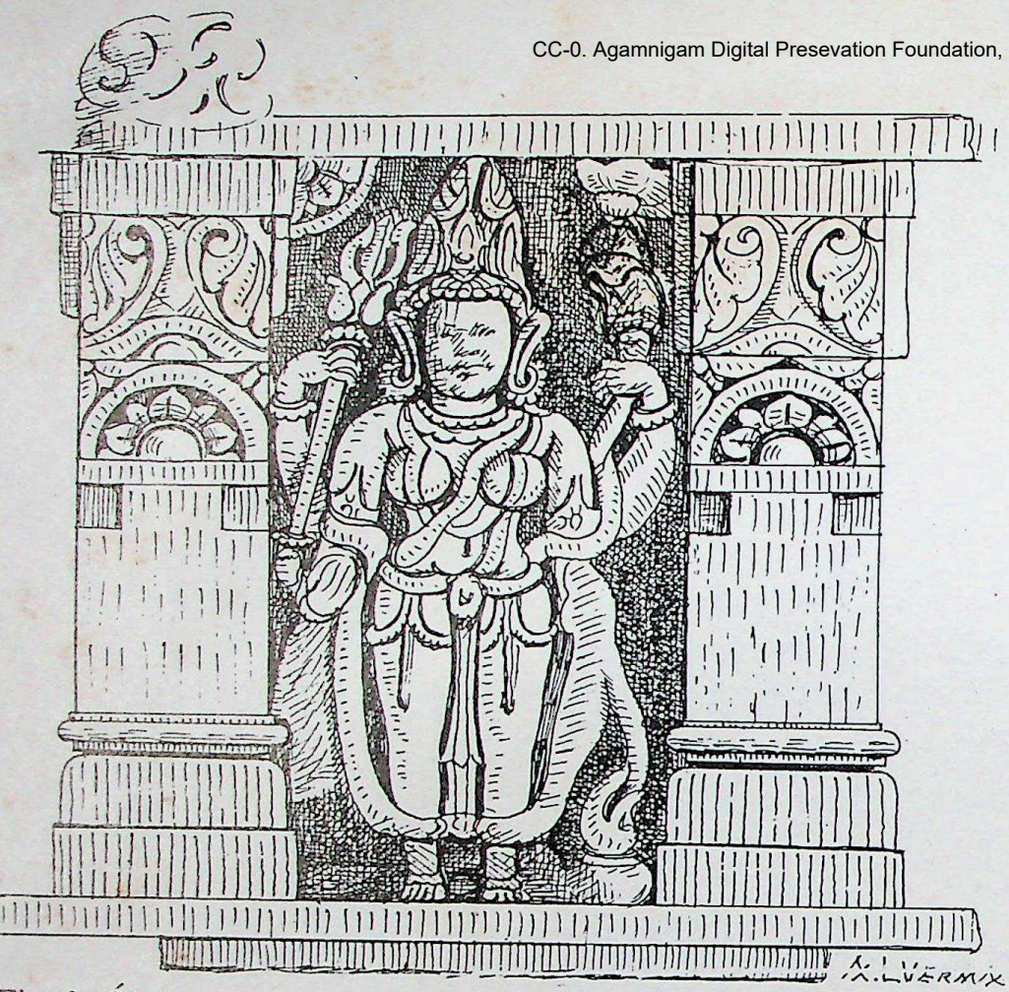

Fig. 2: Śiva temple image of Parvati inside a niche on the northern *bhadra* of the temple, Sherwasa, Distt. Vidisha

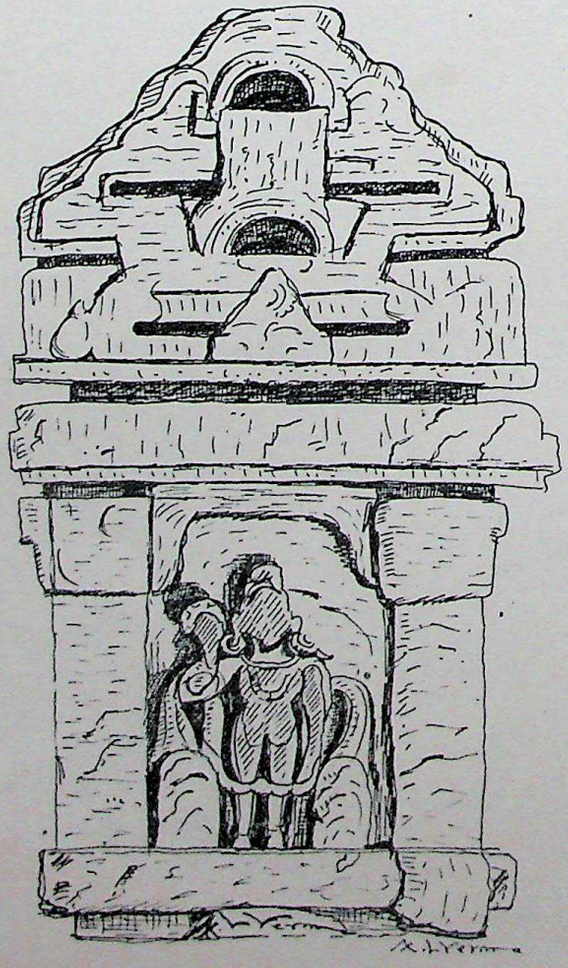

Fig. 3: Śiva temple, A loose image of surya standing inside a niche, Sherwasa, Distt. Vidisha

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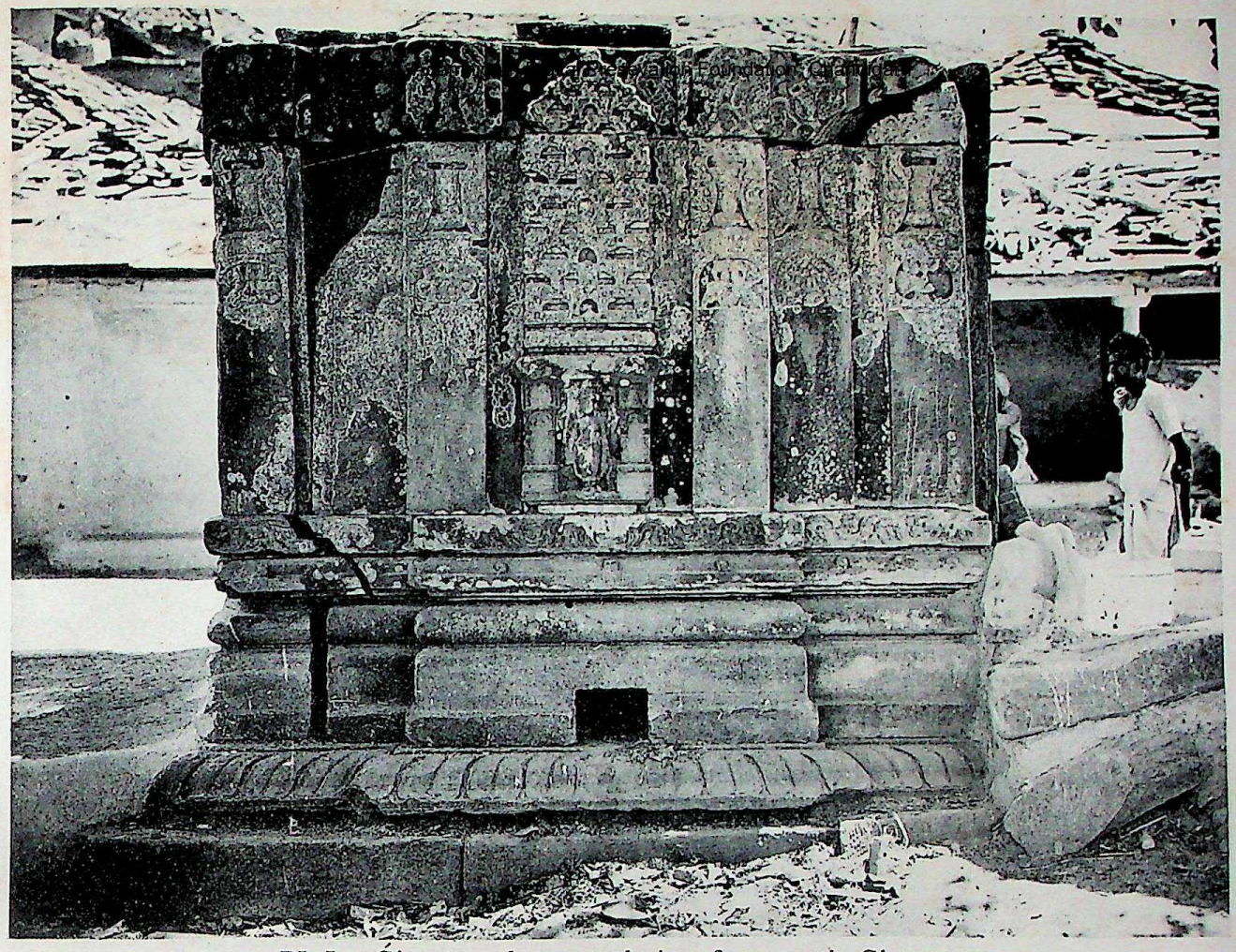
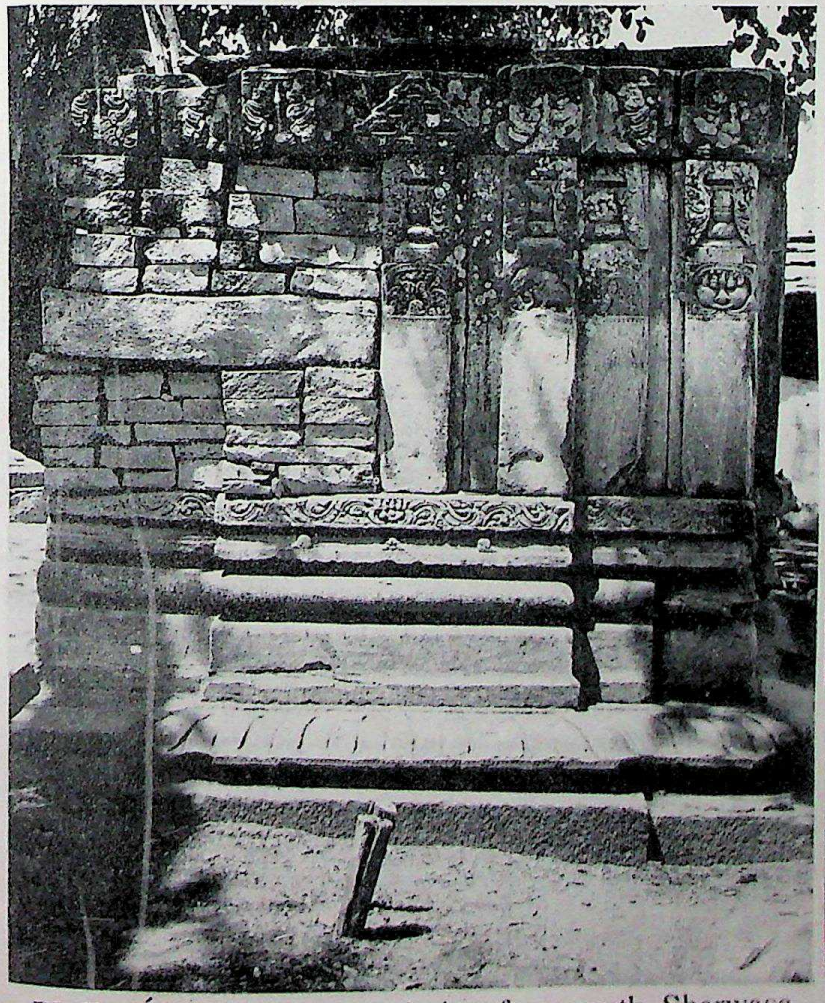
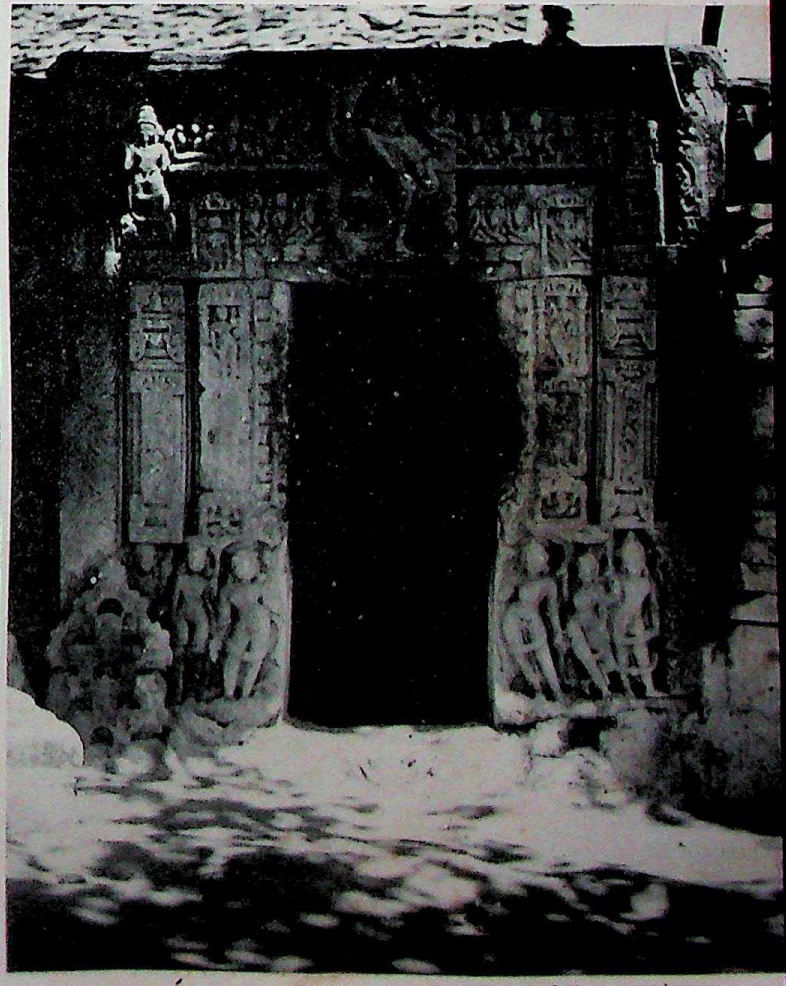


PL I: Śiva temple general view from north, Sherwasa



PL II: Śiva temple general view from south, Sherwasa



PL III: Śiva temple, general view of the sanctum—doorway, Sherwasa

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PL IV: Śiva temple, Image of Pārvatī inside a niche on the northern *bhadra* of the sanctum, Sherwasa

PL V: Śiva temple, Image of the Sūrya standing inside a niche, Sherwasa

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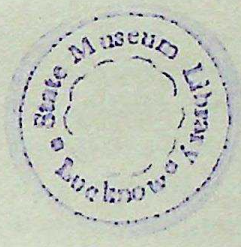

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22

Vīrabhadra and Vāsudeva Temples at Narayan Koti,[1] District Chamoli (U.P.)

Sheo Bahadur Singh

The hilly tracts of lthe Himalayas have been a solace for sages, saints and devotees since time immemorial. The awe-inspiring beauty of nature has inspired man to create holy shrines for his cherished deity from early times. In the beginning, wooden shrines were erected as *devālaya* or abodes of god. "They were later replaced by stone temples in the hilly region, as elsewhere. In course of time, shrines and temples of fascinating forms and meaningful themes were erected throughout India. Thus, numerous temples belonging to the early medieval period were constructed in the Uttarākhaṇḍa region, which mainly represent the Indo-Aryan style of architecture with various compartments consisting of either a porch and sanctum or a porch, prayer-hall, vestibule and sanctum, capped by a tower, turrets, *āmalaka* and finial, etc., adopting the normal features of the *nāgara* shrine.

At Narayan Koti in district Chamoli (Uttārākhaṇḍa) a number of temples have been located belonging to the early-medieval period. Among them two, Vīrabhadra and Vāsudeva temples in the *nāgara* style are more remarkable from the architectural point of view. They are intact, symmetrical and *triratha* in plan, with recessed corners and other features. These two temples, made of sand stone with a square plan, represent plain and almost featureless treatment of the entire structure. The shrine designated as Vīrabhadra temple, erected on a low *adhiṣṭhāna* has only two compartments consisting of a small *ardhamaṇḍapa* and a *garbhagṛha*. The *ardhmaṇḍapa*, covered on three sides, has a doorway with massive monolithic *kūḍyastamhas*, without base or capitals, supporting above the horizontally placed *uttarāṅga*. In addition to them, the extreme side pillars are upholding the superstructure of the porch. The *kūḍyastambhas* have geometrical designs and floral scrolls, while extreme side pillars, composed of square and round slabs, occasionally, have the *ghaṭa-pallava* design. The iconless *garbhagṛha*, square in plan, is devoid of embellishment, niches, friezes or divine images. In other words, it has plain and featureless treatment of the interior cella without any decoration. The superstructure of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* represents eaves over the *uttarāṅga* with slight projection. Over the eave five replicas of *uruśringa*, capped by *amala-śilā*,

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are vertically carved. Furthermore, the upper part of the roof takes a pyramidal shape with receding tiers. The uppermost part of the porch represents semi-circular *śukanāsā* with a medallion in the centre, bearing heads of *Maheśamūrti*. The circular medallion and adjacent sides are beautifully carved with floral patterns, criss-cross designs, concentric circles, dotted-lines and other artistic features. The lower base of the temple represents *gajathara* without any decoration. The *Jaṅghā* is divided into two plain registers surmounted by rudimentary cornice-mouldings as horizontal *vereṇḍikā*. The recessed corners of walls are also plain, devoid of any embellishment, human or vegetal. The roof of the sanctum is designed as a simple plan of horizontally placed square stone slabs consecutively over each other in receding tiers or *pīḍas*, in unbroken succession in a diminishing order, so as to form a pyramidal *śikhara*. The *Śikhara* is surmounted by an *āmalaka* and a *bijapūraka* as the finial in the usual manner.

On the left of this shrine is another so called Vāsudeva temple. This slightly larger temple also consists of two compartments—an *ardhamaṇḍapa* and a *garbhagṛha* as in the previous case. Covered similarly on three sides, the porch has a plain doorway with *kūḍyastambhas* supporting the *uttarāṅga*. This *uttarāṅga* is decorated with beautiful figures and suave artistic designs. The extreme side pillars supporting the roof of the porch have round slabs, designed with vase and foliage patterns. The sanctum, square in plan, is plain and has no ornamental design of image in the interior. The roof of the porch has projected eaves over the *uttarāṅga*. Over this projection are five consecutively placed stone tiers, occasionally embedded with small *amala-śilās*. Thus, a flat roof is formed, upon which is superimposed a half-moon shaped *śukanāsā* with ornate decorations. The upper part of the *śukanāsā* bears a medallion depicting heads of *Meheśa Mūrti*. The medallion is exquisitely designed with floral scrolls, criss-cross patterns and dotted lines. The lower base of the temple representing *gajathara* is devoid of any ornamental decoration. The *jaṅgha* is similarly divided into two registers with the projection of cornice-mouldings. Kūtachādya. The temple in *triratha* pattern with recessed corners represents *upāna*, *kumuda* and *kapoṭa* mouldings and *kūṭachāḍya*. The cella is surmounted by a pyramidal roof formed of intersecting squares of stone tiers (*pīḍas*) cut up exteriorly into gradually diminishing steps to a roaring height. This *pīḍa-śikhara* is further crowned by an *āmalaka* and finial. These edifices excel in the artistic disposition of their various parts and components. The rhythmic effect of light and shade is procured by the receding planes of their walls intersected by beautifully adjusted horizontal lines of deep stringcourses. Both temples are Śaivite, as is evident from Maheśa *mūrti* on the *śukanāsā*. One of them is however called Vāsudeva temple, i.e. Vaiṣṇavite in nature. Both of them may belong to circa 9th -10th century A.D., on the basis of their architectural style and artistic design.

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23

The Kannauj School of Pratihāra Art

Brajesh Krishna

The sculptural art of the Pratihāra period with its distinct form and style in quality and expression is an important segment of Indian art. A common tradition of art prevailed throughout the vast territory of this dynasty as a result of transmission due to the frequent mobility of artists, patrons, rulers and individuals.

The art of the Pratihāra period was a logical development of the preceding art traditions.[1] In fact the middle of the sixth century A.D. was a turning point in the field of stylistic development of sculptural art in north India. It was the period when, in place of an overwhelming classical Gupta idiom, regional styles appeared on the scene. It is at this juncture that Mandor (Dist.Jodhpur), the initial capital of the Pratihāras, exhibited a distinctive regional style of art in north-western Rajasthan, which favoured locally evolved features more than the pervading influence of the Mathura school of art.[2] Subsequently, a pronounced regional style of art, known as Mahā-Māru style[3] in the field of temple-architecture, developed under the Pratihāras. In course of time, it appears, the tradition of this western school was carried to Kannauj and other parts of the Madhyadeśa, where a synthesis took place, and thus the new art acquiring a grace and superior technique[4] in form and style developed, which may be termed as the Pratihāra art.

In general, the sculptures of the Pratihāra period, which are fashioned out of buff sandstone, are characterised by heaviness of form, elegant postures, lotus petalled *prabhāmaṇḍala*, expressive facial type, and with less crowding of subordinate figures. The ornamentation of figures is pleasing and light in the early examples, but gradually tends to become heavy and traditional. These features endow the sculptures with an independent form and style, easily recognisable throughout the kingdom of the Pratihāras. The sculptures of the Pratihāra period exhibit the transitional stage between the earlier 'classical' and the later 'medieval' styles in the region of Madhyadeśa.[5]

The empire of the Pratihāras was indeed extensive. Therefore, it was natural for the plastic art of the Pratihāra period to develop a few sub-regional variations. Even in the region of Madhyadeśa, the sculptures of the Pratihāra period can stylistically be divided into five sub-styles based on geographical regions: (i) Antarvedī; (ii) Gopādri; (iii) Daśārṇa-Mālavā; (iv) Western Madhyadeśa; and (v) Himalayan Hills.

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The Kannauj School of Pratihāra Art

The Antarvedī region, in the eighth to tenth century A.D., flourished with a new artistic vigour and zeal. In this region the sculptors of the Pratihāra period attained great heights in creating works of superb loveliness. It is well known that Mathurā and Sārnāth had been glorious schools of art during the Gupta period. But they lost their significance as centres of art-activity during the time of the Pratihāras; and Kannauj and other sites came into prominence. Kannauj (Kānyakubja), the capital seat of the Pratihāras, developed as one of the greatest schools of art of north India. It was a dream-land of architectural achievements, as attested by the remarks of Mahmud of Gazni, who plundered the capital city in 1018 A.D. Reporting about his expedition in a letter to the Governor of Ghazni, he writes: "there are innumerable temples. No other city can be constructed like this in two centuries after a million of Denaria..."[6]. These temples were creations of the Pratihāra art. Evidence of the temple-building activity of this period in Kannauj and its environs is corroborated by huge number of sculptures and architectural fragments. Erection of three temples at or near Kannauj is also attested by the Pehowa Inscription of the time of Mihira Bhoja.[7] The conspicuous absence of temples standing *in situ* in this region is clearly attributable to the hammer of Muslim iconoclasm.

The images of the Pratihāra period from Kannauj, which are executed in buff sand-stone, continued to reflect the Gupta artistic tradition. There is the same delicate modelling and refinement of carving. But the figures are fuller and more rounded, with pronounced postures. The Kalyāṇasundara image of Kannauj represents a masterpiece of the period for its naturalistic execution. The physique of Śiva, with broad shoulders, attenuated waist, slender arms, elongated half-closed eyes and sharp nose but thick and full lips, is remarkably close in modelling to the figures of the panels of Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh. Pārvatī of the Kalyāṇasundara panel, with her rounded elegance of limbs, retains the classical grace and proportions of the Gupta art.[8] Similarly, the faces of another image, the *Caturmukha liṅga* have a charming dignity and a subtle smile reminding us of the classical features of the Gupta style. The image of so-called Rukmiṇī from Naukhas (Dist. Etah) is also one of the most astonishing specimens of Kannauj school for its superb treatment and lyrical pose with a rare delicacy of carving.[9] The creativity of the artists of Kannauj is well-expressed in the image of dancing Gaṇeśa in a joyful mood with 'a sly twinkle in the eye, as if showing that even with his heavy form the god can perform a dance with grace.'[10]

The other notable examples of the Kannauj school include a *Viśvarūpa* image of Viṣṇu[11], a panel of standing *saptamātṛkās,* an image of Kārttikeya and a mutilated image of Cāmuṇḍā. A fine specimen of *ulūkavāhinī* Cāmuṇḍā from Kannauj represents the four-armed deity in youthful appearance.[12] She holds a sword and a shield in her upper hands, while the lower hands are seen near her mouth in gesture of astonishment or anger.[13] All these images are superbly carved, and show an evident fluidity in their contours and a subtle expression on their faces. A few images found in Etah (U.P.) district, also appear to be examples of the creativity of Kannauj.

A sculpture of the goddes Gaṅgā shows the deity standing in elegant pose with a *kalaśa* in her left hand. The figure is somewhat stunted, yet depicts fine feminine beauty. Some important and known sculptures of the Pratihāra period from Kannauj have been discussed here. But the rich harvest of the archaeological wealth of Kannauj remains scattered and hidden in the old environs of the city and its neighbourhood.

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As mentioned earlier, the sculptural heritage of the Pratihāra period found in the Madyadeśa region shows sub-stylistic divisions. But the sculptures of other places could not reach the height of the typical images of the Kannauj school. However, a few sculptures exhibit an evident influence of the Kannauj school.

In the southern parts of Madhyadeśa, the region of Gopādri (Gwalior) was quite fertile from the point of view of artistic activity. Numerous temples of the period under review have been discovered in this region. We notice that, on the one hand, the art of Gapādri region shows an indigenous development within its area 'from a nebulous stage to the full blown brilliance,'[14];and, on the other, it also shows the impact of the art of Antarvedī Māru, Mālvā and other regions.[15] Efflorescence of the Śaivite tradition in the region played a significant role in the interaction of artistic traditions.[16]

The Kalyāṇasundara image of Batesara (Dist. Morena) testifies to the influence of Kannauj. The slenderness of the bodies of the figures with supple lines is remarkable. An image of Balarāma from Padhavali (Dist. Morena) also clearly shows the influence of the Kannauj school of art in its execution. The balanced body of the deity with its supple contours, and the elegant pose of the attendants, are quite remarkable. The image of dancing Gaṇeśa from the same site also reminds us of a similar image from Kannauj. Apart from depicting the same theme, the Padhavali sculpture also shows rhythm and movement in dance, akin to that of the Kannauj specimen. But the image of dancing Gaṇeśa in a niche of Mātā Kā Mandir, Naresar, appears to be a work of an inferior artist. Here the left hand of the god is crudely shadowed by his trunk.

In western part of the Madhyadeśa, a number of sites like Agroha, Pehowa, Kurukṣetra, Gujjarkhedi, etc., yielded several sculptures of the Pratihāra period. Some of the sculptures of Agroha (ancient *Agrodaka*, about 23 kms., from Hissar) show stylistic proximity with those of the Antarvedī region; while the others bear resemblance to the types known from Rajasthan-Gujrat area. It may be mentioned here that the site of Agroha was situated on a trade-route between Taxila and Mathura,[17]and due to its geographical situation the transmission of tradition to this site from other regions could easily be understood.

The image of standing Viṣṇu from Agroha is worth mentioning. It is carved with a sensitive and graceful plasticity, and some of its stylistic features remind us of the above mentioned well-known sculpture of Kalyāṇasundara from Kannauj. A striking similarity can be observed in the types of necklace, armlets and hanging ends of the wavy girdle-scarves of the images. Besides, the over-all stylistic character of *Cakrapuruṣa* of the Viṣṇu image is quite similar to Śiva of Kalyāṇasundara image.

A few sculptures of the Pratihāra period of Agroha show closeness to the classical idiom of the Gupta period on the one hand, and affinity to the sculptures of Kannauj on the other. A sculptural piece, representing the head of Pārvatī is a fine example in this connection. The head of the goddess is carved with an expression of serenity and grace. The drooping eye-lids give the expression of an inward look. The chin is charmingly pointed and the lips are full and fleshy. The face bears a mark of sophistication.

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Thus Kannauj emerged as one of the most important centres of the Pratihāra art. The city, being the capital of the powerful dynasty, must have attracted good sculptors from different regions. Under royal partonage, they produced beautiful images for adorning the temples at the site. With the synthesis of the classical and the new, the Paratihāra art of Kannauj reached its zenith. The happy inter-action with the cultural currents of various regions gave a splendid flavour to the sculptures of Kannauj, which was never achieved by the later art. The style of Kannauj became a source of inspiration, as discussed above, to other parts of the Pratihāra empire.

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Pre-Jehangiri Jades of India

M.L. Nigam

The term 'Indian Jade' is used here in the sense of finished jade objects made in India. In fact, good quality of jade is found neither in India nor in China, the two countries which are famous for using jade as a medium of art to fashion objects of exquisite beauty and utility. The good quality of jade, nephrite, is found only in the regions of Central Asia, such as Khotan Yark and Kaskem valley and the slopes of Kuenlun and Nanshah mountains. Jadeite, which is imported from the province of Yunnan in Burma was considered to be of slightly inferior quality by the Chinese as compared to nephrite. The wide range of colours and smooth hard surface with a soft appearance after it is polished, must have prompted the use of jade in fashioning rare objects of art during the early periods of Chinese history.

There has been a good deal of controversy about the origin of jade carving in India. The opinion of scholars is divided on this issue. A group of European scholars earlier believed that all finished objects of jade, bearing traditional Indian motifs and designs and sometimes even the names of Indian rulers, were made to order by Chinese craftsmen for their Indian customers.[1] Such a negative opinion was based mainly on three grounds. Firstly, no good quality of jade was ever found in the Indian sub-continent. Secondly, the majority of jade objects found in Indian museums are datable only from the beginning of the 17th century onwards. Thirdly, the jade objects which bear the names of Indian rulers in Persian characters, often exhibit an unmistakable similarity with the forms of Persian metalware and sometimes the Chinese mode of carving.

However, the recent discoveries of a number of Indian jade specimens both in Indian and foreign collections have produced adequate material evidence which goes against the above hypothesis. It is no doubt correct to say that Indian literature of the pre-Mughal era does not make reference to the term 'jade'. It is because of the fact that a proper synonym for jade in Indian languages remained somewhat unknown. The word 'jade' even in English vocabulary came into vogue not earlier than the 18th century. Although the superior quality of jade is not found in India yet the possibility of its being imported from Central Asia during the medieval period of Indian history cannot be completely ruled out. The unparalleled skill and efficiency of the Indian lapidaries

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was well-known even prior to Christ. It could not have been too difficult for the traditional Indian craftsmen, who were adept in carving of harder stones than jade, to fashion jade objects.

John Irwin previously held that the art of jade carving in India was started during the rule of Shah Jehan under Persian inspiration, and possibly by Persian craftsmen.[2] This far-fetched conclusion was based primarily on the similarity of forms, motifs and designs of early Mughal jades with those of Persian metalware. The truth, however, remains that much earlier, in the workshops (*kārkhānās*) of the Tughlaqs, Indian and Persian artists worked together and Persian and Central Asian art-forms, motifs and designs were known in India long before the advent of the Mughals. When such craftsmen were asked to fashion jade vessels and other utilitarian objects for the Mughals, the Persian forms, designs and motifs came to them as natural as they would have come to a Persian craftsman. It would thus be incorrect to attribute all early Mughal jades to alien workmanship.

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Robert Skeleton, who has done pioneering work on Indian jades, believes that the art of jade carving in India started during the reign of the Mughal emperor, Jehangir. In fact, Skeleton held that some of the early jade specimens of Jehangir's period were carved by Persian artisans. Recent researches conducted by the author of this article, on the other hand, prove that the art of jade-carving in India has a hoary tradition, and was known even prior to the Christian era. There are a good number of references to the art of Indian jade carving in some of the early royal records of China. The earliest mention of Indian jade-carving, datable to 2nd-1st century B.C., is found in the records of the Han (Six dynasties) period, wherein it is mentioned that the people of Shen-Tu (Sindh) sent the gift of a bridle made of interlocking rings of white jade to the Han emperor, Wu-Ti (140-87 B.C.)[3]. The *Liang Shu,* a history of the Liang dynsty (A.D. 502-557), records that the ruler of the Gupta dynasty of North India sent a 'Liu-Li' (Spittoon), of white jade, as a gift during the T'ien Chien reign-period (A.D. 502-519).[4]

It has been rightly recorded in the catalogue of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, that the early references quoted therein raise the possibility that Nephrite Jade was itself one of the materials used by the hard-stone carvers of Northern India between the 2nd Century B.C. and 6th century A.D.[5] It would show that the Indian lapidaries of 2nd-1st century B.C. were capable of producing such intricate carvings of jade with inter-locking rings which, in later period, became the characteristic of the Chinese jade workmanship.

Even the Chinese missionary, Hiuen-Tsang, who came to India during the middle of 7th century, mentions white jade as a commodity for regular commercial transaction in India during that century.[6] The Chinese traveller further makes mention of a big sea-shell shaped jade slab carved with *Buddha-padas* (footprints of the Buddha), which was kept in the monastery of the Kiu-chi (Kushe Kingdom)[7].

It is thus hard to believe that the early jade specimens of Indian workmanship belonging to the reign of Jehangir were fashioned by Chinese or Persian craftsmen only, because of some similarity in their forms with the Persian metalware. On the contrary, the discoveries of recent years mark a definite departure, and provide firm ground for fresh debate and re-appraisal of the subject. The Persian art-forms, motifs and designs, as is well-known, came to India much earlier than the Mughal period. Hence the presumption that the earlier jade specimens of the reign of emperor

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Jehangir should have been carved by Chinese or Persian craftsmen owing to their similarity of forms, is quite untenable. In fact, there are a number of jade specimens of Indian origin, which can be dated to the pre-Jehangir period.

In this context, the discovery of a jade *Qurān* stand, "Rehl"(No. 14/XLIX), in the collection of the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, throws fresh light on the history of jade carving in India[8]. This unique piece of Islamic jade bears inscriptions on both sides in archaic Nastalique characters. On the obverse, it reads, "Shamsuddīn Altamish Pādshāh"; whereas the reverse side reads, "San. 607 Hijrī" in cartouches amid a stylised form of the "Tree of Life". It measures H. 15.6 cms.and W.10.00 cms.

The book-stand in question is carved out one block of jade in the style of early Sultanate architecture. The two sheets of white jade are intersected to form a base in the centre for holding a book. The lower portion of the book-stand rests on column-shaped legs like those of a throne. The intervening space between the legs is carved as a conical shaped arch of early Sultanate architecture. The upper rim of the stand is carved with ridges to the highest point, presenting slopes on the two sides. The outside surface is decked with floral design executed in low relief. The "Tree of life" motif springs out of a small vase and ends with a full-blown, eight petalled flower at the top with side-branches and leaves spreading around.

The owner of the book-stand, as per the inscriptional evidence, was Altamish, a king who ruled in 607H/1209-10 A.D. The jade book-stand in the Salar Jung Museum, therefore, can easily be attributed to the king Altamish who belonged to the Slave dynasty and ruled in North India during the 13th century A.D. Shamsuddin Altamish, as a ruler, was famous for his religious temperament and leanings towards Islam. It is possible that this unique and rare gift of a sacred nature was presented to Shamsuddin Altamish at the time of his accession in 60 H./1209-10 A.D.

Another archaic jade specimen (No.30.6-12.1), although uninscribed, is a life-size tortoise, presently housed in the British Museum, London. The unusual size of the jade tortoise, measuring 20'in length reveals a distinctive mode of carving which is not found in other examples of Mughal jades. This unique specimen, carved out of dark green Nephrite, was found in the debris of a reservoir at Allahabad in North India. It may not be out of context to mention here that the tortoise is the mount of the river Yamunā in Hindu mythology. It is likely that this jade-tortoise was fashioned to be offered by some Hindu devotee to the river goddess Yamunā at its confluence with the Gangā at Allahabad. Otherwise, there can be no justification for its being found in a reservoir near the confluence of Gangā and Yamunā. The find-spot, its unusual size and shape, which is typically Indian in character, and the sculptural quality would suggest that the object in question must have been fashioned in India prior to the Mughal era. No doubt, big jade specimens were also produced in China during the rule of the Ming dynasty. Yet, the typical Indian species of the tortoise and its Indian mode of carving are adequate proof to speak for its Indian origin.

There are two other inscribed jade specimens which can be dated to Akbar's period. An archer's ring, made of dark green Nephrite and inscribed with the name, "Shāh Salīm" is presently housed in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan at Varanasi. The title, "Shāh Salīm" itself would suggest that the ring was fashioned at a date when Jehāngir was only heir-apparent and not the emperor. It was

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only after his accession to the throne that Prince Salim was known as Jehāngīr. Thus the archer's ring in question must have been fashioned during the reign of Emperor Akbar, who died in 1605 A.D. The traces of gold-inlay and the sockets on the surface of the ring to hold precious gems would further suggest that the art of jade-carving was fully established in India during the reign of Mughal emperor Akbar.

Yet another jade specimen, datable to the reign of Akbar, is a beautiful dagger with a jade hilt carved as lion's head. The dagger is presently housed in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad. An inscription in gold, "Amal-e-Sāleh" and the date 1011 A.H., equivalent to A.D.. 1602, are written on the upper edge of the blade. The inscription is written in Naṣkh characters of Akbar's period. The lion-head carved in the round in white-green jade is typical of the type found in the miniature paintings of Akbar's reign. The square face with open jaws, the protruding teeth on the two front sides, the cup shaped ears and the tuft of hair pleated on the lion's neck are features similar to those found in the lions depicted in early miniature paintings of Jehangir's reign. So also, the floral motifs in gold occurring on the metallic sheath of the dagger are very similar to those found on the borders of the miniature paintings of Akbar's time. The eyes and tongue of the lion are fashioned out of red rubies. The three-dimensional treatment of the lion's head is reminiscent of the indigenous mode of carving, and akin to the early sculptural tradition. The inscription also mentions the name of one "Sāleh", who made the jade dagger. Thus, "Sāleh" must have been employed in Akbar's royal workshops.

The careful analysis of the two aforesaid jade objects of Akbar's reign reveals their different characteristics and carving techniques as compared to the jade objects of Jehangir's period. The archer's ring inscribed with the title "Shāh Salīm" was initially studded with gems, which is a unique characteristc of Indian lapidaries. It may also be pointed out here that the jade objects fashioned during the reign of Jehangir are generally devoid of gem-decoration. Moreover, the lion-headed jade hilt of the dagger belonging to Akbar's period has a sculptural quality, a characteristic not to be found in the jade specimens of Jehangir's time. Hence, the two jade specimens in question belonging to Akbar's period represent the indigenous style of carving, whereas the early jades of Jehangir's period exhibit an unmistakable impact of the Central Asian-art-tradition.

It is thus beyond doubt that the art of jade-carving existed during Akbar's period, and jade objects of rare beauty and quality were fashioned in India earlier than Jahangir's reign. It will not be out of place to mention here that Hawkins, an emissary of East India Company who accompanied Jehangir to Mandu to celebrate the royal birthday in 1617 A.D., speaks of five hundred wine cups made of jade and other precious stones, which were used in the royal banquet.[9] But for a long standing tradition and age-old experience of Indian jade carvers, it would not have been easy for Jehangir to possess such a large number of jade wine cups during the early years of his reign.

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The First King of Awadh

Hira Lal Gupta

On the demise of the Nawab Vazir Saadat Ali Khan his eldest but neglected son Rifatuddaula was elevated to the nawabi of Awadh on July 11, 1814, as Nawab Vazir Ghaziuddin Haidar, by Major Baillie, the most dominant British Resident in the court of Lucknow, on a solemn promise that he would scrupulously observe all the treaties his predecessors had signed, and abide by the British advice in his state affairs. During his father's time Awadh had been reduced virtually to half of its size, fully exploited and entrapped in the diplomatic snare of Subsidiary Alliance to snatch away the substance of its power. Introduced by Sir John Shore and elaborated by Lord Wellesley, it deprived the friendly Indian rulers of their independence and reduced them practically for all political purposes to a degrading position of subordination to and dependence on the British East India Company.

Finding himself in this situation and having no training in and experience of administration, Ghaziuddin Haidar never forgot the debt of gratitude he owed to the British Resident and made himself amenable to his advice, as the latter had taken every possible precaution with promptitude to guard against all risks of opposition to his succession from Shamsuddaula, the second and the favourite son of the late Nawab Vazir.[1] But being a well-meaning person, he could not ignore the larger interests of the state of which he had become the pseudo-destiny maker. Though a liquor-addict, he did not allow it to override his sensibilities and impair his balance of mind, sagacity and judgement. He very well understood the nature of his and his state's connection with the government of the East India Company.

Sometime after his installation Ghaziuddin Haidar appointed his own favourite Agha Mir in place of Hakim Mehdi Ali as his chief minister on the recommendation and advice of the Resident[2], but disdained the Resident's position as a power behind the throne and of his own as a puppet in his hands. However, knowing the odds against him he preferred to tread on the softer and safer ground without causing any annoyance to the Resident, to whom he owed his status as the head of his state. The new minister was a capable and ambitious man of humble origin with considerable executive ability. He had a strong party in the court and was a confidant of Major Baillie[3]. He did not favour British interference in the internal affairs of Awadh, but being a stark realist he

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sedulously maintained good relations with the Resident even at the cost of being misunderstood and mischievously maligned.[4]

To the utter surprise of the Nawab Vazir, his own favourite pro-British minister became an instrument in the hands of the Resident to accomplish his wishes rather than to respect the orders of his own patron, whenever there was a divergence between the instructions of the Resident and the orders of the Nawab. On the strenuous advocacy of the Resident, he introduced some changes in the revenue system, which created resentment in the state, and became very unpopular.[5] Some judicial and police reforms were also undertaken with a view to checking the increasing incidence of gang robberies on the British borders and the refractory conduct of the discontented zamindars. But there was hardly any improvement. The revenue collection remained as uncertain and irregular as before, and there was no appreciable change in the growing lawlessness[6]. There was vehement opposition to the new changes, as they adversely affected the vested interests of the land holding nobility. The Nawab Vazir resented the unrelenting, dictatorial, overbearing and often humiliating and insulting behaviour of the Resident, which aroused consciousness in his mind that he must be a ruler in the real sense; that the state policies must emanate from him only; and the minister and other state functionaries must be loyal to him. Despite this feeling, he did not openly and directly challenge the Resident, but ardently wished the removal of Baillie from his councils without any confrontation; and looked for an opportunity to get his aim accomplished.

The much needed opportunity came on October of the same year, on the eve of the Anglo-Nepalese War, when the Governor General Lord Hastings reached Kanpur. Ghaziuddin paid a visit to him, expressed his sense of loyalty to the East India Company, accorded a grand reception to him in his capital and offered a most liberal free gift of more than a crore of rupees to the Company, known in history as his first perpetual loan. On this occasion he politely expressed his wish to be more independent of the Resident, whose encroachments on his administration were derogatory to his self-respect,[7] assuring the Governor General that he had no ill-will towards the Resident. Subsequently, he submitted a written representation to that effect in detail, which the Resident termed as 'frivolous and false'[8]; and it was withdrawn out of fear. The Nawab Vazir's good-will was appreciated; his sentiments were respected and instructions were given to the Resident to limit his intervention in the state's affairs to the protection of the Company's interests as defined in the treaties. He was asked to treat the Nawab Vazir in all public observances as an independent prince.[9]

This did not ease the situation for the Nawab Vazir. He paid little heed to the project of reforms suggested by the Resident. Reforms already made half-heartedly by the chief minister were suspended. Soon after this, during the pendency of war against Nepal in 1815, the Nawab Vazir got another opportunity to stress his point when another loan of a crore of rupees was extracted from him, much against his willing consent. This time Lord Hastings felt inclined to oblige the loyal Nawab Vazir, whose resentment was considered duely justified. Major Baillie was replaced by John Monckton, a comparatively milder and less assertive Resident, as a symbol of good-will towards the benefactor of the East India Company. Situated on the most strategic British frontier apparently this was the first achievement of Ghaziuddin Haidar, which placed him in a state of comparative freedom in the affairs of his internal administration. He was satisfied that the person who had been so obnoxious to Awadh since his father's time, was no more there to ride rough-shod over him.

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In reality the encroachments on the internal sovereignty of the Nawab Vazir did not end completely. The administration of Awadh which had started deterioration since the time of his uncle Nawab Vazir Asafuddaula, particularly since the imposition of a succession of humiliating and debilitation treaties upon the successors of Shujauddaula from time to time curtailing their freedom, could not improve owing to the grasping British colonialism and lack of very active interest on the part of the rulers of Awadh. Since the British help and protection remained assured to the rulers of Awadh, they had hardly any well-determined plan to improve their administration. Therefore, in his own self-interest, Ghaziuddin had to consult the Resident, and could not safely ignore his advice. Moreover, on matters crucial to the East India Company, he had to abide by what he was asked to; he had no potential to defy the British power. He, therefore, remained gracefully contented with whatever powers he enjoyed and authority he wielded. Having seen his nephew's removal from power in 1798, he had full realization of the dangerous consequences of incurring British displeasure and inviting his ruin, if he wished to be more ambitious and assertive than what the treaty and practical curbs on his freedom to administer would allow him to be.

After making the East India Company the paramount power in the vast Indian sub-continent in 1818, Lord Hastings no longer relished its nominal subordination to the titular Mughal Emperor. In a triumpant spirit he paid a stately visit to Lucknow. There he patted the Nawab Vazir on his back for his help in the suppression of the Pindaris and the Marathas; and for steadfast attachment to the British causes; treated him with royal dignity; discouraged him from paying homage to the Emperor Akbar Shah II and his sons; and encouraged him to assume the title of king, which he formally did and issued coins in his name. On October 19, 1819, Ghaziuddin held his coronation amidst great rejoicings, and was designated as 'Abu Zafar, Moizuddin Shah-i-Zaman Ghaziuddin Haidar Padshah Awadh'.[10] His Chief minister received the designation of Prime Minister. By these proceedings the Nawab Vazir and his minister were further lured into the British net and kept in good humour. On the whole, Ghaziuddin's relations with Lord Hastings remained quite happy and cordial, and he showed unqualified loyalty to the East India Company. Henceforth, he began to be addressed as His Majesty. Apparently puffed up with pride, he addressed a letter to the king of Great Britain on November 22, 1822, expressing his gratefulness, attachment and devotion to the British for the elevation of his status and dignity.[11]

Howsoever satisfying and striking the high title may have been to Ghaziuddin Haidar, in reality it brought no perceptible material advantage to him or to his state beyond the empty rank to him and the name of kingdom to his state. Discretion was allowed to throw off all forms of servility to the Mughals, provided it did not affect his relations with the East India Company. This encouragement to the first king of Awadh was a well calculated subtle political move of the Governor General to expose publicly the hollowness of the power, authority and jurisdiction of the Mughal royal house; denigrate the Mughal emperor in the eyes of the princes and people of India; sow seeds of dissension between Delhi and Lucknow; break the unity of the Muslims of the two important centres of power in northern India; and make impossible the remotest possibility of any cooperation of Awadh with Delhi in any bid against the British, based on identity of religion or community of interest[12]. The Mughal political supremacy, though nominal, was no longer palatable to him. Now, legally, the king of Awadh was made equal to the sovereign of Delhi, but territorially and materially more substantial than his erstwhile superior. Indirectly, this was the first occasion

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in the history of the British-Mughal relations when the former started the process of disregarding the latter and eroding the myth of the latter being superior to the former. This process was continued by the two successive Governor Generals till the *de facto* superiority of the East India Company acquired *de jure* character. By this stroke the bonds of unity of the British and Awadh interests were cemented ; the first king of Awadh was made to feel obliged ; and his successors became dependent on and subservient to the British power.

While Awadh's relations with the East India company had become closer with the passing of years since the treaty of Allahabad, the Nawab Vazir's *de facto* authority was circumscribed from time to time. Exaggerated accounts of misrule in Awadh continued to be reported almost as love songs to serve as pleas to justify British encroachments in its affairs and tightening of control over it, whenever deemed necessary. Contrary to the official accounts and the motivated reports of Residents stationed in Lucknow, the unofficial European accounts of the condition of Awadh were very favourable. Awadh under its first king was an opulent kingdom. Land was fully under cultivation. Gardens abounded. Trade and commerce were flourishing . People were generally happy and contented. There were no migrations from Awadh into the British territories. Only some Rajput landlords of the regions bordering on British districts were refractory in spirit to subserve their baser interests. The Europeans employed in the service of the kingdom in diverse capacities were engaged in advancing their personal interests and exploiting the kingdom to their advantage. No European was ever robbed or plundered in the kingdom. When preparations for war against Burma were being made, the Commander-in-Chief Sir Edward Pagot visited Awadh on October 28, 1823, and asked for its support in the impending war[13]. In 1824 body of irregular cavalry marching from Shahbad to Partapgarh found no spot to encamp without causing injury to the crops.[14]

During the Governor Generalship of Lord Amherst, when the British arms were engaged in a prolonged war on the eastern frontier of India and beyond across the sea, the king of Awadh was made to advance a perpetual loan of a crore of rupees to the East India Company to meet the pressing needs of war in 1825.[15] In the following year, when the Burmese war was still continuing, an expedition was injudiciously launched against the Jats of Bharatpur[16]. Another loan of half a million sterling was taken from the Nawab. By most of the loans guaranteed interests were created in the kingdom, which did not augur well for it in the long run. The guaranteed interest were found more loyal to the British, from whom they received regular pensions, than to the royal house, with whose bounty those interests were created.

Lord Amherst's two letters to king Ghaziuddin written on October 14, 1825, and June 23, 1826, on reciept of loans from him were quite flattering to him. His fidelity and munificence were applauded. During that period least meddling was done in his affairs by the Resident Rickets. Awadh had been a mine of resources and strength to the East India Company. In 1826 permission was granted to its king to keep an embassy at Calcutta and to enjoy the privilege of communicating with the Governor General directly and regularly. This privilege had hardly much meaning beyond giving him a boost to be more attached to the British, and satisfaction that Awadh and its king enjoyed a distinctively better status than many other similarly placed Indian states and their potentates. This make-believe was allowed to be enjoyed, by so loyal, helpful and dependable a ruler belonging to an Indian community much estranged from the British. The considerstion he

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received from the two successive Governor Generals was hardly enjoyed by any other Governor General towards any other ruler of Awadh before or after him from the time of Warren Hastings to Dalhousie. At a durbar held by Lord Amherst at Kanpur in 1827, the king was asked to reform his administration on the lines suggested to him. But no pressure was exercised on him to show compliance because of the British indebtedness to him in so many ways.[18]

In every respect, king Ghaziuddin Haidar very well piloted his kingdom's relations with the British, though at a considerable risk to it by creating guaranteed interests within his kingdom, which provided a plea for British interference in its affairs after his demise and later. His loans and some other payments could not bring any lasting change in the British policy towards his kingdom. His favourite Prime Minister served him well and kept Major Baillie's temper cool. After the latter's recall, he managed the state affairs to the satisfaction of his master as well as the Resident, who kept a vigilant eye on everything in the kingdom. But his rival Hakim Mehdi Ali and the heir apparent assailed him for his pro-British proclivities and hostility to their interests. Though he stood discredited in their eyes, beyond their motivated criticism there is no substantial and unimpeachable evidence of abuse of authority by him.

Bishop Heber, who made an extensive tour of Awadh, has painted a bright picture of the kingdom. He found its agricultural fields much better cultivated than those in the British districts. He did not notice any dissatisfaction against the king's rule, and found nothing slanderous about him.[19] Heber's testimony stood as a tribute to the paternal character of Ghaziuddin's administration. The king was amicable and conciliatory in disposition. He was resentful only when his rights and privileges were encroached upon by Major Baillie.

Communalism was unknown in Awadh. While Ghaziuddin Haidar was a patron of Shiaism, he made no distinction between his subjects of different religious denominations on grounds of their religions or sectarian beliefs. No Shia-Sunni tension is found recorded during his comparatively undisturbed reign. The two major communities lived in peace and harmony, participating in each other's festivals and joys and sorrows. Religious toleration was the guiding principle of the uncoded state policy. Charity in society was commonly practised, and charitable, institutions were in good shape.

A talented man with several virtues and a pseudo-poet, Ghaziuddin Haidar loved learning, respected poets and learned men, and extended patronage to men of talent who by their poetic works and other commendable pieces of writing enriched Urdu literature, for which the kingdom became famous subsequenly. The origin of the Lucknow School of Urdu poetry of diverse styles is traced principally from his times. Elegy writing came into vogue. The Urdu press established in Lucknow led to the publication of books generally in Urdu and Persian, and some in Arabic and Hindi also. Besides several literary works, *Haft Kulzum* was the most prestigious publication of that time. Its copies were presented to the chief public libararies of India and Europe. The royal library was considerably enriched by a good collection of books and manuscripts.[20]

Fine arts of all kind, like painting, music, dancing, calligraphy and particularly architecture received great impetus. Artists, musicians, dancers, mechanics and skilled craftsmen received encouragement and royal support. Several notable edifices, both secular and religious, such as

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places, courts, mausoleums of his father and his consorts, religious monuments and places of public utility were constructed and beautified. *Imambārās* became the cultural centres of the Shia community which abounded in the capital and around. *Serāis* were built and a canal was projected to connect the river Gomtī with Gangā to subserve the commercial and agricultural interests of the kingdom. Work on this project was started with earnestness, but the dream could not materialize owing to the levels of the two rivers being variant. The mechanism of water lifting had not been developed till then. The unfinished part of it is popularly known as Haidar canal[21]. Lucknow became a centre of arts and crafts. Embroidery, textile handicrafts and costume industry developed. Flower and fruit gardens were laid out. Every new edifice had an extensive garden around it. The capital city presented a better look. For these developments the royal house and the state nobility were responsible.

The accomplishments and achievements of the time of the first king of Awadh reveal that Ghaziuddin Haidar was endowed with a vision and imbued with lofty ideas, despite his limitations. Though not intended by his father to be his successor as the Ṇawab Vazir of Awadh, destiny brought him to the fore through British bounty as the first king of the strategically situated principality ; and he fully justified the charge given to him. Despite liberal spending and advance of as many as four irrecoverable perpetual loans to the East India Company, he left behind a rich royal exchequer to his successor. His thirteen years of illustrious administration came to a close on his death on October 20,1827.[22]

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26

Native Response to External Stimuli : the case of South-East Asian States in pre-modern Times

Arun Coomer Bose

According to K.M.Panikkar[1], the De Gama Age that marked the predominance of sea trade and sea power was ushered into Asian waters by the Portuguese at the beginning of the 16th century. This statement, like many others, has a limited applicability and is certainly not true of South-East Asia lying astride the huge maritime area connecting south China with the Red Sea or Persian Gulf. Rich in many rare natural resources, this island-studded region had witnessed brisk maritime activity since the early years of the Christian era. The sea and ships provided the means of communication among the myriad islands, and also with China in the North and with India in the West. The earliest states of this region, like Śrī Vijaya of Sumatra, were essentially trade-based. However, it was from the middle of the 14th century that international trade expanded fast as, following the Crusades, West Europe joined the searches for Indian clothes, Chinese porcelain and South-East Asian spices. The maritime route to and through South-East Asia attracted increasing number of users especially after the consolidation of the Mamluk Empire in Egypt and its conclusion of a commercial treaty with Venice in 1345.[2] Almost simultaneously the Ming rulers of China (1368-1347) initiated a policy of state-trading expeditions to South-East Asia. The special mission organised by Emperor Yung-Lo (1402-1424) gave a visible stimulus to trade with China. Thus by the dawn of the 15th century—one hundred years before the appearance of the Portuguese in Asian waters—trade from the north and the West was converging on the ports and entrepots of this region; and the much sought after pepper was introduced in Indonesian Islands from Malabar, adding to their attraction for traders from far and wide. Trade brought prosperity, whose impact on society and polity was clearly visible. New cities like Grisek and Malacca came into existence; entrepot towns, like Ayuthia and Pegu outshone their older rivals ; and the Cambodians finally deserted inland Angkor in 1432 to shift their capital to the confluence of the Mekong, the Bassac, and Tenle Sap. The maritime states, like Brunei, Ache, Malacca, and Johore, derived virtually all their revenue from customs duties and state participation in trade. There even tributes were collected

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as levies on exports, like pepper, gold and tin, etc. There was little evidence of land revenue.[3] Even in predominantly agricultural states, like Siam or Malacca, it was trade that provided the basis of the state. The states of this region were, in short, highly urban in character, cosmopolitan in composition and culture and dependent on revenues from trade.[4] Since they had wealth and contact with the outside world, these entrepot states could control the hinterland through foreign mercenaries, diplomacy and superior arms.[5]

Authorities are still debating over the question how far, if at all, trade in this region had gone beyond what Van Leur calls the stage of 'peddling'.[6] However, this much is beyond all doubt that trade was brisk and extensive, and that there were many politically powerful business families on whose interests, influence and relationship with the rulers depended the stability and policies of these states.[7] Throughout the Malayan world these men were commonly known as *Orang Kayas, i.e.*, rich men. It is they who constituted the non-royal elite who, in varying degrees, provided these maritime states with much needed economic and political support.[8]

The islands of Banda were an extreme example of rule by an oligarchy of *Orang Kayas*. In the words of Tom Pires, "They have no king; they are ruled by cabilas and by elders".[9] Malacca and its successor Johore were also states with highly influential *Orang Kayas* as semi-autonomous sources of capital, patronage and even mercenaries. Here, however, there were ruling families ; but the actual conduct of affairs was in the hands of the *Orang kayas*. While the latter were exhorted to be loyal, the rulers too were categorically asked never to lay their hands on the wealth and wives of their subjects. This contractual relationship between the *Orang Kaya* and the ruler gave Malacca the necessary stability in favour of the traders. In Johore the *Orang Kaya* was almost wholly Malay in composition, and their loyalty to the throne was noted even by Europeans. In other states the position of the *Orang Kaya* might have been often a little different, fluctuating with time in response to royal assertiveness and foreign intrusions.[10]

However, by the beginning of the 17th century, these oligarchical states began moving towards royal absolutism in the face of Chinese intrusion and European challenge, which combined state power with commercial acquisitiveness. The effect of having to compete with the European monopoly traders, especially the Dutch, seems to have been the most important cause of this trend. Jan Peter Swain Coen and other Dutch leaders in these waters were impatient and annoyed with these mercantile oligarchies and their rulers, who could not persuade their powerful subjects to fulfil their contractual obligations as demanded by the Dutch. The Dutch always preferred dealing with single ruler not a loose group of powerful individuals — whom they could cajole or coerce with relative ease.[11] In the case of Banda, Coen concluded that "Contracts have been violated so many times that we cannot hope for anything certain from that nation."[12] So it was conquered and 45 leading *Orang Kayas* were executed in 1621.[13] Similarly, it was Coen's policy of seizing private Chinese ships that led to the promulgation of a decree by the ruler of Bantem that Europeans would have to purchase pepper only through its government.[14] Absolute rulers found it easier to deal with the Dutch both as friends and foes.

Another fact that possibly helped the trend towards absolutism was the increased rule of the Chinese merchants, who had a virtual monopoly of their country's trade with these islands. By early 17th century they had moved into the intermediate trade between the pepper producers and their

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regional markets, like Bantem or Pattani, and into the farming of revenues and monopolies for their rulers. In both capacities they were immensely useful to the local rulers, who were naturally suspicious of any native elite.[15]

The most striking instance of this trend towards absolutism at the expense of the *Orang Kaya* were the developments in Ache and Bantem. In Ache it was Sultan Ala'ad-din Riyat (1589-1604) who broke the power of the *Orang Kaya*, but welcomed the Dutch and the British to his kingdom. His successor Iskander Muda carried this process further by virtually destroying the traditional aristocracy and disciplining the Achenese society in the interest of royal control. He established a strict monopoly over the sources of tin and pepper, and made his state strong enough to face the Dutch challenge, both economic and military.[16]

In Bantem, even in early 17th century, real authority was in the hands of merchants and aristocrats. In the words of Van Leur, "each maintained his armed retinue of warriors, mercenaries and slaves." But it was in 1619 that the first step towards government control of the sale of pepper was taken in response to Dutch disruption of the market. This process first initiated by Sulan Abdul Kadir was carried further by his successor Sultan Abdul Fatah (1651-1683). His policy of state-trading with the help of Chinese and European crew to take his ships as far as Japan and India was highly successful.[17]

King Prasat Thong (1629-1656) of Ayuthia (Siam) also carried out a ruthless policy of centralisation expropriating one-third of the riches of the nobles at their death and compelling slavish loyalty from the monks and mandarins alike. He imposed a number of royal monopolies and started state-trading with the help of the Chinese.[18] His successor Narai pursued this policy with great success in co-operation with the Chinese and the British.

Some other states, like Pegu and Java, responded to the European challenge by retreating to their agricultural hinterland. The Burmans from Tungoo captured Pegu in 1539 and made it their capital. But their interests and problems lay in the north and the east, and they had to organise massive military operations to secure and to extend their frontiers in those directions. They had little time to spare for sea or trade and, when their capital was shifted to Ava in 1635, the Burmese finally turned their back to the sea and took to agriculture and isolationism.

Similarly, in Java too, the locus of power was pushed by the end of the 16th century away from the coast and its commercial concerns. In the 1580s Mataram, away from the coast, replaced Demak as the supreme power in central Java. Her Sultan Agung (1613-1645) recreated a United Kingdom of Java and subjugated the commercial city of Surabaya by 1625. But he himself monopolised rice-trading in 1641. No doubt, he could hold the Dutch at bay by uniting eastern and central Java under one central authority. But the cost was the destruction of the traditional trade and the once flourishing commercial cities of northern coast. His successor even forbade his subjects to take part in any form of external trade.

Along with the merchant oligarchies, the peculiar medieval South-East Asian political institution of female rulers also succumbed to the increasingly powerful external challenge. Right from the middle of the 15th century many maritime states, like Pegu, Ache, and Pattani, experimented with female rulers as an institutional device for sublimating—not substituting—the

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rivalries among the powerful nobles, while leaving their power and property intact.[19] However, by the second half of the 17th century, even this institution began facing a decline, mainly because the female rulers were considered incapable of meeting the external challenge and because the leading *Orang Kayas* were unable to carry on with their consensus in the new situation created by new challenges.

Thus, in the face of external challenges, mainly in the 17th century, South-East Asia's traditional structure of states underwent a serious transformation. Their trade suffered and gradually passed into the hands of foreigners; the former mercantile nobility lost their economic position and political power; the two-century old experiment with female rulers had to be given up; and in their place emerged centralised absolute monarchies which, as far as they could, either sought government monopoly of external trade or turned away from sea and trade to the green paddy fields of the interior. The transformation was apparently similar to what had happened in development in Western Europe were caused by bourgeois forces and ushered in the processes of capitalistic development, in South East Asia, on the contrary, the transformation was in response to external stimuli that arrested possible developments on capitalist lines.

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27

Aspects of Tribal Leadership in Modern Bihar

J. C. Jha

The study of the process and pattern of tribal leadership in India is generally neglected by the historians, but some anthropologists like L. P. Vidyarthi have touched upon tribal leadership in Chotanagpur (South Bihar) and presented its ecological, economic and social structural patterns.

It is well known that tribal leadership has been in transition in modern times as the processes of colonialism, Hinduization, modernization, industrialization, urbanization, etc., have strongly affected the tribal society and culture. This paper aims at focussing attention on the peculiarities of leadership in tribal Bihar since the late 18th century.

It is obvious that the tribal leaders in the early days of the British rule were illiterate, hardly aware of the immense harm the colonial system was doing to their society and economy. All the same, they knew that their traditional isolation was being encroached upon by the English East India Company's forces, subordinate non-tribal officers and their hangers-on.

The traditional pattern of leadership among the Munda, Oraon, Ho, Santal and Chero tribes was rural based. Efficiency in hunting, food gathering and cattle lifting, in warfare, in medicine or witchcraft made a man the leader of his society. Physical fitness was indeed a criterion of social recognition.

The pioneers of migration who cleared the land and introduced 'Jhum' (shifting cultivation) automatically became the leaders of the socio-economic milieu. The original clearers of the jungles were called the *Bhuuinhars* and *Khuntkattidars* among the Oraon and the Munda tribes. Every Munda and Ho village had its traditional leaders : the *Pahan, Munda* and *Mahto*. Every Santal village had a *Manjhi*. The leader of a circle of villages (*parha* or *patti*) in Chotanagpur was a *Manki*, enjoying a lot of influence in the area.

The *pahan* was a village priest, responsible for religious and ritualistic activities, but he was also responsible for re-allocating land and collecting such dues or services as were owed to the community.[3] In some areas of central Chotanagpur the *mahto* put pieces of earth at the four corners of a piece of land as its token acceptance.

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At festival times when the members of the *parha* assembled "to hunt, amuse themselves and decide disputes", the *manki* exercised authority.[4] He intervened when the representatives of one *parha* tried to make use of the distinguishing flag of another *parha* at their festivals.

The *munda* and the *mahto* were basically secular heads of the Munda villages, and as charismatic leaders they had important economic, social and political functions to perform. Particularly in the primary resistance movements they played a significant role.

With the advent of the British rule during 1760-65, a terrible situation was faced by the tribal leaders and people of the Chotanagpur plateau. The Company's forces pushed from the Burdwan and Birbhum side in Bengal in 1767, and from the Ramgarh side in Bihar from 1771 onwards. During this continued military operation those tribals who could shoot their arrows and handle their battle-axes well became the leaders of the tribal society. Such was their influence that they obstructed commerce between the Bengal and the Bihar districts. Some of these leaders were bandit chiefs. They fought bravely against the Company's forces.[5] The attachment of the tribals to their chief was proved beyond doubt. They would not tolerate the imposition of a new chief by the Company's local authorities.

Later when with the introduction of the Permanent Settlement of revenue in this backward area the new Zamīndārs and Jāgīrdārs began to encroach upon the *Bhuuinhari* and *Khuntkatti* lands, the *Bhuuinhars* and *Khuntkattidars* led their people against such encroachments.

Unfortunately the bigger tribal chiefs like the *Mahārāja*, the *Rājās* and the smaller *Jāgīrdārs* had meanwhile been Hinduised. Since they neglected the tribal masses, the village heads and smaller chiefs became the real leaders. In their resistance movements they could mobilise hundreds of bowmen.

Among the Santals the secular and religious leadership was combined into one. The leader of the village, *dharam manjhi* performed his duties with the assistance of his subordinates, *Jug manjhi* and *kutum manjhi*. There was a village council of elders to assist in the political work[6].

The Bhumije were called *chuars* because of their predatory activities. But now that they had to face the superior forces in the Company's army, their leaders carried their grains to the top of the hills for safety. They also constructed some forts of timber[7] and organised guerrilla attacks on the land survey parties.

The Hinduised Rani of the Bishnupur estate in the Midnapur district had only a nominal control over the tribal masses and their chiefs. On the other hand, in central Chotanagpur and Palamu the Hinduised mahāraja and the lesser chiefs had a closer control over their dependants.

Even so, the tribal followers of the Rani of Bishnupur, the Zamindar of Raipur and other traditional leaders of the tribal society disliked the hardships faced by their masters under the new dispensation of Lord Cornwallis (1793), and bravely opposed the entry of the new non-tribal zamīndārs and their men. In fact, from 1795 to 1800 A.D., they resisted the British authority under the Sunset laws. In Bishnupur alone, thousands of Bhumijes came under their local leaders for this purpose[8].

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The second level of leadership in this Chuar Rebellion was provided by the *ghatwals* (watchmen of the hill passes) who traditionally provided the police authority in Chotanagpur. These *paiks* had already encouraged the *raiyats* to refuse all revenue payments in the Birbhum district in 1781. They had done so as a protest against the extortionate demands of the zamīndār and his agents.[9]

Usually these watchmen were "contented, industrious, brave, truthful and confiding, much attached to their proprietors", but if opposed, a whole village would literally flee away in one night to a village of another zamīndār, whose "general character promised them better treatment."[10]

In 1781 the *ghatwals* as the leaders of the tribals had acted against their own chiefs, but now after the Permanent Settlement they themselves suffered, for the lands which for centuries they had enjoyed in lieu of their salary, were now resumed by the government; for their official work was now taken over by the new *darogās* under the Cornwallis system. No wonder, they joined hands with the former zamīndārs who had lost their estates.

The leadership pattern among the hill-cultivation type tribe of the Paharias, specially the Maler of the Rajmahal hills, was different. The *manjhiya* acted as the agent of the revenue officer in the village. He was a secular head, but at times acted as a priest. Among the religious leaders were the *Gorait, Demano* and the *Guru.*[11]

Soon after the advent of British rule in the Rajmahal area of the Jungle *tarai*, the Paharias rose in revolt as they disliked the encroachment upon their isolated existence.[12] Moreover, they wanted to punish the non-tribal zamīndārs of the plains who were intruding upon the tribal areas.[13] Also, there was great resentment against the failure of the administration during the famine of 1769-70. All these factors led the Paharia (Sauria and Maler) chiefs from the high hills to the village level to organise this uprising.

Even when the fort of the Paharia chief Jagannath Deo at Tiur was stormed by the Company's forces, the Paharia leaders did not surrender. Gradually a military officer secured their confidence and encouraged their settlement in the plains. Later, another competent officer invaded their strongholds and warned them that they would be held responsible for the losses sustained by their victims.[14]

Some Paharia chiefs did surrender, and many of them were employed in the Paharia corps of Archers.[15] Some recalcitrant *manjhiyas* were also punished. Even so, their sub-national feelings continued to grow.

Soon the Santals, who had been migrating to the Damin-i-koh, also rose in 1781 under Tilka Manjhi (1750-84), who was a charismatic leader. Like Robin Hood he looted the district treasury and distributed the loot among the poor. His followers included women who actively participated in the guerrilla warfare.

Tilka was captured and hanged and his family members were killed; but he aroused his followers to a new consciousness, a hankering for their own *rāj* in which there would be no exploitation.

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Faith in a saviour or Messiah or *avatār* (incarnation) of God who could come at a critical juncture to save the situation has been common among the tribals of Bihar. Tilka was deemed to be such a saviour. No wonder, the place where he was buried became a shrine and his statue is even now visited by relief-seekers.[17]

The position of the leader of messianic movements has not been uniform. Sometimes the so-called leader is just a figure-head and not the real driving force behind the movement.[18] In other cases a social group may initiate a movement, and then a leader may take over. In the tribal movements in Bihar, some outsiders did become the leaders as in the Kharwar Movement in 1870s and 1880s. Most of the tribal leaders used religion and superstition to activate their followers. They often pretended to possess divine power and were recipients of divine revelations as in the Santal uprising of 1855-56. Every such leader demanded and got the blind obedience of his followers.

In Tamar in central Chotanagpur, Rudan and Kanta were leaders of the Munda uprising of 1819-20. They encouraged their followers to rebel, following the murder of a so-called witch and convinced that a sorcerer had stopped the rain to damage their corps.[19]

A similar superstition led to the disturbances in Singhbhum when the image of a goddess Pauri devi was stolen from the Porahat estate. The Hos (Larka Kols) believed that if the image remained with the Hinduised chief of Saraikela, he would become powerful and oppress them.[20] Ultimately the image was restored to Porahat owing to British pressure, even though the leaders on both the sides were adamant to fight.

The leadership of the Munda (Kol) rising (1831-32) was different from that of the Bhumij Revolt (1832-33). The leaders of the first were the *mundas* (village heads), *pahans* and *mankis*.[21] The *mundas* and *mankis* of Bundu were led by a superior leader Lakhi Das. In Rahi also the *mundas* and *mankis* were hostile to the Hinduised rājā. Similarly, the rebels in Tamar *khas* were led by their *mankis* and *mundas*.

The Hos of Bandgaon under Bindrae Manki, a man of daring character, and Sui Munda of Godarpiri and other villages came to help the Mundas of Sonepur in central Chotanagpur. The tribesmen of Kochang and Tamar rose under the leadership of Desai Manki and Kartik Sardar, the heads of these villages. Other leaders were Mohan Manki, Sagar Manki, Surya Manki and Nagu Pahan, a daring man of Saradkol.[22]

The Rautias of Sonepur, Basia and other areas of Chotanagpur first gave the rebels moral support, and later cooperated in the plundering excursions. In fact, all the *mankis* and *mundas* of southern regions led the mobs.

In Palamu and Tori the Hinduised chiefs like Thakur Udainath Singh and Lal Maninath Sahi of Jugi led the rebels. Bhutnath of Sazardi and the Cheros, Kharwars and Poliars of Palamu were led by Dakhin Sahi, relative of a Ghatwal.[23]

The most eminent leader of the uprising was the Oraon (Dhangar) Buddhu Bhagat of Silligaon, who along with his men gave a stubborn resistance to the British forces. In the face of bullets they stood firm like a rock around their aged chief, but what chance had the bow and arrow against a round of musketry; or their battle-axe against pistols and sabres of the government troops.[24] Small

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wonder, that the old leader perished with his brother, sons and a couple of hundred followers.[25] The heads of Buddhu, his brother and nephew were brought to the joint commissioners.[26] Soon, lesser leaders began to surrender through their *pahans*, *mahtos*, etc.

Undoubtedly, led by their *manki, munda, bhagat* and *mahto*, the Mundas and the Oraons proved to be formidable fighters,the more so because they believed that their leaders would turn the bullets into water. When the rebels started submitting, this was also through the *mundas*, *pahans*, etc. The Government notices, warnings, etc., were also conveyed through these leaders, because the audience was illiterate. Some *mundas* came to the military camps and gave written *muchalakas* (securities) for their future good behaviour.[27]

In the Bhumij Revolt of Dalbhum and Manbhum (jungle Mahals), the supreme leader was a Hinduised chief Ganga Narain Singh, a disgruntled cousin of the zamīndār of the Barabhum *parganā*. Singh got his *ghatwal* followers implicated in the murder of the half-brother and *diwan* of the zamīndar, to secure their continued support. Ganga Narain gave a personal focus to the uprising, while the Munda uprising was more generalised.

Ganga Narain was the hero of the Bhumijes. His long years of destitution made him a man of iron will; and he planned his revenge properly.[28] He extended his family connections and developed the closest contact with the tribal *sardars* and the Bhumij masses. No wonder, he came to possess "great influence" among the Bhumijes and was later indebted to them for the necessities of life.[29] The tribal followers could not tolerate the neglect and torture of their favourite, able, cool and stern leader.

Ganga Narain was popularly held to be "a victim of circumstances". Through years of suffering he had become cruel at heart and at the same time cunning, making him peculiarly capable of leading a ferocious band of tribals.

Ganga had a "violent temper", and was directly responsible for the murder of several people. If he wanted somebody to be killed, he would tell his followers : show him across the hill pass. Soon the victim would be pushed down the Dulma hill.

Ganga wanted to stop the oppressions of the local zamīndārs and their protector, the Company's administration. He had a "considerable organising ability"[30]. Even though deserted by his friends and relatives, he struggled upto his last breath. According to Thompson, he was long remembered for his exploits. "Good-looking women were sure of his esteem". Besides, he was revered for his gallantry for a long time.

Ganga was sometimes believed to be the incarnation of Kāl, the Hindu god of death. Whereas in Chotanagpur proper, the government had offered a thousand rupees' reward for the seizure of the leader, Buddhu Bhagat, a sum of five thousand rupees was offered for the apprehension of Ganga Narain. The leaders in the Munda-Oraon rising in Chotanagpur, as noted above, were village and circle heads, and the Bhumij Revolt was led by Ganga Narain and his supporters like Sardar Ghatwals, ghatwals and minor chiefs.

The leadership of the *hool* (the Santhal uprising) of 1855-56 was in the hands of four brothers: Sidhu, Kanhu, Chand and Bhairav. It was rumoured that Sidhu and Kanhu were at home one night

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when a bit of paper fell on Sidhu's head, and suddenly the Thakur (God) appeared before their astonished gaze. God was like a white man even though dressed in the Indian style. Another piece of paper fell on Sidhu's head. The apparition of the Thakur came every day for a week, directing them to collect and pay the revenue to the state at the rate of two annas per buffalo plough, and half anna per cow plough per annum.[31]

Now the Santals believed that the Santal raj had replaced the British *rāj* and these leaders were regarded as the representatives of the Thakur. They pointed out to the fellow Santals that there was a lot of sin in the Santal society. The *dikus* (non-tribal traders and landlords and all the rich Bengalis) were to be driven out of this area. The British were to be fought tooth and nail.[32]

Sidhu and Kanhu ordered that one man from each family should come forward to fight the aliens. In the new military organisation of the rebels, the two leaders would be the highest officers and their closest relatives and friends would be the lieutenants (*nāibs, darogās*, etc.), whom the Santals were to obey promptly and blindly. For the success of the revolt, they ordered the eradication of all the evil spirits residing in the villages.[33]

Ranjit Guha has criticised some Indian and British writers for describing the Santal leaders' claim to divine support for the *hool* as propaganda meant to "inspire the Santals to rise in revolt."[34] S.Fuchs calls this uprising a messianic movement. The village of Sidhu became a sacred place, where the Santals flocked to worship this martyr.[35]

Once again in the early 1870s, the Santals of the Santal Parganas had a charismatic leader in Bhagrit (Bhagīrath) Manjhi of Taldinha. He claimed to be a religious leader (*bābājī*) in 1871. He was influenced both by Christianity and Hinduism. He gave audience to his devotees in the morning, hearing their complaints and assuring them redress of their grievances by the grace of God. Bhagīrath claimed to be a prophet, an intermediary between the supernatural and the material world. The devotees brought to him a leaf full of rice, some milk, some betel-nut and the smallest copper coin. They had to become vegetarians and teetotallers and to kill their fowls and pigs.

Bhagīrath's was a revitalisation movement, aimed at returning to the golden era of the Santal history when they had lived in Champā. Bhagīrath used to say. "No human being created this earth or sends rain and sunshine, no human being has cleaned or ploughed our land, but ourselves".[36]

Bhagīrath and his associate Gyan Paraganait wanted to liberate their fellow tribals by winning over the principal goddesses of the Hindu Zamīndārs, *Singh vāhinī*. Bhagīrath was first looked upon by his devotees as their spiritual leader, but eventually he added a political dimension to his Sapha Hor Movement.

As sidhu and Kanhu were during the uprising of 1855-56 the representatives of Suba Thakur, so Bhagīrath became the representative of Ram Chando during the Kharwar Movement. Bhagīrath was considered an intermediary between the supernatural and the material world.

Some Kharwars were active in the Purulia area in Chotanagpur around 1876, where their leader was Dulae Manjhi. Another permanent leader was Dubia Gosain (*Bābājī*), whose austerities attracted the attention of the Santals of Hazaribagh and the Santal Parganas. He is said to have come from Lucknow, where he was later under house arrest.[37]

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The *Sardāri Laṛāi* (war of leaders) of Chotanagpur (1850-1890) was led by the tribal *sardārs*. The leaders bitterly attacked forced labour and praedial conditions. They preferred a moderate constitutional agitation like the Kharwar movement of the Santals. They did not trust the non-tribal non-white judicial, civil and police officers.[38]

Like the leaders of the uprisings of 1819-20 and 1831-32, the *sardārs* claimed to be the descendants of the original clearers of the land.[39] On the one hand the *sardārs* reminded their followers of the heroic deeds of the leaders of the previous tribal uprisings; on the other they asked them to adopt the new means of prayer, protest and petition like that of the Moderates in the Indian National Congress, to win back the pre-colonial state of affairs. They often refused to pay land revenue.

In 1895 the Sardār agitation was taken over by a Messiah Birsa Munda of Chalkad. He possessed remarkably attractive features and was of more than average intelligence.[40] This charismatic leader dreamt one day of a grey-haired old man who sat on a chairs with a spear in his hand. He planted a mahua tree on the fallow land and smeared it with oil and butter to make it smooth and slippery, and left a valuable object on its top. The old man called upon the *bonga* (spirit), a Rājā, a judge and Birsa to climb the tree and bring down the object from the top. The first three failed, but Birsa succeeded.[41]

The old man was Singh Bonga, around whom a myth had been created by the Mundas. There were people in heaven in the remote past serving Singh Bonga, who sent two king crows and an owl to warn bad people on the earth. Since these bad people did not obey Singh Bonga, they were destroyed. Their women were assigned separate duties.[42]

Birsa's dream was a subconscious projection of his conflicts, his confrontation with the three enemies of the Munda tribe : the judge represented the British authorities, the Rājā the Zamīndār, and the Bonga, the old religion. Birsa took his triumph in his dream as divine sanction of his mission; and he claimed that the had got back for his people their lost kingdom. He was called the *Dharati Abā* (Father of the world), and was credited with miraculous powers.

Birsa's millenarianism (belief in an imminent golden age) took a violent form. His *ulgulan* (Great Tumult) of 1895-1900 aimed at restoring the rights of the traditional *khuntkattidars* and *Bhuinhars*. Earlier, Birsa had participated in a movement to prevent village waste lands being taken over by the Forest Department.[43]

Thousands heard Birsa's word in a series of night meetings in 1898-99, where he urged the killing of the *thikādārs, Jāgīrdārs, rājās, hākims* and Christians, and promised that the bullets of the Government forces would turn to water. Effigies of the British rāj were burnt; and there was panic in 1900 in Ranchi.

Birsa died in jail. About 350 Mundas were put on trial, three were hanged and 44 transported for life. Birsa Bhagwan even now remains a living memory, as the apostle of a small religious sect and as a hero of moving folk songs. He is also the hero of those who are demanding a separate Jharkhand State, as well as of the extreme left.

At the turn of the last century messianic movements also occurred among the Oraons between

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1895-1900; and later during the First World War, various prophets (*bhagats*) arose among the Oraons.[44] These leaders called their movement *Kurukh Dharma* (the real and original religion of the Kurukh or Oraon). It was combination of religion and material as well as political ambitions. The *bhagats* (leaders) promised their followers deliverance from the bondage of capricious and blood-thirsty tribal spirits, as well as relief from an oppressive and unjust revenue system and from exploitation by the landlords, usurers and various petty government officials. They promised that through devotion to *Bhagawān*, the one true God, they would get relief from their agrarian grievances and economic depression. Besides, by practising the new faith they would rise in social status above Christian rivals and become equal to the Hindu who claimed social superiority over them and looked down upon them.

The leaders of the movement of Birsa were influenced by the Hindu culture as well as by Christianity. They declared that by adopting the worship of the spirits of the Mundas they had suffered, so they must abandon this worship and revert to the one God whom they had worshipped in the Golden Age. These *bhagats* invented a special ritual of exorcism for driving out these spirits.

Jatra Bhagat, a young leader of the Oraons spelled out these ideas clearly and soon had a quarter of a million followers in Ranchi, Palamu and Hazaribagh districts. He was of a contemplative bent of mind, and first wanted to be a religious leader (*ojhā* or *Matī*). In April 1914 he claimed to have seen the Supreme God *Dharmes* who asked him to propagate his message of truth. He asked his followers to abjure all animal sacrifices, give up exorcism and worship of spirits, animal food and liquor. The plough should be dragged by buffaloes and not by cows and bullocks. The Oraons should revert to *Jhum* (shifting cultivation) and they should not work as coolies or labourers.

When Jatra was imprisoned, his other *gurus* like Devamania of Batkuri preached his message.[45] This Tana Bhagat Movement was first a reformist movement and then an agrarian protest against the oppressions by the zamīndārs, the usurers, etc.

In 1919 Mayo Oraon of village Sero under the Riro police station in the Lohardaga subdivision of Ranchi led an Oraon mob of 800 with well decorated flags and camped within a grove. Another leader Sibu, a young *bhagat* of 20 years, told the local administration that *Bhagwān* had assured him that he was sure to become the leader of the world. He showed some scribblings in Hindi on a paper as the directions of God to reform the world. Sibu's followers believed that God would free them.

The Bhagats refused to pay any rent on the land and any *Chaukīdārī* tax; and imitated Bhagīrath, Dubia and Birsa Muṇḍa, making the new movement anti-zamīndār, anti-trader, anti-usurer and anti-government. In fact, the Thursday Schools of the Birsaits later got mixed up with the Tana Bhagat *ashrams* in the Karra and Torpa *thānās*. By 1920, the Tana Bhagat Movement became a part of the Indian National Movement, and its leaders were greatly influenced by Mahatma Gandhi and his non-cooperation Movement. They courted arrest as *Satyāgrahīs*, wearing *Khādī dhotī* and cap and unfurling the Congress flag.[46]

In 1930 Bangam Manjhi of Barobera started a reform movement among the Santals of Gomia. He claimed some mysterious inspiration and gathered a thousand disciples.[47] His simple teachings resembled those of the Kharwar Movement. He preached cleanliness of body, prohibited the buying

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of millwoven cloth and recommended *Khadi* for his followers. Since this was similar to the Swadeshī ideal of the Congress during the Civil Disobedience Movement, they joined the bandwagon of the Congress.

The Hari Baba Movement among the Mundas and the Hos also became a part of the Indian Nationalist Movement. The leader was Dukha Ho (Hari Bābā). Like the Birsāits and the Tana Bhagats, this movement decried the worship of the *bongas*, prescribed prayers on Thursdays, especially of the Hindu God Hanumān, and giving up of meat and drinks. Hari Baba also asked his followers to bathe twice a day, wear the sacred thread, worship the Tulsī (basil) plant in their compound, observe fast, recite *mantras*, and by shaking of the body and head reach a trance. He claimed to be a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi and looked forward to the day when Gandhi rāj would come.

Later these movements became a part of the Quit India Movement, and the tribal leadership was given due recognition by the Congress leadership.

The pattern of tribal leadership during the colonial rule changed from time to time. In the earlier period when the East India Company ruled, the tribal leadership of Bihar believed in violent protests against the *dikus* (aliens); but in the post-1857 period the Munda, Oraon and Santal leadership, except Birsa, believed in non-violent methods of protest, and their movements were revivalist or restorative. The leaders of the messianic movements soon realised that their resources for a campaign against their alien and vastly superior masters were inadequate. So they tried "quick and easy solutions" to their problems through magic and supernatural means. When the limited means failed, the followers got demoralised and frustrated. Most of the teachers being illiterate failed to realise the factors responsible for the superiority of their enemies, and often blamed their own religion and superstitions for their plight. These "religious prophets" often expected a paradise on the earth and believed that they could hasten the process of the arrival of a golden age.[48]

In recent decades the employed educated tribals have been more prominent within the secular leadership than the Mundas and Mahtos. During the present century the continuous efforts of the Christian missionaries for the uplift of the tribals created new norms for tribal leadership. Western - educated, urban-based Christian tribals have been more competent during the last half a century in interpreting and tackling the political situation, especially electoral adjustments. The first such leader was Jaipal Singh, who studied in England and was a keen sportsman. He first tried to negotiate with the then Congress President Rajendra Prasad to wrok for this national party on certain terms.[49]

Meanwhile, J. Bartholman, a young Christian student of the St. Columba's College, Hazaribagh, worked for the organisation of the separate Jharkhand Movement. Already the Chotanagpur *Unnati Samāj* (Improvement Society) had been organised by Theble Oraon, Bandi Oraon, the Rev.Jeol Larka and Paul Dayal and a few others. These tribal leaders later met the Simon Commission (1927) and the Cripps Mission (1942) from England, and placed their grievances before them.

A Kisān Sabhā was also organised by Theble Oraon, Paul Dayal and others. Later they put up candidates during the provincial elections of 1936-37. The Catholic tribals of Ranchi founded the Chotanagpur Catholic Sabhā. Boniface Lakra, its first president, and Ignes Beck, its first

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general secretary, nominated two candidates. They defeated the candidates of the Unnati Samāj and the Kisān Sabhā.

Ignes Beck approached the individual tribal leaders who agreed to have an alliance to contest the Ranchi Municipal elections;[50] and they did very well. Their Chotanagpur Ādivāsī Mahāsabhā wanted to end the *Dikurāj* and to have a separate state for this area.

Jaipal Singh who was working as an official of the Bikaner State, addressed the Adivāsī Mahāsabhā in April 1939, and eulogised the tribal elite for its work. Later he became its chairman.

In 1949-50 the Mahāsabhā was named the Jhārkhand Party to admit non-tribal members also into this organisation. Thus non-tribal, industrial workers and field labourers also joined it. But one of the later leaders S.K.Bage did not like this development. No wonder, in the mid-1960s, out of 17 persons deemed to be political leaders of this party, seven belonged to the converted tribal group; nine to various Hindu castes; and one was a Muslim. Among these leaders, S.K.Bage and Jaipal Singh were the top leaders—both highly educated Christians. The preference for converted tribal leaders was obvious. Ram Ratan Ram, a Hindū (Harijan) leader did not get much support, and later joined the Indian National Congress.

Jaipal Singh and Bage were preferred as "good persons with good behaviour", "honest leaders with a sense of responsibility", and they were deemed to be "their own tribal men".[51] Most of the other tribal Christian leaders were educated in Christian schools and brought up on a western model.

Among the non-Christian tribal leaders only a few were educated. A vast majority of the leaders were urban based, and a few of them came from the rural areas.

Eventually a few Hindu leaders got some important positions in the Jhārkhand Party. Gradually a new model of leadership emerged under the impact of growing industrialisation, urbanisation, new aspirations and mobility. For some years in the late 1960s and early 1970s the party leadership merged it into the Congress, and both Jaipal Singh and his wife Jahānārā got important assignments in the Bihar or Central Governments. Bage also got a berth in the K.B Sahay Cabinet.

During the last decade or so, Sibu Soren has emerged as a very important tribal leader. At one time in the late 1970s his followers believed that he could walk on water and eat fire, and bullets could not penetrate him.[52] He was expected to get the dream of a separate state realised. In the 1985 Assembly elections seven nominees of Soren-led Jharkhand *Mukti Morchā* were returned. In the 1990 Assembly elections the number has almost trebled, because during the last five years the separate tribal movement of Jharkhand has received a fillip.[53]

Besides Soren, leaders like Simon Marandi, Sushila Hansda, David Murmu of Hul-Jharkhand, Suraj Mandal and others have made their followers aware of how tribal Bihar has been neglected by the powers that be.

Now that J.M.M. has given support to the Coalition government of Bihar led by L.P.Yadav,[54] it is hoped that the tribal leaders will cooperate with the state government in ameliorating the condition of the tribals. The BJP which has secured 37 seats in the Bihar Legislative Assembly has been proposing a *vanānchal* for the proper uplift of tribal Bihar.

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It is unfortunate indeed that tribal leadership in Bihar has often been divided. The elements of jealousy, tribal rivalry, self-interest and short-sightedness have often plagued the leadership. Otherwise, tribal Bihar with rich mineral and other natural resources would not be in such a deplorable condition.

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28

Nijvṛttānta — A Sourcebook of Recent Religious History of Bihar

Surendra Gopal

Dr. Anand Yang in his bibliography of Vernacular sources appended to *The Limited Raj Agrarian Relations in Colonial India, Saran District, 1793-1920*, commented: "Vernacular sources have yet to be tapped in a significant way by historians of modern India".[1] His lament is unfortunately true, though greater attention is now being paid to the vernacular source for reconstructing the history of the nineteenth century. In case of the history of Bihar in the nineteenth century, some autobiographical works, one in Urdu, *Shād Kī Kahānī Shād Kī Zabāni* and the others in Bengalee such as P.C. Roy's *Aghore-Prakash* and Rajni Kant Guha's *Ātma Carita* have been partially used. Some others may have been similarly explored but there is still considerable ground to be covered. I am presenting an analysis of an autobiography published in 1901 in Patna in Hindi, by the Khadga Vilas Press. The author of the book, Pandit Ambikadutta Vyas came to Bihar as a Headmaster of Sanskrit School, Madhubani, in 1883,[3] and worked subsequently as Head Pandit in Zillah Schools run by the Government in Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur and Chapra. When he ends his narrative, he was still employed in the latter place. As a government servant he was in touch with the mind of the officials. As an orthodox Brahmin, who had gained expertise in the art of religious preaching and religious disputation, and who had been trained in Hindu theology and philosophy, he was in demand as a public speaker throughout Bihar. His reputation travelled far, and he was subsequently called upon to address audiences in other parts of India. He thus had a fairly large opportunity to come in close contact with a cross-section of the orthodox Hindu society.

Pandit Vyas was not solely confined to the class-room, but was interacting with several strata of the contemporary society. As a writer in Sanskrit and Hindi, he was aware of the prevailing intellectual climate. His autobiography *Nijvṛttānta*, though a small one (only 56 pages), provides us with a vivid picture of the religious ferment in which the orthodox Hindu society found itself. He also writes about aspects of the intellectual life of small urban centres in Bihar such as Madhubani, Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur and Chapra, where he stayed as an employee. Besides, he gives us a glimpse into the life-styles of Zamindars, and information about miscellaneous items,

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such as the close connection of Maithil Brahmins with the holy city of Banaras for obtaining religious education and expertise in Sanskrit, astronomy, philosophy, etc. He refers to Pandit Dhirnath Pathak, Pandit Bachkun Thakur, etc.[4]

It may be mentioned that the book also has a special significance in the history of Hindi literature. Shri Shivapujan Sahay, an eminent Hindi litterateur wrote in December 1930 "...I feel that the autobiography of Swami Sraddhanand Sanyasi entitled *Kalyan Path Ka Pathik* was probably the first autobiography in Hindi".[5] Possibly, he was not aware of *Nijvṛttānta*, published much earlier. Hence, the book should be considered as one of the earliest pieces of autobiographical writing in Hindi.

After the establishment of Ārya Samāj, its founder Dayanand Saraswatī was invited to Bihar, where a core of his followers already existed.[6] Dayanand's attack on idol-worship, caste-system, priesthood and a variety of rituals practised by orthodox Hindus evoked protest from the conservative followers of the traditional Hindu faith. Hence, from the very beginning, Dayanand had to argue and establish his position in religious disputation. Pandit Vyas as a young man entered into dispute with Dayanand at Banaras in 1879,[7] and was well aware of the tenets of the Ārya Samāj and the orthodox Hindu position he was called upon to sustain. Hence, after he settled down in Madhubani, where he took up his first assignment in Bihar as head of a Sanskrit School, he was invited to refute the doctrines of Ārya Samāj in public meetings in different parts of Bihar. In 1885 he spoke at Darbhanga, Patna and Kapileswar in favour of Hindu orthodoxy.[8] As his career shows, public defence of the position of orthodox Hindus became an integral part of his activities.[9] In 1885 on the occasion of the Hindu festival of Janmāṣṭamī, he was invited to speak at Patna[10]. The same year, under the auspices of the Dharma Sabhā, organization set up by traditionalists among the Hindus to respond to the challenge posed by the Ārya Samāj at Patna, he was specifically asked to refute an Ārya Samājī preacher Sahajānand Saraswatī. According to Pandit Vyas, the meeting was held at the then Government College, now known as Patna College, and the audience was overflowing the hall.[11] The speech was published in the same year in the form of a booklet entitled *Dayanand Mat Mūloccheda* in Hindi, by the Khadga Vilas Press, Patna.[12] While Sahajānand Saraswatī did not face him, another Ārya Samājī preacher Bhīm Sen Sharmā did enter into a dispute with a student of Pandit Vyas.[13]

The pamphlet further enhanced the reputation of Pandit Vyas as a powerful public supporter of the Sanātanist position; in Patna he again spoke at the Bihar National High School, and upheld the traditional Hindu religion.[14]

In 1886, he was invited by a local Zamindar and leading citizen of Muzaffarpur, Sri Parmeshwar Nath Mahtha; he delivered speeches against the tenets of Ārya Samāj for 'three or four days' under the auspices of the local Dharma Samāj.[15]

On 25 June, 1886, he joined the Muzaffarpur Zila High School as the Head Pandit. He speaks of the Dharma Sabhā being reactivated in the neighbouring towns of Motihari, Hajipur and Darbhanga. The Maharaja of Darbhanga requested him to make public speeches in defence of the traditional Hindu religion at Darbhanga.[16]

During this period two leading citizens of Muzaffarpur, Rai Rameshwer Narain and Rai

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Parmeshwar Narayan Mahtha decided to hold a joint session of all the Dharma Sabhās in Bihar. It took place at Sonepur on the occasion of the world-famous Harihar Kshetra Fair in the month of November.[17] The vast congregation of people from all over Bihar as well as from outside provided the preachers with an opportunity to put across their views to a vast audience; and this was taken advantage of even by the Ārya Samājists. In addition to its role in economic, social, religious and cultural life, the fair also became a platform for mobilisation of masses by the protagonists of contending ideologies.

An All India Session of Dharma Sabhās was held at Haridwar in Uttar Pradesh under the auspices of Bhārat Dharma Mahāmaṇḍal; Pandit Vyas was one of the participants along with others from Bihar.[18] It was here that the title of 'Bihār Vihbūṣaṇa' was conferred upon him, and he came in touch with the leading lights of Dharma Sabhās in the Punjab and other parts of North and West India, who opposed the spread of the teachings of the Ārya Samāj.[19] Subsequently, they invited Pandit Vyas to tour North West India and put across the views of the Sanatani Hindus to the masses.

Pandit Vyas continued his activities in this field even after he moved to Bhagalpur on 13 August, 1887. The Ārya Samājī preachers were invited for a public disputation with Pandit Vyas by the Sanatani Hindus. Here he organized a Sunīti Sancāriṇi Sabhā, as he had already done in Patna, for upholding and imbuing the young minds with Hindu values.[20] He addressed meetings at Sultanganj, Patna and other places for the purpose.[21] He again participated in the All India Session of Bhārat Dharma Mahāmaṇḍal, held at Delhi, and was awarded several gold medals by the Maharaja of Darbhanga.[22]

In short, the work is invaluable for reconstructing the history of the Dharma Sabhā movement in Bihar in the eighties and nineties of the last century. It enables us to assess the ripples that were created by the nascent organization of Ārya Samāj among the orthodox sections of the Hindus. It brings out the class composition of the supporters of the movement. They were primarily big Zamindars unlike in Bengal, where a protestant faith like Brahmo Samāj was able to draw upon the partonage of leading magnates of landed aristocracy. The absence of the big Zamindars among its ranks partially explains the inability of the Ārya Samāj to make much headway in Bihar.

It is unfortunate that Pandit Vyas did not dwell upon the content of his speeches and the reaction evoked by them either among his supporters or his opponents. Hence, we are not in position to follow the nature of pro-or anti-orthodoxy discourse.

Another important piece of information provided by the account concerns the formation of the Bihār Sanskrit Sanjīvinī Samāj in 1887, and the role of English officials. In 1885 while Pandit Vyas was the headmaster of Madhubani Sanskrit School, John Van Samaren Pope, the Inspector of Schools visited him and asked him to suggest measures for the propagation of Sanskrit.[23] The author gave him a written proposal and subsequently, as he claims, on its basis, the Bihār Sanskrit Sanjīvinī Samāj was established in the Office of the Inspector of Schools at Patna. Its initial budget was fixed at Rs. 1700 per annum, out of which R. 500/- were provided by the government . The rest was to be collected through public subscription.[24] An Englishman Terry became the first secretary, but after he left Ambika Aditla Vyas took over.[25] Dr C.A. Martin, who became the Inspector of

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Schools in 1888, was keenly interested in the propagation of Sanskrit. He, accompanied by Pandit Vyas, visited almost all the districts in order to further the cause of Sanskrit. [26] It was in pursuance of this objective that the author helped set up a Sanskrit School in Bhagalpur in 1899.[27] What could be the motive of British officials? Was it to fuel the fire of controversy raging between the Sanatnists and the Ārya Samājists? Or was it to reinforce the position of the orthodoxy by patronising Sanskrit and thereby giving a renewed fillip to the traditional system of education.

There is great deal of information about other matters which adds to the value of his work as a source book for the history of Bihar.

For example, he refers to a number of printing presses from where his books were published, besides the well-known Khadga Vilas Press of Patna. His book *Man Umang* was brought out by Narayan Yantralaya, Muzaffarpur, in 1887.[28] The same press also published other works of the author, namely, *Sukavi Satsai* and *Kaliyug Aur Ghee*.[29] He set up his own press, Vyas Yantraṇālaya, while serving at Bhagalpur; and his books including *Abodhnivāraṇa* (the work pointed out mistakes committed in the use of Sanskrit language by Swami Dayanand Saraswati), a compendium of *Sūtras* of Pantañjali in Hindi, in 1891,[30] a commentary on *Sāmkhyasāgara Sudhā* by Mahabir Prasad Pandey in 1895, etc., were published by it.[31] An year earlier in 1894, he had published from the same press a novel *Aścarya Vrittānta*, which he had begun writing in 1874.[32] This is among the earliest novels in Hindi, especially written and published in Bihar.

The growth of printing presses in different towns, while pointing to a simultaneous growth in literacy, also helps us to fill in details in the history of the growth of Hindi, Literature and Journalism in Bihar. Pandit Vyas decided to bring out a monthly journal in Hindi, *Vaiṣṇava Patrikā*. The name was selected because he felt it would appeal to the religious themes. He found the public response lukewarm; some considered it a religious journal and ignored it; the religious-minded found its content too diversified for their taste. He eventually realised his mistake and changed its caption to *Pīyush Pravāh* in 1884.[33] He noted that it was a Herculean task to bring out a journal on one's own and get it printed in time by other presses. Hence, at Bhagalpur, he set up his own press.[34] A writer in Hindi in those days had to be his own publisher!

Other interesting information pertains to the history of Patna. The Vaiṣṇavas belonging to the sect of Vallabhācārya had a strong following in the city. Hence, distinguished saints and preachers from different parts of India visited this place. It was at Patna that he became acquainted with Goswami Shri Jiwanlal from Porbandar, and stayed with him in the city for a month. Pandit Vyas later on accompanied him on a tour of western India.[35]

The autobiography also brings to light the fact that the big landlords continued to be the chief patrons of literary activities along with the active association with the Dharma Sabhā movement. The biggest landlord of Bihar, Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh of Darbhanga encouraged him to write poetry and also accepted his proposal to permit him to compose a drama. Pandit Vyas sent every chapter after it was completed to the Maharaja by post. It was finally completed in 1880 A.D., and printed in 1888 A.D. The Maharaja rewarded him for this in 1893.[36]

Cholera broke out in Madhubani in epidemic form in 1886, and the school where he worked was closed. He left the place and went to another landlord and a great patron of learning, Lal Khadgamel, and spent his time composing and reciting poetry.[37] On the encouragement given by

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the Raja of Suryapura and other landlords, he wrote a gist of *Sanskritgadyadāvyamīmānsā* in Hindi, which was published by the Kashi Nagari Prachauni Sabha.[38]

Some light is thrown on the way the landlord and the elites expressed their loyalty to the ruling British sovereign. He was in Muzaffarpur when the golden jubilee of Queen Victoria, the Empress of India, was celebrated. On this occasion Rai Parmeshwar Narayan Mahtha got a work *Puṣpavarṣa* composed by Pandit Vyas for presentation to the Queen Empress. He published and distributed it. The work was a dialogue in poetry between two flying birds, bestowing praise on the reign of the Queen.[39] Pandit Vyas wrote *Bharatsambhāgya*, a drama, on the request of Maharaj Kumar Ramdin Singh. The latter published and distributed it at his own cost.[40] The landlords vied with each other in their expression of loyalty to the Queen.

The author also notes lavish expenditure incurred by the big landlords in connection with marriage rituals. When the daughter of Maharaja of Dumraon was to go to her father-in-law's place, the Maharaja of Rewa, a big function was organised, to which Pandit Vyas was an invitee. A large number of big zamindars of the province gathered on the occasion. Here he met the Maharaja of Huthwa, another big Zamindar of Bihar. The author commented it was difficult to find another similar person, "so deeply religious and parsimonious".[41]

The Zamindars rendered assistance in time of need. When the house of Pandit Vyas was burnt, the Zamindars of Madhubani, Babu Harshadhari Singh and Babu Tantradhari Singh helped him to rebuild.[42]

One also comes to know about certain well-known personalities of his time. The author refers to the friendship he formed with a saint Yogirāj Mahant Laxmandasji of Madhubani. He was greatly revered and well-renowned.[43]

In brief, the work gives us a good idea of the issues that agitated the minds of orthodox Hindus consequent upon the rise of the Ārya Samāj. We learn of the foundation and early activities of a Bihār Sanskrit Sanjīvinī Samaj. We gather a lot of miscellaneous information which helps in reconstructing the picture of society in Bihar towards the close of the nineteenth century.

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10. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
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29

Indian Revolutionaries and the Neutrality of China, 1915-1917

Don Dignan

On the fiftieth anniversary of the British capitulation in Singapore in February 1942, the newly installed Australian prime minister of Irish Catholic descent, Paul Keating, used the occasion to give a new impetus to the growth of republican sentiment in Australia. With unprecedented support in public opinion, as measured by newspaper sponsored polls, he criticised the survival of an immature colonial fawning on the imperial ruling elites. These had always fostered the welfare of Mother England at the expense of her sons and daughters who had left home to strive for themselves in faraway overseas lands.

Subjected to the scrutiny of current Australian republicanism, without his "finest hour" halo, was the February 1942 record of Winston Spencer Churchill. Insufficiently dismayed by the total capture of one of Australia's four imperial expeditionary divisions—the Eighth—in the bungled defence of Malaya, the British prime minister then attempted to divert the Seventh Division, who were on their way home from the Middle East to defend the Papuan ramparts of their homeland, into certain loss in a rapidly collapsing British Burma.

Like almost all members of "the few hundred great families who," Churchill once wrote, "had governed England for so many generations and had seen her rise to the pinnacle of her glory"[1], Churchill never set foot in Australia during his long life. However, like all of this little oligarchy, he well understood that it was British India that had made Great Britain great. As Lord Curzon phrased it, not long after Churchill began his own career as a young subaltern sahib in India, Great Britain would cease to be great if ever she were to lose that jewel in her imperial diadem. As a young Sandhurst trained lieutenant in the British Indian army Churchill too, like the great Edwardian viceroy, basked in the splendour of it all:

> If you liked to be waited on and relieved of home worries, India in 1900 was perfection . . . Princes could live no better than we . . . We certainly felt . . . the keenest realisation of the great work which England was doing in India and of her high mission to rule these primitive but agreeable races for their welfare *and our own.*[2]

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These were the attitudes which moved Churchill a few years after publishing these reminiscences in 1930 to carry his campaign against the Government of India Act of 1935 to the mills of Lancashire, warning the workers there that their jobs would be lost if India gained dominion status. It was this cast of mind, even during the crisis of World War II, that inspired him to declare that he had "not become the King's First Minister to preside over the dissolution of the British Empire."

Yet he was not alone. He spoke for a century-old foreign policy tradition, which had led the British government to take great risks, even unnecessary risks, with national interests deemed to be of lesser importance than the preservation of political and economic dominion in India.

This is not the place to repeat a synthesis of the literature which has measured the size of the British stake in India. That the present author has published elsewhere.[3] What is important here in unearthing a long buried episode in British Far Eastern policy is the manner in which the seriousness of the threat to British Indian interests was so often assessed in proportion to the size of the stake rather than by the degree of the probable danger to it. The exaggerated Russophobia of the nineteenth century, which led first to the absurd Crimean War of 1854-55 and later to the fearful fantasies of how British India might be threatened from Russian Central Asia are well known. Consequently, when Imperial Germany decided to throw the support of well-funded agents in her East Asian diplomatic missions behind the pre-Gandhian Indian revolutionaries, she was certain to provoke hazardous British diplomatic over-reactions.

The successful response of Japanese nationalism to the challenge of European imperialism and the problems that Indian nationalists had already created for the British rulers of India before 1914 made it unlikely that Asian societies would remain under Western dominance for most of the twentieth century. However, the great European states hastened the end of this short phase in world history by the fratricidal damage that they did to each other, and by their new willingness to support revolutionary nationalism in the subject dominions of their rivals as a weapon of war. Both sides resorted to these subversive tactics in the course of the First World War. The British, certainly with reluctance, responded to a desperate military situation in the Middle East by inciting revolutionary Arab nationalism against a Turkish empire which for the greater part of the previous century they had attempted to buttress for fear of a supposed Russian menace to their lifelines to India. This subversionary tactic boomeranged severely against them in the years after the war.

Probably the British would not have risked using nationalism among the subject peoples of an enemy power as a strategic weapon if the Germans had not, in the first two years of the war, attempted to promote nationalist risings against British rule in India and also encouraged their Turkish allies to try to deploy Islamic fraternalism towards the same end. Large sections of the elite in Wilhelmine Germany had become very jealous of British imperial splendour. They were also aware of how crucial India had become in an oceanic British economy based upon its classic export staples and on the Edwardian overseas investment boom. Here perhaps was the great empire's Achilles' heel. In 1911 a former member of the German General Staff, General Friendrich von Bernhardi, in a work very soon republished in English as *Germany and the Next War*, argued that the Hindu population of Bengal in which pronounced revolutionary and nationalist tendency showed itself might unite with the Muhammadans [sic] and that the cooperation of these elements

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might create a very great danger capable of shaking the foundations of England's high position in the world.[4] On the eve of the war on 6 March 1914 the *Berliner Tageblatt* published an article on "England's Indian Trouble", which painted a very gloomy situation in India and reported that secret societies flourished and spread and were helped from outside.[5] In his often hysterical fashion Kaiser Wilhelm II himself joined in this chorus. Six years earlier he had written that "the British had better realise that war with Germany means the loss of India, and there with the World War"; and now in July 1914 he demanded that "our consuls in Turkey and India, agents etc., must inflame the whole Mohammedan world to wild revolt against this conscienceless people of hagglers: for if we are bled to death at least England shall lose India."[6]

Encouraged by all this a number of expatriate Indian revolutionaries were encouraged to come to Berlin, where an Indian nationalist committee was established. Its mission was to promote risings in India with the financial and organisational support of the German Foreign Office and the German General Staff. How much senior German strategists hoped that the Indian revolutionaries would be able to achieve with German or Turkish support is immpossible to assess. If the 1952 memoirs of Franz von Papen, the notoriously devious German Nationalist leader and diplomat in both world wars, are to be believed, the maximum that German planners thought was attainable in the face of the long established British Raj was to create a number of local disturbance that would compel Britain to retain troops in India which otherwise would be sent to one of the war fronts. Yet in view of Captain Von Papen's two bungled attempts during the first half of 1915 to organise from his base in the German Embassy in Washington large shipments of arms into India, this might have been a retrospective and self-justifying rationalisation.

Certainly the Indian situation in 1915 gave the Germans some cause for early optimism, and the British for belated anxieties. In overreacting to contemporary events neither could have the historian's advantaged perspective of knowing the consequences of their actions. In late 1914 the British had been encouraged by the support which the moderate majority in the Indian Congress gave to the Empire's cause in the war to transfer large sections of the British Indian army — the only sizeable army which the imperial government had at that time — to the Mesopotamian and French fronts. India became lightly garrisoned, especially with European troops.

Partly because of this reduction in the British military capacity to deal with any serious threat to internal security in India, the projected Ghadr rising of February 1915, despite its abortion after British Indian police infiltrated an informer into the ranks of the conspirators, was subsequently assessed by the Government of India as having had enormous potential danger for the stability of the wartime Raj. The Commissioners in the Lahore Conspiracy Trials of April 26 to September 13, 1915, who had been vested with exceptional judicial powers under the Defence of India Act, reported that " the almost reckless courage with which Kirpal Singh, the police informer, undertook the whole work of ingratiating himself at the risk of his life with the conspirators... saved the country from what might have proved a very serious outbreak on the 19th Februrary."[7]

Of the 291 accused brought before the special tribunals 42 were sentenced to death, 114 transported (to the Andamans) for life and 93 given shorter terms of imprisonment. Court martials which dealt at the same time with a mutinous Meerut cavalry regiment, sentenced 18 to death, of whom 12 were actually executed.

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In fearing that they might be faced with a modern nationalist version of the crisis of 1857, the British may have succumbed to the common erroneous temptation of fearing a repetition of too well remembered recent history. Yet to understand the extent of their awakened response during 1915 it is significant to note that three years later the Rowlatt Committee in reviewing the history of Indian "sedition" during the previous years of the war took the view that:

> it is evident that the *Ghadr* movement in the Punjab came within an ace of causing widespread bloodshed. With the high-spirited and adventurous Sikhs the interval between thought and action is short. If captured by inflammatory appeals, they are prone to act with all possible celerity and in a fashion dangerous to the whole fabric of order and constitutional rule.[8]

Not all the risings aborted. Although a revolt of the 130th Baluchi Regiment in Rangoon planned for 21 January 1915 was forestalled on 28 December, and 200 plotters arrested and punished, a serious mutiny of the Muslim 5th Infantry Battalion in Singapore occurred on 15 Feburary 1915. Curiously this became the same fateful date on which the vaunted "impregnable base" ignominiously surrendered twenty-seven years later in 1942. After releasing the German prisoners in the military prison, 700 of the mutineers ran amok in the streets of Singapore for two days. Before they were suppressed, they killed 44 officers, soldiers and civilians, including eight senior British officials. There was no record of the number of mutineers killed during the rising, but 37 of the 126 summarily courtmartialled were executed publicly; 41 were transported for life and the remainder sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment.[9] Singapore remained under martial law for the remainder of the war.

All these ominous events which caused the British to fear for worse to come and the Germans to hope for it, occurred before German officials began to give financial and organisational support to the Indian revolutionaries. In the first six months of the war, probably because they were confident of a rapid military victory in France, the Germans held back. In so doing they may have lost opportunities that would not recur. This was certainly the view of David Petrie of the Indian Criminal Investigation Department, who was given the task in September 1915 of coordinating counter-insurgency measures in the Far East.[10] In reviewing the balance sheet of two years of Indian revolutionary efforts from his base in Shanghai in December 1916, Petrie wrote:

> I hold that the Germans lost the best opportunity they are ever likely to be afforded in failing to finance the early thousands of *Ghadr* conspirators who flowed into India on the outbreak of war. Physically many of these men were magnificent. Many had military training and got back inside India before the Government had full information as to their true character and intentions. Those who have not returned are the dregs of the conspiracy, men who are more ready to speak than to act."[11]

Although the Singapore enquiry into the origins of the mutiny produced no evidences of either German or expatriate Indian revolutionary involvement, the very first unwelcome task of the recently arrived G.O.C.Singapore, Brigadier General Dudley Ridout, on taking over command from his predecessor, was to put down the mutiny. Understandably then, he and the new naval commander for the Far East, Admiral W.L. Grant, set out with great vigour to combat Indian revolutionary enterprises originating from outside India. Very early they enjoyed lucky breaks into

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the heart of the Indo-German schemes. Key agents sold out to the British as double agents either for original monetary motives or after Ridout had threatened to put them immediately in front of firing squads. *Oren*, an agent with a German father and Swedish mother offered his services to the British Consul-General in Batavia for 500,000 florins, and was given a down payment of 100,000 florins.[12] He proved to be a minor Far Eastern agent on the fringes of the schemes. The big catch was George Vincent Kraft, born of a Dutch father and German mother, who was a direct agent of the Berlin Committee. Kraft may have calculated at the outset that the Indo-German schemes were so fanciful that he might do better by milking both sides. On his arrival in the neutral Dutch East Indies, he tipped off the Singapore authorities that a German agent would soon be arriving in Singapore; and he then proceeded there carrying on his person with scant concealment documents of the most important kind. On his arrest by the waiting authorities he feigned fear when Ridout threatened him with immediate execution, and so readily agreed to be bought. It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which Kraft actually operated as more than a double agent, but as an *agent provocateur*, actually proposing expensive schemes to his German primary employers so that he could then sell them to the British. The extent of his greed is exemplified by his attitude in March 1918 when M.I.5 promised him 15,000 pounds to be held in a London bank until the end of the war, conditional on his good behaviour. He immediately asked whether he would also benefit from the interest which accrued on the reward as it lay there.[13]

Kraft's information to the British was so comprehensive that an M.I.5 7,000 word print of April 1916 entitled. *Note on German-Indian Plots for the Supply of arms to Indian Revolutionaries*[14] contains all the main details of that scholars have subsequently been able to glean from the German records opened after 1945.

After the failure of Von Papen's two efforts to ship arms into India from the United States, the Germans directed their remaining efforts from their consulate general in Shanghai. All of the Chinese treaty ports had sizeable Indian communities, mainly of Sikhs employed in the police forces of the foreign concessions or as watchmen for foreign firms. Many of these Sikhs were disaffected with British imperialism, and some had already been recruited by the *Ghadr* revolutionaries. China was also a fruitful source of arms obtainable from arms dealers from Chinese arsenals, though the German consulate was reported to have in hand at least 22,000 Mausers and eight million cartridges ready for shipment to India. Just how successful the German consular agents were at getting arms into India through the tightening British net is impossible to assess. However, the present author was astonished to met in the late 1970s, in retirement in the little Queensland country town of Eumundi, an aged German, who had been born in the international settlement in Shanghai and clearly remembered how as a young boy he had been asked to sit on concealed crates of arms being transported by cart down to the wharves to be loaded on to small ships bound for India.

On the other hand the anxious British may well have been the victims of unscrupulous arms dealers playing off both sides. An American merchant of death named Gilmore, in the process of selling his services to General Ridout in Singapore, claimed that in August 1915, 1,000 secondhand revolvers had been shipped in jars to Colombo for re-exportation to India. Japanese glass blowers had been engaged to blow a bottle around each revolver, and the bottles were then filled with thick black oil. Gilmore told Ridout that German agents in Shanghai had recently received a remittance of $250,000 in gold to apply to these schemes.

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An associate of Gilmore named Lewis was not so lucky. He was introduced to the British Consul-General in Shanghai by Gilmore, and after weeks of negotiations they came to terms under which Lewis handed over names of individuals engaged in the arms traffic, and documents that recorded arms shipments already made. With this evidence the British Consul-General was able to make arrests and begin prosecutions under the extra-territorial laws of the international settlement. On or about 1 January 1916 Lewis paid a price for betraying his original employers when hired assassins threw a bomb which failed to kill him, but shattered one of his eardrums.[16] Nonetheless, as a result of Kraft's information a Chinese agent on his way to India carrying $10,000 was arrested by Ridout and *turned around*. He was also persuaded to draw from a Singapore bank 60,000 guilders belonging to his German employers, which the British were then able to use to buy more information in their counter-insurgency campaign.

The negligible results that the Germans achieved with all the money and efforts which they expended on Indian revolutionary schemes in 1915 should have deterred the British from major diplomatic responses to what turned out to be pinpricks. By the end of the year they should have been able to anticipate the bitter racist assessment contained in a German document which they obtained from a top secret source in May,1916:

> Practical experience of Indian Nationalists is discouraging. They are heroes only in words, delighting to be photographed in martial apparel and heroic postures. Until the day for action arrives they are prodigal of grandiloquent phrases — when it comes they at once seek, and always find, reasons to avoid their obligations, and evince a strong desire to return to their safe lairs in America, where, living on the earnings of their women, they can lead the lazy life suitable to the temperament of weak poseurs delighting in their reputations of agitators and martyrs.[17]

The situation inside India itself, the German document concluded was most unpromising. According to reports practically no arms had come in, and the revolutionaries were "scattered and disheartened." Moreover, the "oppression of a population who are cowardly in any circumstances, induces little hope that revolution will come from the people." Too little weight had been attributed to "the classes friendly to England who had every reason to support British dominance."[18]

Nothing then that occurred during 1915 justified the British diplomatic offensives in late 1915 and early 1916 against the attitudes of the United States, China and Japan to the activities of Indian revolutionaries within their jurisdiction. However, it was not the minimal size of the actual threat to British rule in India but the historic British supersensitivity to the size of their stake in that subcontinent that led them into what were dangerous diplomatic initiatives in these months.

Although Admiral Grant had become convinced by the end of 1915 that the measures he and Ridout were taking had brought the Indian revolutionary problem almost totally under control, it was his standard instructions to Far Eastern naval commanders that led to the provocative actions of the merchant cruiser H.M.S.*Laurentic* in early 1916. On February 18 *Laurentic* on patrol ten miles from the mouth of the Yangtse, fired blank charges and projectiles at the American steamer *S.S.China*. A heavily armed boarding party then ignored the American captain's protests and removed from his ship twentyeight Germans, eight Austrians and two Turks, who were subsequently sent off to internment in Australia. At the highest diplomatic level the British then sought

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to justify this high-handed action on the grounds of German intrigues in China with Indian revolutionaries. So was replayed a reversal of the famous Anglo-American dispute during the American Civil War after a Union warship had removed two Confederate agents from the British steamer *Trent*. Anglo-American relations sank to a low point in 1916 as the classic arguments about the maritime rights and obligations of neutral powers in wartime, which had their roots way back in the war of 1812, slowly crossed and recrossed the Atlantic until they were put to rest by the rupture of diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States in February 1917.[19]

Unaware of what would become the serious diplomatic consequences of his actions, *Laurentic's* captain, during the same patrol, stopped the Japanese *Tenyo Maru* on February 5 and arrested nine Indian travelling with passports. Subsequently ten other Japanese vessels were halted and searched. According to the Japanese ambassador's protest in London, the *Chikuzen Maru*, stopped off Shanghai, was fired on by *Laurentic* with one blank and two ball cartridges. The anti-British nationalists in Japan in particular were outraged by this action carried out by a wartime ally; and the incident added to the serious possiblity during the six months which preceded the great naval Battle of Jutland in June 1916, that Japan might withdraw from the war into unfriendly neutrality or even switch sides in the conflict.[20]

These unfortunate consequences of attempting to check German sponsored Indian revolutionary activities in neutral China by such interference with non-British ships leaving or entering Chinese ports were small, however, compared with the disasters which followed a simultaneous attempt to bring China into the war and so effect a complete eradication of the most convenient external bases of Indian revolution. With the double standards characteristic of their postures during the Great War, the British were outraged that China's neutrality was being abused by the Germans as a screen for the running of arms into India, quite ignoring their own efforts a few months earlier to obtain rifles from China for their Russian ally. On two occasions the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, himself wrote instructions in his own handwriting for the bribery of Chinese officials. On 27 September, 1915 he telegraphed the British Minister in China, Sir John Jordan, that "it is of the utmost importance that we obtain the arms. You need spare no expense to induce Chinese officials or steamship captains to deliver them to Hong Kong."[21]

By the end of October, however, even Russia's shortage of arms had been sufficiently remedied to bring about a loss of interest in sordid intrigues to violate Chinese neutrality laws covertly. In the meantime the government of India's anxiety and anger about German abuse of Chinese neutrality to promote Indian revolutionary schemes had grown considerably. In one of those decisive historical accidents Grey was absent from the Foreign Office during this period, and his post there was taken in an acting capacity by the Secretary of State for India, Lord Crewe.

British Indian pressure on the Foreign Office was not, however, brought to bear directly by the India Office, but by Sir Marcus Samuel of the Royal British-Dutch Shell Oil Company. The influence which this private individual could exert on officials of the British Foreign Office is remarkable though unexplained. On 27 October, 1915 Samuel came to the Foreign Office, with Lord Crewe's blessing, to say that the British should press the Chinese to expel the Germans from China on the grounds that they were using the international settlement in Shanghai and their own concessions as a base to stir up a rebellion in India. The German concessions in China should then

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be handed over to the British. If the Chinese were unwilling to take action themselves, there would be a repetition of the Kiachow precedent, in which the Allies would seize the concessions, with the Chinese only making a formal protest about the violation of their neutrality. Samuel argued that further advantages of this move would be the destruction of German trade in China and access to the Chines arsenals. He had not given up his earlier proposal in September of putting the Chinese arsenals at the service of the Entente at some honest profit to himself.

Fortified by the powerful backing not only of the India Secretary Lord Crewe, but also of the highly influential former Conservative Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, Samuel brushed aside Foreign Office objections with the observation that "where there's a will there's a way." When the two senior clerks in the Far Eastern section pointed out that Japan would object to Chinese action and that Allied action in the current circumstances would mean undesirable Japanese action in the central part of China, Samuel airily replied that one of the Australian cruisers could be brought up to carry out the operation.[22]

From Peking the British Minister, Sir John Jordan, telegraphed his very strong opposition to the proposal. What was to be gained by turning the Germans out of China? German trade was already practically destroyed, and there was probably no part of the world where British trade was so prosperous or so little affected by the war as in China in 1915. Moreover in the present state of weakness of the British naval and military presence in the Far East the whole task would probably have to be delegated to Japan. This could be justified only "if events in China were considered to be a serious menace to our Indian Empire".[23]

Samuel was disappointed but persistent. After Grey had returned to his post, Samuel wrote him a letter on 31 October which this time argued the importance of imperial prestige:

> I feel strongly the enormous effect upon the World's opinion of our taking an energetic action against the Germans in the settlements in China as a punishment for the wholly inexcusable act of using Shanghai as a base for plotting against the peace of India. If on the contrary we allow the episode to pass, it will be construed as weakness.[24]

Although Grey echoed Jordan in arguing that the "the objects to be gained, even if attainable, were incommensurate with the risks involved,"[25] the pressure of the Indian lobby on the Foreign Office was kept up. On 10 November the India Office advised the Foreign Office that it was the opinion of the Indian Criminal Intelligence Department that "a combined swoop by the English and Japanese on the German arsenals and explosive factories [in China] would be preferable to a long drawn out scheme for intercepting German expeditions to Siam and India".[26]

In the meantime China's president, the aged General Yuan Shih-k'ai had received advice from his foreign advisor Dr.G.E.Morrison that he could pull off a great diplomatic coup by encouraging the Entente powers to urge China to enter the war.[27] In gratitude for the assistance China would then be able to give to them in furnishing arms to the Russians and in suppressing German assistance to Indian revolutionaries, these powers would withdraw their opposition to Yuan's plan to restore the traditional Chinese monarchy with himself as the founder of a new dyansty. More importantly, they would support their new ally in wiping out the humiliation of China's partial surrender to the Japanese infamous Twenty-One Demands of early 1915.

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Although Yuan Shih-k'ai seriously misjudged both his own political strength in China and the degree of diplomatic force that the embattled Entente powers could bring to bear on Japan, the British Foreign Office also made a serious miscalculation that the Japanese would bow to moral persuasion and to three-power diplomatic pressure. On 15 November, Far Eastern section senior clerk Beilby Alston with typical self-righteous imperial arrogance minuted:

> If the Japanese put obstacles in the way they must be told firmly that the proposals have been made in the interests of the world and of the Allies in particular, to say nothing of India, and that they must put aside their own private objections in the general interest.[28]

Langley added that "of course the Japanese do not like it, but the joint pressure of the three Powers ought to be sufficient to make them give way."[29]

Certainly all the multiple pressures on Sir Edward Grey caused him to override the prescient warnings of his Minister in Peking of the probable dire consequences of such a diplomatic initiative. In a telegram of 17 November to Lord Bertie, the British Ambassador in Paris, he said that while "the primary objective all along had been to secure rifles etc. for Russia, and that this should not be made too light of", the British concern now was "principally German intrigues in China against India."[30] Indeed, he reacted to the declining Russian interest in obtaining arms from China by advising the Russian government that "evidence of German intrigues in China was accumulating, which made it impossible to let the matter drop." The British believed that "declaration of war by China would enable it to be dealt with in a manner likely to cause the least trouble in China."[31]

Even Jordan, the British specialist most apprehensive of the risks of this policy and the most dubious about its supposed benefits, wilted temporarily under the pressures. He now conceded that "German intrigues in China had certainly attained dimensions which threatened, in the words of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, *the maintenance of general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and India.*" The situation therefore "called for the enforcement of one of the main objects of the alliance"; and in the present case this could only be done through the agency of China.[32]

On 12 November Grey earnestly sought the coorperation of Britain's East Asian ally in maintaining the security of British India.

> The imperial Japanese government have doubtless heard of the intrigues which the German government are carrying on all over China, in Siam, and elsewhere in the Far East to raise the standard of revolt in India. Authoritative information has reached His Majesty's Government that Shanghai is an important centre of the German plot. Not only have the Germans been attempting to fit out armed expenditions to India and in the Shanghai settlement have accumulated large stocks of arms and ammunition, but they have been tampering with the Sikh police and watchmen and also intriguing with the Chinese.... British subjects in Shanghai and the various concessions are clamouring loudly for drastic action to put a stop to the intrigves and the corruption of the local Sikhs, which they consider to amount to a gross breach of Chinese neutrality.[33]

In view of the venality of Chinese government officals of the period, Grey was foolish to conceal from the Japanese ambassador the negotiations that the British had already conducted with Yuan Shih-k'ai and with the Russians and French before consulting the Japanese government. He

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could not, of course, have anticipated that the Japanese had managed to decode a series of compromising telegrams from the British embassy in Tokyo. As he had himself become convinced that German-supported Indian revolutionary activities in neutral China were a very real threat to the security of India, he could not be expected to appreciate the Japanese perception that this issue was merely a pretext to disguise a European imperialist front against Japan. The Japanese harboured bitter memories of how they had been deprived of the fruits of their military defeat of China in 1894-5 by the so-called Triple Intervention of Russia, Germany and France. Here was a new triple intervention, in which the three Entente powers sought to give China equal status with Japan as a war ally in order to cheat Japan of what she had gained from seizing the German concession of Kiaochow in late 1914 and from Groups 1-4 of the Twenty-One Demands on China in early 1915.

The climate into which Anglo-Japanese relations plummeted was indicated less by the formal Japanese diplomatic responses to Grey's request or by the supplicant demeanour of the *demarche* of the Russian, French and British Ambassadors at the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 22 November 1915, but in a histrionic tirade that the Counsellor of the Japanese Embassy in London staged in the Far Eastern section of at the British Foreign Office on 26 November.[34]

To make matters worse for the British, both Russian and French enthusiasm for the initiative weakened. The security of British India had scarcely been a subject close to Russian hearts, nor indeed to French hearts. When the British sought to strengthen their complaint about German consular support for Indian revolutionaries by adding information about possible German intrigues with Indo-Chinese revolutionaries, the French failed to supply any infromation. Perhaps there was none to supply. Moreover, unlike the Americans and the British, neither the French nor the Russians had any commitment to the sovereign independence and territorial integrity of China. Indeed, French interests in southern China, which were contiguous to culturally Sinicized Tonking, would be furthered by a dilution of the rising nationalism in China and ultimately by a conversion of the existing spheres of influence into outright protectorates.

Giving the Chinese government equal status as an ally would threaten the future of existing European concessions in China as well as denying the Japanese the former German concessions as their reward for past and future services to the Entente's war cause. Although France's vital European concerns would always be given primacy in the balance of their attitudes to China and Japan, the French colonialist lobby was never averse to an imperialist deal with the Japanese.[35] After all, Japanese imperialistic ambitions in China could best be gratified in the central provinces of the country, where it would be British interests that would have to pay the price. The imperial Russian expansionists to effect a Russo-Japanese compromise over conflicting Manchurian interests and to concentrate on what might be gained from the defeat of the Turkish and Austrian empires in the Middle East and Balkans.

For all these reasons Sir John Jordan's worst fears were realised in 1916. The Japanese responded to their British ally's flirtation with the pro-British and anti-Japanese strongman, Yuan Shih-k'ai, by working with Chinese radical nationalists to overthrow his regime and with it the precarious national unity which he had maintained since becoming the president of the new Chinese republic in 1912. Although Yuan retreated from his disastrous monarchial ambitions, it was now

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too late to prevent the disintegration of China into virtually independent provincial warlord states. Nor, after his death in June 1916, was his immediate presidential successor Li-Yuan-hung able to retrieve the situation. The subsequent Peking warlords who claimed the title of president increasingly came under the control of Japanese rather than British diplomacy to the severe detriment of British China interests, as Jordan had foretold.

In a wider ambit, what made the situation even more serious for the British was a shift in German strategy. As indicated above, they gave up most hopes that any substantial result could be obtained from working with the expatriate Indian revolutionaries in China and turned their attention to anti-British forces and attitudes in Japan. Great damage might be done to British imperial power by sacrificing the indefensible German interests in the Far East to Japan and turning her around into a friendly neutral or even a military ally. Not only could Japanese imperialistic expansion in China be encouraged largely to the detriment of the power with the lion's share of commercial and investment interests in that country, but the sanctuary that the Japanese ultranationalists had given to the refugee Indian revolutionary Rash Behari Bose and their propagandist attacks on British dominion in India suggested promising new ways of undermining the Raj.[36]

Grey responded to these critical threats by proposing a large-scale bargain between British and Japanese imperial interests. Because of his preoccupation with the German problem during his long stewardship of the Foreign Office from 1906 to 1916, he undeservedly acquired the reputation of being one of the most Eurocentric of British cabinet ministers. On the contrary, he developed a keen appreciation of what is now fashionably called in historical retrospect British *imperial overstretch*. In a frank discussion with the American ambassador Walter Hines Page, the substance of which he repeated to the Japanese ambassador on 24 January 1916 he:

> Pointed out that ... if Japan did not pursue expansion in Europe, America or Africa, the Power who did expand in these continents ought to be favourable to the expansion of Japanese influence and interest in the Far East.[37]

In mid-May, when the India Office submitted to Cabinet a 4,000 word memorandum entitled *Japanese policy and its bearing on India* together with a shorter paper from the General Staff on *Japanese Activities in China and India*, Grey's private secretary, Sir Eric Drummond, later the first General Secretary of the League of Nations, wrote on the documents:

> If we desire to keep on good terms with Japan and stop agitation against India, we must allow her to expand somewhere, and China is the one safe place.
>
> Grey endorsed this view in a brief handwritten note: "I hold much the same view."[38]

However, Grey's half-formed concept of a general bargain with Japan was overwhelmingly rejected both in Whitehall and Westminster. Jordan naturally was bitterly opposed, and the Far Eastern section of the Foreign Office were very unenthusiastic. Yet the decisive input came from the Government of India, particularly when the Asquith Liberal Government was replaced by coalition governments in which Conservative ministers increasingly dominated. Lord Crewe was replaced at the Foreign Office in 1916 by the veteran former Conservative prime minister Arthur Balfour, for whom his war cabinet colleague and cousin Lord Robert Cecil often stood in during Balfour's frequent absences. In May 1917 Cecil advised the war cabinet, without being

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contradicted, that "he personally deprecated...Lord Grey's policy of giving Japan a free hand over the whole of China ... as involving serious dangers to India and to our position generally."[39] Meanwhile a crucial despatch from Balfour to Greene on 13 February had already communicated the top level decision that

> a general agreement with the Japanese Government about their aims in China has been ruled out as impracticable and dangerous... . So long as the war lasts... it clearly behoves British policy to steer with the greatest care through the various cross currents in which the interests of this country, India and Japan are involved... Should it be necessary at any time to ask for military and even largely increased naval favours from the Japanese, the price that would have to be paid could only be — as far as it is possible to see — at the expense of British interests in China. It must indeed be a cardinal point in British policy that, in an extreme case, concessions to Japan could be looked for only in this direction and not in the direction of India. On this point there can be no compromise.[40]

In view of the momentous consequences that had resulted from failed diplomatic efforts at the end of 1915 to expel the few inconsequential Indian revolutionaries and their German supporters from China, it might have been expected that these goals would be dropped. After all, Admiral Grant in Singapore and David Petrie of the Indian C.I.D. in Shanghai were reporting throughout 1916 that their security measures were bringing all the Indo-German conspiracies to naught.[41]

There was, however, a residual British vindictiveness that they had not been able to punish the Germans in China for doing what British agents in the Middle East were now doing with greater success by their incitement of the Arab subjects of the Turkish Empire. Besides, the British initiative of 1915 had painted them into a diplomatic corner. By early 1917, when the United States entered the war, the Japanese had brought the Peking warlord nominal central government of China largely under their influences, and it now suited them to promote China's entry into the war. When they reminded the British of their late 1915 requests and expressed a plausible reformed willingness to be cooperative now, Foreign Secretary Balfour was persuaded to advise his acting Minister in Peking, Beilby Alston, on 20 February 1917 that the government "had considered the advantages and disadvantages, under current circumstances, of China eventually coming into the war and had decided that the former outweighed the latter, and that it would be impossible to reverse their policy of 1915 even if there were any reason for so doing."[42]

If the latter part of the statement were true — and with the opposition to dragging an increasingly anarchic China into the European war now supported by the powerful United States ally—it probably was untrue, the first part was certainly a misguided assessment. Ironically, while it proved possible by July 1917, but with no substantial benefit, to issue *Orders-in-Council in China* under British extraterritorial rights to deport thirteen suspect Indians from China to their homeland,[43] retribution against the Germans proved far from easy.

Twelve months after the increasingly disintegrating China had formally entered the war in August 1917, no action had been taken against the 4,000 German residents scattered widely across what was now theoretically an enemy country. Indeed, after the German Government threatened to abort a proposed exchange of prisoner-of-wars in Europe if the British continued to press their new Chinese ally to intern the Germans in China, British public opinion forced their government

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into another humiliating diplomatic reverse. Jordan described this "deportation fiasco" in August 1918 as "one of the most painful experiences that I have had in China."[44]

So those Germans who had been perceived as the instigators of possible revolutionary risings in India were still in full liberty in China when the war suddenly ended in November 1918. The British insistence on the forcible repatriation of all Germans in China as part of the Far Eastern terms of the general peace settlements was by then far less motivated by getting their pound of flesh for the support some of these Germans had given to the Indian revolutionaries, as it now was by attempting to ensure that the pre-war German commercial competition in China, which many British China interests had claimed was unfair competition, could not easily revive in the post-war period.[45]

This very soon proved to be far worse than a pyrrhic victory. As Jordan and others had consistently argued since mid-1915, the chief beneficiary of the destruction of German economic interests in China would not be Great Britain but Japan. Not only did this outcome constitute a far greater challenge to British interests in China than the Germans could ever have mounted, but it did more to hasten a revolution against British rule in India than the most that the German sponsors of the Indian revolutionaries in Berlin and Shanghai could ever have achieved with better timing or conceivably better fortunes of war.

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30

Role of SCs, STs and OBCs in the preservation of Indian Culture

K.S. Lal

Since the time the V.P. Singh government decided to implement the Mandal Commission recommendations by reserving quotas of jobs for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, a lot of noise has been made for and against the step. It is argued that these sections have been oppressed by high caste people in the past; and they should now be helped and compensated by them. Opposition to such arguments is equally vociferous and the controversy has taken its toll even in blood.

Today the SCs and STs comprise about 156 million; 23 percent of the population of the country according to 1981 census. Add to this the OBCs, and they will all count to be more than fifty per cent of the population of India. This staggeringly high figure has been reached because of the historical forces operating in the country for centuries, particularly in the medieval times. Therefore, to understand the phenomenal rise in their numbers and its implications, it is necessary to study the situation in its historical perspective.

In the medieval period, especially from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, Muslim rule spread all over the country. Resistance to it also remained widespread. Most of the conquered land was distributed among Muslim nobles, soldiers and Ulama as reward or in lieu of pay. But Hindus remained the tillers of the soil. But they were also the resisters of the regime. Naturallay Turco-Mongol kings gave much thought to finding ways and means to suppress the "recalcitrant elements", so that they could rule effectively without opposition.

The credit for enunciating a policy in this regard in India has been given to Sultan Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316 A.D.) by his contemporary chroniclers. It struck the Sultan that it was 'wealth' which encouraged defiance and provided the means of 'revolt'. He and his counsellors deliberated that if any how people could be impoverished, "no one would even have time to pronounce the word rebellion". He took a series of measures to crush the agriculturists by striking at the source of their income which contributed to their wealth and power. He raised the land tax (*kharaj*) to fifty per cent

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of the produce; besides he collected other levies like *Kari*, *Charai* and *Jiziyah*. In short, the Sultan "directed that only so much should be left to the *raiyyats* as would maintain them from year to year... without admitting of their storing up or having articles in excess". The *shariah* also enjoined that only so much should be left to the peasant in the subjugated land as would help him carry on with his cultivation, but at the same time to keep him poor and subservient.[1]

Alauddin Khalji's rigorous measures were appreciated by Muslim writers both in India and outside. Summing up the achievements of the Sultan, the contemporary chronicler Ziyauddin Barani mentions, with due emphasis, that by the last decade of his reign the submission and obedience of the Hindus had become an established fact. For, the peasants used to be left with bare subistence and arrears of revenue were collected with the utmost rigour.

Ghayasuddin Tughlaq came to the throne four years later. He also ordered that "there should be left only so much to the Hindus that neither, on the one hand, should they become arrogant on account of their wealth, nor on the other, desert their lands in despair". In the time of Muhammad Tughlaq even this latter fear turned out to be true. His enhancement of taxes went even beyond the lower limits of 'bare subsistence', for the people fled their fields and the enraged Sultan "hunted them down like wild beasts".

Still conditions did not become unbearable all at once. This is borne out by the evidence of writers from the eleventh to the fourteenth century such as Alberuni, Ibn Battuta, Shihabuddin al Umari, Amir Khusrau, Shams Siraj Afif and even Barani, who feels delighted at the suppression of the 'wealthy Hindus'! Heavy rains and nature's bounty to an extent compensated for the cruelty of the ruler and corruption of the officials. But in course of time, in the unequal war between the unarmed peasantry and the armed might of the government, the tillers of the soil ultimately lost. The Kharaj went on increasing from one-half to two-thirds and then to three-fourths. Muslim chroniclers as well as foreigners like De Laet, Fryer, Van Twist and Pelsaert vouch for this. Conditions became intolerable by the time of Shahjahan when, according to Manucci, peasants were compelled to sell their women and children to meet the revenue demand. Manrique writes that the peasants were "carried off ... to various markets and fairs (to be sold), with their poor unhappy wives behind them carrying their small children all crying and lamenting". Bernier too affirms that the unfortunate peasants who were incapable of discharging the demand of their rapacious lords, were bereft of their children who were carried away as slaves. Here was confirmation of not actually the beginning of the practice of beggary, but also of bonded labour and selling of wives and children to meet the revenue demand. The bare-minimum subsistence theory was reiterated by Aurangzeb for the poor peasants, about whom Babur had written a century and a half ago that their principal food was *khichri* and their only apparel *langoti*.[2]

In short, between the thirteenth century when the armies had to march to collect the revenue, and the seventeenth century when peasants were running away from the land because of the exactions of the state, no satisfactory principle of assessment and collection except extortion be discovered. The idea of leaving the bare minimum to the peasant and collecting the rest of his hard-earned produce, perhaps never left the minds of the medieval Indian rulers. And the peasants, finding continuance of cultivation uneconomic and the treatment of regime unbearable, left the fields and fled into the jungles. From there they organized persistent resistance. Ibn Battuta

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describes the scenario. "The Muslims dominate the infidels", writes he, "but the latter fortify themselves in mountains, in rocky, uneven and rugged places as well as in bamboo groves... which serve them as ramparts. Hence they cannot be subdued except by powerful armies". Such resistance continued throughout; in most parts revenue in the fifteenth century could be collected only at the point of bayonets. The peasant had his own ideas about repulsing the onslaughts of nature and man. Indeed, migration or flight was "the peasant's first answer to famine or man's oppression". Babur's description of this process may be quoted in his own words: "In Hindustan hamlets and villages, towns indeed, are depopulated and set up in a moment. If the people of a large town, one inhabited for years even, flee from it, they do it in such a way that not a sign or trace of them remains in a day or a day and a half. On the other hand, if they fix their eyes on a place in which to settle... they make a tank or dig a well, they need not build houses or set up walls, *khasgrass* abound, wood is unlimited, huts are made and straightway there is a village or a town".[3] Writing of the days of Shahjahan, Bernier says that "many of the peasantry, driven to despair by so execrable a tyranny, abandon the country and sometimes fly to the territories of a Raja because they find less oppression and are allowed a greater degree of comfort".[4]

But then it was not only cultivators alone who fled into the forests, but often even Rajas, zamindars and people at large who escaped into the jungles, not only to avoid tyranny, but also to organize resistance from there. For it was a question of saving Hindu religion and Hindu culture. Each of the words like *Jihad, Jiziyah, Zimmi* and *Kafir,* constantly translated into action, carried forebodings of unmitigated suffering for the victims. Mohammd Tughlaq, Firoz Tughlaq, Sikandar Lodi, Sikandar Butshikan of Kashmir, Mahmud Beghara of Gujarat and emperor Aurangzeb were more enthusiastic; some others were lukewarm; but it was the religious duty of every Muslim monarch to stamp out idolatry and convert the idolaters to Islam. Under Muslim rule temples were recklessly broken and women and children enslaved and converted. In these circumstances, the defeated Rajas and helpless agriculturists all found refuge in the forests.

Luckily for them, jungles in medieval India abounded. Ibn Battuta says that very thick forests existed right from Bengal to Allahabad. In his time *genda* (rhinoceroses) were found in the forests near Allahabad. Even the environs of Delhi were full of forests, so that during the time of Balban, Mewatis used to issue forth from the jungles in the immediate vicinity of Delhi, attack the city and keep the king on tenterhooks. When Timur invaded Hindustan (1399), he had learnt about this resistance and was quite scared of it. In his *Mulfuzat* (memoirs) he writes that there were many strong defences in India like the large rivers, the elephants, etc. "The second defence", writes he "consists of woods and forests and trees, which interweaving stem with stem and branch with branch, render it very difficult to penetrate the country. The third defence is of the soldiery, the landlords and the princes, the Rajas of that country, who inhabit fastnesses in those forests, and live there like wild beasts".[5]

Growth of dense forests was a cause and an effect of heavy rains. Forests received sustenance from rains, and heavy rainfall was produced by thick forests. The sixteenth century invader Babur, hailing from the rather 'dry lands' of Samarkand and Kabul, writes about Hindustan that the "air in the rains is very fine. Sometimes it rains 10, 15, or 20 times a day, torrents pour down all at once and rivers flow where no water had been". He also notes that "under the monsoon-rains, the banks

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of some of its rivers and torrents are worn into deep channels, difficult and troublesome to pass through anywhere". Therefore, like forests, rains also helped the freedom loving 'wild beasts' living in the jungles in maintaining their freedom and culture; while on the other hand heavy rains affected the movements of the government's army leaving the refugees safe in the jungles hide-outs to resist any intrusion. Ibn Battuta describes how people used to fight from behind barricades of bushes and bamboo trees. Two centuries later, Babur too affirms that "in many parts of the plains (because of rains) thorny jungles grow, behind the good defence of which the people... become stubbornly rebellious and pay no taxes". It was because of this that Muslim conquest could not penetrate the countryside, nor Muslim rule affect it. If there was any fear of attack, the people just fled and re-established themselves elsewhere, or returned after the storm was over. The number of such refugee-resisters went on growing with time.

Those who took to the jungle, stayed there eating wild fruits, tree-roots, and the coarsest grain if and when available, but surely preserving their freedom. But with the passing of time, a peasant became a tribal, and a tribal a beast. William Finch, writing at Agra about 1610 A.D., describes how Jahangir and his nobles treated them. A favourite form of sport in Mughal India was the Kamargha. "Whatever is taken in this enclosure (Kamargha or human circle)", writes Finch, "is called the King's *shikar* or game, whether men or beasts.... men remain the King's slaves, whom he sends yearly to Kabul to barter for horses and dogs: these being poor, miserable, thievish people, that live in woods and deserts, little differing from beasts".[6] W.H. Moreland adds: "Other writers (also) tell it besides Finch". Even Babur, always a keen observer, had not failed to notice that peasants in India were often reduced to the position of tribals. "In our countries", writes he in his *Babur Nama*, "dwellers in the wilds (i.e.nomads) get tribal names; here (in Hindustan) the settled people of the cultivated lands and villages get tribal names".[6]

In short, the avalanche of Turco Mongol invaders, and the policy of their government turned many settled agriculturists into tribals of the jungles. Many defeated Rajas and harassed zamindars also repaired to forests and remote fastnesses. The policy of making them *nest-o-nabud* (destroying them root and branch) reduced them to the position of Scheduled castes, Tribes and Backward classes. For example, many Parihars and Parmars, once upon a time belonging to the proud Rajput classes are now included in lower castes. So are the "Rajputs" counted in the lower castes in South India and many "Jats" in North India. (Mr.Devi Lal wants them included in OBCs in Haryana).

Two examples, one from the early years of Muslim rule and the other from its closing years, would suffice to illustrate the point. In the early years of Muslim conquest, Jats had helped Muhammad bin Qasim in Sind; later on they turned against him. Similarly, Khokhars had helped Muhammad Ghauri, but later turned hostile and ultimately killed him. Many of these were pushed into belonging to low castes of today. For the later times is the example of the Satnamis. This sect was an offshoot of the Raidasis. Their stronghold in the seventeenth century was Narnol, situated about 100 kms. south-west of Delhi. The contemporary chronicler Khafi Khan credits them with a good character. They followed the professions of agriculture and trade on a small scale. They came into conflict with imperial forces. It began as a minor trouble, but developed into a war of Hindu liberation from the persecution of Aurangzeb. At last the Emperor crushed them by sending

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10,000 troops (March, 1672), after a most obstinate battle in which two thousand Satnamis fell on the field of battle and many more were slain during the pursuit. Those who escaped spread out, so that today they are about 15 million Satnamis (Harijans) found in Madhya Pradesh Maharashtra, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

Thus were swelled the numbers of what are today called Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. The eleventh century savant Alberuni, who came to India in the reign of Mahmud of Ghazni, speaks of eight castes/sections of Antyaja (untouchables?) in Hindustan, or workers in low professions, such as fuller, shoe-maker, juggler, fisherman, hunters of wild animals and birds. "They are occupied with dirty work, like the cleaning of the villages and other services".[7] In his time their number was obviously not large. Today as noted earlier, the SC, ST, and OBCs comprise almost half the population of the country. It is because the defeated, the weak and the vulnerable, in the years and centuries of oppression in the medieval period, lived almost like 'wild beasts' in improvised huts in forest villages, segregated and isolated, suffering and struggling. But by receding into the forests, they were enabled to preserve their freedom, their religion and their culture.

In the forest villages these 'primitive' Hindus continued to maintain themselves by engaging in agriculture and simple cottage industries. Since they were Hindu, they were freely employed by neighbouring urban and rural elite (Rajas and Taluqdars under the Raj) for guard duty in their homes and as Palki-bearers when they travelled. Travelling in the hot climate of India was mostly done at night or early hours of the morning, and these people provided guard to bullock carts and other conveyances carrying passengers and goods. There are descriptions of how these people ran in front and rear of the carts with lighted torches or lanterns in one hand and a *lāṭhī* (sometimes spiked) in the other. Sometimes exasperated and starving, they also took to highway robbery as the only means of living. Raiding bands were also locally formed. Their main occupation, however, remained menial work including scavenging and leather tanning. Their main isolation, their poverty and their vocation could allot them only backward caste status. But with all that their spirit of resistance had made them good fighters. Fighting kept their health replenished, compensating for the non-availability of good food in the jungles. Their fighting spirit made the British think of them as thugs, robbers and bandits. But the British as well as other Europeans also embarked upon anthropological and sociological study of these strange and poor forest people. In trying to find a name for these groups, the British census officials labelled them in successive censuses, as Aboriginals (1881), Animists (1891-1911) and as Adherents of Tribal religions (1921-31).

The present day Mandalisation, they say, is a vote-catching device. To make it look altruistic, it is argued that these people have been oppressed by high-caste Hindu in the past; and they should now be fully recompensed. The generosity is perhaps gratuitous, officious and unsolicited. It is they who have helped save Hindu religion by shunning all comforts and taking to the life of the jungle. Had they been harassed and oppressed by high-caste Hindus, they could have easily chosen to opt for other creeds such as Islam ever so keen on proselytization. But they preferred the hard way rather than to do so. There is another problem. Would they by themselves like to change their way of life? Perhaps yes, perhaps no. An example may help understand this uncertainly. In June 1576 Maharana Pratap of Chittor had to face Akbar's armies in the famous battle of Haldighati. A

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little later, in October, Akbar himself marched in person in pursuit of the Rana, but the latter remained untracked and unsubdued. His nearest associates including Bhil and Lohia tribals had taken a vow that until their motherland was freed, they would not eat from metal plates but only from tree-leaves; they would not sleep on bedsteads, but only on the ground; and they would renounce all comforts. The bravest among them even left Chittor with a resolve to return to it only when Mewar had regained independence. That day was not to come in their life-time. It was not to come for decades, for generations, for centuries. During these hundreds of years they lived as tribals and nomads, moving from place to place, doing sundry jobs, iron smithy in particular. On India regaining independence, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who was aware of their poignant history, decided to rehabilitate them in Chittor. In March 1955, an impressive function was arranged there and Pandit Nehru himself led some of the descendants of the valiant warriors back to their home in independent Chittor in independent India. But most of them did not care to return. They live as nomads even today. The SCs, STs and OBc, too, may find their way of life too dear to relinquish in exchange for the modern, urban, 'civilised' ways. Many welfare officials working in their areas actually find it to be so.

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31

Religion, Ethnic Identity and Political Conflict in Sri Lanka

Ružica Čičak-Chand

The movement from traditional elite politics to mass participation politics is one of the fundamental characteristics of the process of political development. In this process religious issues, organizations, and leaders have had an important role in inducing the masses into politics. Politicization—the drawing of people into active participation in the political process—takes place as people become conscious of conflicts which are perceived as relevant to their lives. Politicization as a result of conflicts involving religious communities is a widespread feature of contemporary social change. For many millions of people throughout the Third World, religious values and issues relating to religious communities, and religious ideologies are real and often fundamental issues. It is, however, important to point to the fact that behind many religious conflicts there are essentially secular potential interests which cut across, and in some cases clearly dominate over ostensibly religious issues. Conflicts of religious communities have taken two forms: (1) a religious community attempting to overthrow a foreign colonial power of a different religion; (2) the conflict between two or more indigenous religious communities. In both cases religious symbols have been used to mobilize the masses, producing attitudes and actions of opposition to the rivals or enemies of the community (Smith, 1970: 145). The role of religion as group identity in anti-colonial nationalism has many examples in South Asian countries . Most of the examples of religious nationalism come from the first three decades of the twentieth century. By World War II the leadership of most nationalist movements was held by relatively secular politicians, many of them influenced by Marxism, but the religious forces in many of these societies experienced a revival of influence shortly thereafter. The basic affirmation of religious nationalism was that differences in religious group identity constituted a gap between ruler and ruled which could not be overbridged, implying that European Christian governments had no moral right to govern Hindus, Buddhists, or Muslims, and that these illegitimate foreign rulers had to be overthrown by whatever means were available (Smith, *op. cit.*). Conflicts of two or more indigenous religious communities have had many similar characteristics as anti-colonial conflicts. For example, the Hindu-Muslim conflict leading to the partition of India in 1947. After independence, Hindu-Sikh tensions became a prominent feature of politics in the Punjab. While language constituted the official basis and

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justification of the demand for a Punjabi-language state, the motivation force behind it was clearly religious and communal.Tamil-Sinhalese religious-cum-language conflict shall be the central theme of this paper, concerned with the process by which objectively distinct ethnic groups become transformed into self-conscious and politically oriented communities identifying their interests with their religion or their language. Namely, in the earlier stages of the process of social transformation/modernization it is the religious community which is threatened and therefore forms the initial vehicle for participation in the political arena. But, at the later stage in the process it is usually the language which comes to predominate as the focus of political allegiance. In the traditional, largely non-literate society language is of little importance; on the contrary, in the modern society, literacy, education and employment mean that language is a matter of much greater consequence (Yapp, 1978: 29). It should however be said that if religion and language have been the principal instruments of political participation in the countries of South Asia, they have not been the only ones. The next major factor was the advent of democracy. The electoral process encourages groups to identify themselves politically; most of all democracy emphasizes numbers: only within a democracy do the concepts of majorities and minorities have any real political meaning (Yapp, 1978:31). Also, another significant factor is the influence of example. The examples of the European nationalism did serve, historically, as a source of inspiration to South Asian nationalists.

Ethno-nationalism in South Asia/Sri Lanka was more a religious than a linguistic phenomenon. Religion was the underlying philosophy of the different communities and as such—involving mainly the emotions—the most effective bond of community cohesion. In fact, religion was the most potent single factor in preserving the feeling of national unity during colonial rule. Relief from the imperial world viewpoint was sought in religious nationalism, in the thought that at least in the sphere of religion people's self-esteem could be maintained. Language was but the vehicle by which this religious ethno-nationalism was mobilized (Russel, 1982. 106). It was in this context that religion, particularly Buddhism, and the indigenous languages of Sinhalese and Tamil became so important in Sri Lanka. The English language and the Protestant church were basic tenets of British nationality. They had no direct relevance to the development of Sinhalese-Buddhist or Tamil-Śaivite ethnic consciousness, though, indirectly, influence was felt in a number of ways. So, it was the Sinhala and Tamil vernacular or "swabasha" movements and the movements to review the indigenous religions, Buddhism, Hinduism and to a lesser extent Islam, which became the mainsprings of anti-colonialism, but in the process served to underline the essentially communal nature of the Sri Lankan society. For as Sinhalese and Tamil communalism developed, they drew sustenance less and less from anti-British colonialism but more from each other. Tamil communalism was the more self-conscious movement as to be expected of a minority, and many of the organizations and communalist bodies formed by the Sri Lankan Tamils to define and transmit the indigenous Tamil culture were offset by the Sinhalese assismilation.[1] However, Tamil fears of absorption were offset by the Sinhalese fears of submersion. For, although the Sinhalese were in overwhelming majority in Sri Lanka, they were acutely sensitive to the smallness of their numbers vis-á-vis the Tamils of South India (Russell, 1982: 107-108).

In the first decades of the twentieth century the nationalism which was propagated was a "Sri Lankan" nationalism, which drew its inspiration from the fact that Sri Lanka was a territorially homogeneous unit. This doctrine was enunciated by the English-educated elite in both Sinhalese

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and Tamil communities.[2] However, after universal franchise was introduced in 1931, this kind of nationalism disintegrated under the impact of what was termed Sinhalese and Tamil "communalism". Though condemned as "primitive", the growth of Sinhalese and Tamil communalism indicated that within the cultural matrix of Sri Lankan society, these subnascent forms of the ethno-nationalist ideology were the most potent.

The Sinhalese community in particular was endowed with a strong sense of importance, which stemmed from its feeling of uniqueness. Sri Lanka was not only the the one place where the Sinhalese language was spoken, but it was also one of the very few countries in the world where Theravada Buddhism was a living religion. The Sri Lankan Tamils, on the other hand, feeling themselves to be a part of the greater linguistic unity of the Tamil-speaking people, were drawn towards South India in their nationalist aspirations, a movement which was reinforced by the fact that a number of them were practising Śaivite Hindus. The clash of these two mutually exclusive and incompatible forms of ethno-nationalism was inevitable, once universal franchise was introduced in the political process of Sri Lanka.

Up to the 16th century, being a Sinhalese implied being a Buddhist. However, with the advent of the European powers, a split in the Sinhalese identity occurred as a result of the existence of Catholic and Protestant Sinhalese. Buddhism also lost its prominence as the national religion. Though Sinhalese Christians were economically and politically dominant, the majority of Sinhalese were Buddhists living in villages. If the Buddhist aspect of the Sinhalese identity was traditionally taken for granted, it had to be reaffirmed in the 19th and 20th centuries. The great historical chronicles of the Sinhalese, the *Mahāvaṁsa* and *Cūlavāsa*, written in Pāli, as well as literary and historical works in Sinhala language from about the thirteenth century onwards, constantly emphasize the identification of the destiny of Buddhism with that of the Sinhala people. This identification is also legitimized in legends of historical myths, found in the chronicles and in Sinhala literary works. They have been and still remain part of the current beliefs of the Sinhala people, and as such they are vitally important for understanding the equivalence of the term "Sinhalese" with "Buddhist", and the whole question of Buddhist identity. The chronicles record three visits of the Buddha to Sri Lanka. Though these events are not recorded in the Pāli Canon, they alongside the Buddha's invoking of divine protection for Sri Lanka, serve to set the stage in Sinhalese self-consciousness for its efforts to preserve uninterruptedly the purity of the Master's doctrine.

The historical events as presented in Sri Lankan chronicles had until 16th century one recurring theme: Sri Lanka was consistently invaded by South Indian peoples who were generally Tamil speakers. So, quite soon, there were historically two major opposed ethnic identities, Sinhalese and Tamil. The historical conflicts between Sinhalese and South Indian invaders reinforced the Sinhalese-Buddhist identity, and produced a new pattern of myth which included another theme: "Sinhalese as defenders of the sāsana versus Tamil as opposers of the sāsana."

Culturally there are two distinct markers of the Sinhalese identity. First, there is the common language, Sinhala; second, there is Buddhism, which involves belief in the three "refuges" — the Buddha, the *Dhamma* ("doctrine") and the *Sangha* ("monkhood"). Though many Sinhalese groups may worship other deities in the pantheon, and Tamils may worship some of the gods that the

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Sinhalese also worship (Viṣṇu, Skanda), it is the Sinhalese alone who worship the Buddha. The *Dhamma* is also considered by all as the true teaching of the Buddha, enshrined in Pāli texts, the *Suttas*, and is the prerogative of the order of monks, the *Sangha*. As far as the laity are concerned, their knowledge of the doctrine is highly variable, but all Sinhalese Buddhists share a common set of concepts derived from the doctrine. The *Sangha* is crucial to maintaining the Sinhalese knowledge of the *Dhamma*, for the Sangha is the repository of the *Dhamma*.

The markers of ethnic identity mentioned above are inculcated in the process of socialization in the family. But this is not sufficient to create a sense of identification. Another factor has to be taken into account, namely, the presence of other ethnic groups which, in so far as they are viewed as threatening or alien, create within the ethnic group a sense of community. The advent of the European powers had serious implications for Sinhalese identity, for the historic equation of Sinhalese-Buddhist ceased to have the kind of universal validity it had once had. As a result of European proselytization, Sinhala people were converted to Catholicism and later to Protestantism. In the areas that came under Portuguese rule, Catholicism was the politically dominant religion. Later, with the Dutch and the British, Protestantism became politically dominant, and Sinhalese protestants became economically dominant also. There developed, then, three separate Sinhalese identities, each distinguished by religion and also characterized by regional, occupational and class differentiation. The majority of Sinhalese peasants living in villages were Buddhists, while Catholics were largely confined to the fishing communities on the coast, and protestants became an administrative elite under the Dutch and British, (Rösel, 1, 87:8-9). As a result of Western colonial rule, Buddhism ceased to be the official and dominant religion. It lost its position of prestige, and simultaneously Sinhalese-Buddhists lost political and economic power. The late nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century saw a revival in Buddhism led by a non-peasant intelligentsia under the leadership of educated Sinhalese Buddhists and monks from the Sinhalese low country. The educated Sinhalese Buddhists were mostly school teachers trained in Sinhalese vernacular schools and the influential village intelligentsia consisting of Ayurvedic physicians and village government officials, created by the Brithish bureaucracy.

As afore-mentioned, in the years after independence the goal of political endeavour was of a territorial nationalism without any special or exclusive association with any ethnic group. Sri Lanka was to be a secular state. For some years it seemed as though these policies were functioning without much difficulty, but beneath the surface powerful political forces were at work to upset the equilibrium; ideals of harmony gave way before the pressures released by the divisive forces of religion and language. This shift was consistent with the essence of party politics in which the numerically larger group could alter the power structure. Thus the Sinhalese-Buddhist majority, long dormant, began to assert its national dominance. The first issues were the concepts of a polyethnic polity, of a Sri Lankan nationalism, and of a secular state (de Silva,1986:23).

The year 1956 was a significant turning point in Sri Lanka's history, for the decisive victory of S.W.R.D.Bandaranaike's SLF party meant rejection of the concept of Sri Lankan nationalism based on the acceptance of pluralism as an essential feature of a democratic political system, and the substitution for it of a more populist nationalism, which was at the same time fundamentally divisive in its impact on the country. Against the background of the Buddha *Jayantī*, the worldwide

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celebration in 1956 of the 2,500th anniversary of the death of the Buddha, an intense religious fervor became the catalyst of a populist nationalism whose explosive effect was derived from its interconnection with language bringing thereby the Sinhalese majority into conflict with the indigenous Tamils of Sri Lanka. For the crucial significance of this link between language and religion was that Buddhist activism, which had been directed so far against the privileged position enjoyed by Christianity and Christians in Sri Lanka[3], shifted its attention to the Tamil minority as well (de Silva, 1986: 27). Buddhist activists and the Sinhalese-educated intelligentsia had seldom, in the recent past, exerted influence on a national scale; and they felt that they had been unjustly excluded by the English-educated elite from the share of power in proportion with their numbers (de Silva, *op. cit.*). Concentrating their attention on the superior educational advantages of the Tamil minority, they asked for removal of the language settlement arrived at in 1943/44 — that two official languages, Sinhalese and Tamil, should replace English as the national languages — and insisted instead on its replacement by "Sinhala only", the slogan which became the main item of the coalition of parties set up by Bandaranaike in anticipation of the general election of 1956. Appeal of the Buddhists for a restoration of the traditional convergence of nation and religion — Sri Lanka, Buddhism and Sinhalese — was confronted with the political implications of a situation in which the advantages of this convergence in sustaining a national identity were negated by the dissent of minority groups who rejected this identification of sectional with national interests (de Silva, *op.cit.*). In particular, the Sri Lankan Tamils refused to accept the assumption that Sinhalese nationalism was interchangeable with the larger Sri Lankan nationalism. The Tamils were disproportionately represented in public sector employment as clerks, teachers and technicians, and in the professional services as doctors, lawyers and engineers as well. Their advantageous position in government employment had been a point of dispute and division in politics since 1930's. Now, the situation had been changed to their disadvantage, creating fears that the new dominance conferred on the Sinhalese language would lead to an erosion of the Tamils' ethnic identity through a policy of assimilation. With the triumph of linguistic nationalism, pressure for stronger links between Buddhism and the state became almost irresistible.

The political leadership in both major parties, the SLFP and the UNP, were at first able to resist the increasing pressure for the declaration of Buddhism as the state religion. However, with the adoption of a republican Constitution in 1972, the position changed. Buddhism was given a protected place in the Constitution, with Hinduism, Christianity and Islam receiving only limited rights against discrimination. When the 1972 Constitution was superseded in 1978 by a new one, this same principle of a special status for Buddhism was embodied in the new Constitution.

One of the notable consequences of the emergence of Sinhalese-Buddhist populism was the setback it gave to the Marxist movement. With independence and first elections to the House of Representatives in 1947, they had emerged as a potent challenge to the government. However, linguistic and religious nationalism had an appeal which cut across class interests, and evoked as deep a response from the Sinhalese working class as it did among peasantry and the Sinhalese educated elite. The Marxists' advocacy of a multi ethnic secular polity proved to be disadvantageous, and they were compelled to compromise on the issues without, however, any substantial political gains. In joining the SLFP coalition, (in 1964) the left had come to accept the SLFP's stand on religion and language; they had to do this in order to protect their mass base (de Silva, 1986: 35/36).

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The Buddhist movement had no strong opposition to the adoption of a socialist program. In fact, Buddhist pressure groups viewed socialism as a means of redressing the balance in favour of the majority group. Every extension of the state control over trade and industry could be and was justified on the ground that it helped curtail the influence of foreigners and the minorities.

At several levels in the colonial (and post-colonial) economy, the Sinhalese-Buddhists were to feel at a disadvantage vis-a-vis other ethnic groups. For example, the plantations, banks and the key areas of foreign trade were controlled by British interests. The export-import sector and wholesale trade were dominated by traditional merchant families from India. In the area of retail trade, the smaller Sinhala traders had to compete with the trading communities such as Muslims and Chettiars, who had traditionally been in business for some time. Moreover, in the area of wage employment, the Sinhala white collar workers and other wage workers had to compete with workers of local ethnic minorities, especially with Tamils and South Indian migrants for the limited possibilities of employment that existed in an undeveloped economy. Last but not least, the virtual monopoly of money-lending held by members of minority ethnic groups from India created strong feelings of resentment among the Sinhalese towards them (Jayawardena, 1987: 21-22). There did not develop "national bourgeoisie" with basic economic contradictions with the colonial imperialism. The old land-owning families stood solidly by the British; the new segment of the bourgeoisie fought only for its own class privileges, but not against the foreign rulers. So, the contacts with foreign liberal thought remained at a superficial level and the need of the class for an identity that it could espouse against foreign economic interests and colonial rule, was met by a revival of older identities, based on the traditional categories of religion, caste and ethnicity, resulting in communalism, a revival of myths of origin and evocation of a "golden past"(Jayawardena, 1987:24). Ideological support for such views was provided by the Sinhala intelligentsia, who felt economically limited and culturally deprived; and Buddhist monks who were keenly aware of the decline of traditional culture that had occurred under the impact of alien political and cultural dominance.[4]

The discourse of a chosen people, which is an important part of Sinhalese nationalism, has also recently become a part of Tamil political writing. Already in the 1970's, when the demand for a separate state was made, but specially after the riots of 1983, Tamil nationalist myths which had been politically latent began to be openly expressed; there was, namely, a deliberate attempt to create a Dravida, Śaiva Siddhānta political identity (Coomaraswamy, 1987: 28). Tamil myths as currrently presented by some Tamil scholars contain the following main points: (1) Tamils of Sri Lanka are the heirs to an old and ancient civilization which has its roots in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, civilizations which had been destroyed by less developed Aryans from West Asia. (2)Tamils are the original inhabitants of Sri Lanka and the Sinhalese are actually Tamils who came later to the Island and became Sinhalese after adopting Buddhism as their religion.(3) The Tamil language spoken in Sri Lanka is purest.(4) Śaiva Siddānta is the religion of the Tamil people, and has a special homeland in Sri Lanka because of the teachings of Arumuga Navalar (Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*).

The assertion of the rights of one ethnic group results in the need to disregard the other. Sinhala-Buddhist activists, using the *Mahāvaṁsa* chronicle, denied Tamil claims by portraying

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them as foreigners and invaders. The Tamil response to this allegation is to assert that there is no such people as Sinhalese. It is likewise probable that Tamils, Sinhalese, and Muslims in Sri Lanka, are a racially mixed group. Waves of immigration and internal migration have practically obliterated any claims to racial exclusivity whether as "noble Aryans" or "glorious Dravidians."To quote R.Coomaraswamy again : "To try and read the past through present controversies is often an unnecessary and misplaced enterprise; such an approach to the present conflict will only compound existing problems." (1987:32).

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NOTES

1. Although small, the Tamil nationalist resurgence was quite lively. A good number of organizations sprang up in the late 19th and early part of the 20th century to formulate and protect Tamil - Śaivism in Sri Lanka. Together with certain journals, books and influential figures, these provided the necessary nourishment for Tamil nationalism. In 1888 in Jaffna was founded the Śaiva Parapalana Sabha; the Society for the propagation of Śaivism, known as the Hindu Board of Education, owed its existence largely to the work of Arumuga Navalar (1822-1879). Navalar was greatly responsible for the revival of Hinduism and Tamil culture in the peninsula in the 19th century. A great exponent of Śaivite Hinduism, and a Tamil scholar, his contribution to the development of modern Tamil prose literature remains unsurpassed, and in practical terrms he did much to make modern Tamil culture a living force in the Northern Province. The

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American Schools had long had a monopoly of education in te peninsula. te religious intolerance displayed by the missionaries which generated the formation of the Hindu Board of Education, did not lead, however, to a similar reaction against education in the English medium. The Tamils were unwilling to for go the considerable material benefits conferred by an English education in order to maintain the linguistic purity of the Sri Lankan Tamil culture. Thus many if not most of the schools inaugurated by the Hindu Board of Education used English as the medium of instruction (Russell, 1982: 109-112).

2. Educated elites in Sri Lanka/South Asia/ (also in Southeast Asia, North Africa) have their own political (sub) cultures, which differ considerably from the general political cultures of their respective societies. Educated largely through the medium of European languages and exposed to western political thought, experienced in the working of Western administrative, legal, and political institutions, these elites may have values which strongly support political structures implanted in an otherwise alien cultural environment. Therefore, in some cases the development of elite (sub) cultures has meant radical secularization and alienation from traditional values.

3. The most serious controversies in which religious communal identities have been uppermost have involved the Buddhists and the Roman Catholics. The Christians in Sri Lanka constitute 9 per of the population (7per cent Roman Catholic, 2per cent Protestant), the largest Christian community in proportion to the total population in South Asia. Only in Sri Lanka did the Christians attain a powerful entrenched position in government services and the professions. Much of the Christians' success was attributable to their management of a large number of the island's best educational institutions, which were generously subsidized by government grants. Sinhalese-Buddhist leaders asserted that the British government had favored the Christians as a matter of deliberate policy. In the Sinhalese = Buddhist resurgence, most marked since 1956, the nationalization of aided schools became an important objective. This was achieved in 1960-1961.

4. Buddhism's most prominent relationships in the political process have involved the monks as political actors. As a religion of individual salvation Buddhism provides no ideas to motivate the political monk and many ideas to discourage him. As one committed to the quest for nirvana through a process of study and meditation, the serious monk could only regard the passion and struggle for power which characterize politics as a snare and delusion. It was, after all, precisely to avoid such temptations that he had left the layman's life in society to enter the Sangha. But, historical factors go far in explaining the motives for the monks' political intervention. The Sangha constitutes a traditional elite which fell low with the advent of foreign rule. From a position of high prestige in which the monks, the most learned and respected men in society, instructed princes and advised kings, they fell to a position in which they were increasingly regarded as irrelevant to society by both the foreign rulers and the new westernized middle class which together usurped their traditional prerogatives. Nostalgia for the traditional past, enmity towards those who have destroyed it, and dreams of its restoration have motivated their politics.

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32

Excavations at Daulatpur (District Kurukshetra, Haryana)

Udai Vir Singh

The ancient mound situated about 300 m. to the north-west of the village Daulatpur (29°57'30" N.Lat. and 76.40" E. Long) is of moderate size measuring 260 m. east-west and 240 m. north-south and rising to a height of 6 m. from the surrounding fields.The ancient *nālā* branching off Chautang (ancient Dṛṣadvatī) flows to its north at a distance of about 90 m. The site is about 15 km. to the east of Thanesar (ancient Sthāṇvīśvara).

The site was first placed on record as a Painted Grey Ware site in 1961.[1] Later on, when surveyed by the Kurukshetra University Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology in May 1968, Late Harappan remains were also addded to the archaeological potentiality of the mound. It was excavated by the Kurukshetra University on a small scale during 1968-69 [2] and 1969-70 with a view to knowing the nature of the Late Harappan Culture and ascertaining the stratigraphic relationship between the Late Harappan and the succeeding Painted Grey Ware cultures. Later on, in the light of the evidence of an overlap between these cultures at Bhagwanpura (about 8 km. to the north of Daulatpur) the site was re-excavated during 1976-77 and 1977-78 [3] to find out, by further digging, if any such overlap existed at this site also or not.

The exploration of the mound revealed the existence of Late Harappan and Painted Grey Ware remains almost on the western half of the mound and no pot-sherd of these cultures was picked up from the eastern half. Therefore, to obtain a cross-section of the western half of the mound a long trench, divided into 16 squares, was laid out on the western slope of the mound covering also a part of its highest central point. Subsequently, two squares were also taken up for digging on the northern slope of the mound to ascertain the sequence of cultures and also the limits of Late Harappan and Painted Grey Ware habitations. In the light of Bhagwanpura evidence of an overlap between these two cultures, several squares were taken up to the south of the long trench in the western half of the mound and two squares on its southern and eastern peripheries to ascertain the limits of the habitation of these two cultures in these two directions. The digging on the eastern slope revealed deposits of early historical and medieval periods only, while the trench on the southern slope revealed no regular habitation of the Late Harappan and Painted Grey Ware cultures.

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The deposits of the latest period (early Medieval), excepting in one trench, were found to be very thin. But in this period the earliest deposits were very much disturbed as is evidenced by numerous pits encountered in all the trenches. Some of these pits were also meant for burying the dead animals, as these contained many long bones of animals. During the early historical period also, the earlier deposits were found quite disturbed as is evident by the loose layer containing Painted Grey Ware and early historical pottery together.

Cultural periods and their characteristic features :

The archaeological remains exavated from Daulatpur are divisible into four periods :-

Period I : Late Harappan (Second quarter of second millennium B.C.)

Period II : Painted Grey Ware (*c.*1100 B.C. to c.500 B.C.)

Period III : Early Historical (*c.*500 B.C. to c. A.D.500)

Period IV : Early Medieval (*c.* 1000—1200 A.D.).

Period I : With an average thickness of 1.80 m. the deposit lying immediately over the natural soil, yielded the remains of the Late Harappan culture, the beginning of which could be ascribed to the second quarter of second millennium B.C. As many as five structural phases of this cultural period have been encountered in the excavated area. Although no complete house plans could be obtained, the existence of post-holes, walls of mud-bricks and half-baked bricks of various sizes (52 x 36 x 10 cms. and 42 x 32 x 7 cms.) suggest different types of building activity. The remains of several mud corn-bins were found in the excavated trenches. A complete room (measuring 2.25 by 1.75 m.) of mud-bricks was found. Several mud-floors with a few pots *in situ* were also found. However, the most significant discovery of these levels is the existence of walled constructions, round to oval in shape and burnt from inside, most probably designed as ovens or *bhaṭṭīs*. Their bottoms contained a thin layer of ash and were found filled with thrown off material including pottery and bones. In no way these seem to have been associated with any religious activity. About a dozen of such ovens were found in the excavated trenches. These vary in size — one measured 2.25 x 1.15 m. and another 1.90 m. in length, 0.90 m. in depth, and has 15 cm. thick walls.

The ceramic industry of the period mainly consisted of thick sturdy ware, having red to oily surface and painted in black with linear and geometrical designs. Incised decoration also occurred on many sherds. In additions thick grey ware was also found in small quantity several pots in red had their lower exterior surfaces roughened while a few had exterior surface decorated with incised designs. The pottery types showed that it was a mixed assemblage of pre-Harappan, Harappan and Cemetery H traditions. Incision of various geometrical designs was also a technique applied extensively of decorating the pottery, apart from the painting executed in black colour displaying simple designs.

The various other finds of the cultural equipment included bangles, chisel, fish-hook, razor blade and a fragment of spear-head in copper; wheeled birds and animal figurines (mostly bulls), toy-cart wheels, wheels, beads, bangles discs and balls of terracotta ; beads, bangles and balls with incised decoration in faience ; beads of paste, steatite and semi-precious stones; a few steatite disc

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beads ; bone engravers and arrow-heads and shell bangles. Several terracotta circular and triangular cakes and grinding and rubbing stones were also unearthed. The discovery of copper fish-hook and bone engravers suggests that fishing and hunting supplemented the food supply of these people.

On the basis of pottery and other finds these remains from Daulatpur can be bracketed with Sanghol IB, Mitathal IIB, Bhagwanpura IA and Banawali III.[4]

Period II : The overlying remains (Period II), having an average deposit of 1.50 m. in thickness in the excavated trenches, are characterised by the occurrence of Painted Grey Ware alongwith its associated Red Ware. A few sherds of black-slipped ware and two sherds of Black-and-red ware were also recorded. As many as three structural phases were encountered in this deposit. With Painted Grey Ware were also recovered sherds of coarse Grey and coarse Red wares. Mostly dishes and bowls with paintings in black pigment were found in the Painted Grey Ware. A few of the dishes contained interesting Painted motifs.

In all, three floor levels, having broken pots *in situ*, were encountered. The evidence of a post-hole and a corn-bin for storage was also noticed.

Throwing light on the cultural life of the people, the other finds of the period included terracotta humped bull figurines, *ghaṭa*-shaped beads, ear-studs, discs, toy-cart wheels with single or double hubs; grey coloured stopper-like objects; stone beads; a bangle piece, pointed arrow-head and a bow-shaped object with a hole at one end in bone; and copper bangles and a bead. The upper levels of the period also yielded two fragmentary iron objects and a piece of glass bangle.

The early historical remains (Period III), ranging in data from c. 500 B.C. to the 5th century A.D., were broadly divisible into two phases. The earlier phase was marked by the plain grey and other pottery of early historical period of the pre-Christian era. The settlement during the late phase (belonging to the centuries succeeding the Christian era) seemed to be well-planned, though the houses were constructed of mud-bricks. Traces of mud-plaster on the exterior of the wall were also noticed this later phase was also distinguished by the occurrence of famous Red Polished Ware, a typical pottery of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period. The associated ordinary red pottery was decorated with stamped designs like *nandipada*, leaves and garland designs. The other finds of the period comprised terracotta toys representing wheeled animals—bulls and other figurines including the figurines of horse and camel with flat circular base—probably used as gamesmen, beads, wheels, balls including a few polished ones, discs, a conical object with flat bottom and engraved with a flower-like design—possibly a potter's stamp, wheels and dabbers, spools and stamps; miscellaneous iron objects including fragments of blade, sickle, nail, ring and figurine of bird; copper objects including bangles and ear-rings; a few copper coins; beads of semi-precious stones, terracotta and glass; shell and glass bangles; a comb of ivory and stone querns and pestles. A small terracotta figure bearing two *triśūla* symbols made by incised holes, belonged to the early centuries of the Christian era.

Amongst the terracotta human figurines belonging to this period, mention may be made of a figurine, crudely modelled and hand-made, showing the bust of the mother-goddess. The figure has animal-like face, pinched nose, slightly marked eyes and ears. The head and the body are tightly

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joined with short thick neck. The broken arms are shown straight without any coherence in the contour, whereas the breasts are short but taut and pointed. The figure is broken below the breasts. The archaic features, the primitive folk-art, the hand-modelling and crude execution assign the figurine to the Mauryan age. Stratigraphically also, the specimen belongs to the Mauryan level. However, the most striking specimen for its plastic beauty and technical excellence is a moulded plaque of a beautiful female figurine standing gracefully. This female figure (broken below the waist) represents a divine goddess with oval face, lozenge eyes, thicker lips and a slender body with elegance and grace, taut breasts pressing each other. She wears a head-dress with *Sīmanta* in the centre, ear-rings, broad neck-lace, armlets and fine drapery. She is probably giving a boon with her right hand to a female devotee standing to her right. A few ornaments are seen on her person. The border of the plaque is decorated with horizontally marked lines. The rhythmic movement of the figure, the plastic conception, the tenderness of feeling, the delicacy of modelling and artistic disposition make the terracotta a representation of the classical art of the Gupta period marked as a golden age of Indian art.

The most important of the finds of the Period were, however, clay seals and sealings bearing legends in early Brāhmī script including a Yaudheya sealing with Brāhmī legend and bull figure; two sealings containing the legend '*Sthāṇeśvarasya*', i.e., 'of the Lord Sthāṇeśvara', in Brāhmī characters of 4th-5th century A.D.; one sealing depicting *swastika* design and trident ; sealing bearing the impression of a ring and another depicting a *Kukkuṭa*.

Period IV : A sprinkling of the remains of Early Medieval times was found in the top levels of the mound. The top most one layer along with a few pits, yielded bowls, *hāṇḍīs* and other variety of pots bearing stamped and incised decoration and sometimes painted in black with simple linear designs. The antiquities of the period included terracotta animal figurines and beads; pottery discs and a few iron objects. No structural remains of the period were found within the excavated area.

The above brief account shows that the exacavations at Daulatpur, although undertaken on a small scale, have brought to light rewarding finds. Apart from throwing light on the nature of Late Harappan culture, the work has revealed no overlap of the Late Harappan and Painted Grey Ware cultures. In early historical period, too, it has yielded many remarkable finds.

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33

Newly Acquired New Type : Two Unique lugged shouldered axes of Copper Hoard in National Museum collection

D.P.Sharma & Madhuri Sharma

The National Museum of India, situated at 11 Janapath New Delhi, has in its possession a total of 191 copper hoard implements, acquired from various localities of lower-middle Ganga-Yamuna doab of U.P., and also from Mehasana in Gujarat.[1] The 137 implements which were collected during 1965 to 1987 have been briefly described by S.P.Gupta and the author.[2] The remaining 54 implements acquired in 1988 have been described in detail elsewhere by the author[3]. The antennae swords and two anthropomorphic figures of our collection have been described by Yule[4] and ourselves[5]. G.N.Pant,[6] and K.N.Dikshit[7] also gave brief descriptions of harpoons, etc., of our collection in their research papers. This small note deals with two unique, new type of lugged shouldered axes in the collection of the National Museum. A total of 141 shouldered axes and 5 shouldered lugged axes and a lugged axe have been reported from the various localities of India. The National Museum of India has a total collection of 37 shouldered axes and 2 lugged shouldered axes from various localities of middle doab, U.P. The lugged shouldered axes described and illustrated here represent a new variety in the axe-group of copper hoards. Lugged shouldered axe was a local innovation of the coppper hoard people in middle doab when they migrated from east to west and came in contact with the western group (west of Kanpur) of middle doab region of Uttar Pradesh, who were familiar with double-mould casting methods of copper. Harpoons and hooked swords were cast by this methods, and the same casting method was utilized in manufacturing of lugged shouldered axes. The western group knew this double-mould method of casting when they came in contact with O.C.P. (late Harappan) people in the upper doab region, of Uttar Pradesh. This development took place around 2000 B.C. in Ganga valley.

The lugged axe is a broad variety of shouldered axe with concave or straight side edges. It has a prominent semicircular or elliptical or convex sharp working edge with a straight sided butt-end. The sharp edge of this implement was made by abrasion and hammering method. The weapon is characterised by one pair of lugs projecting from the centre of its two side-edges. The lugs were

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meant for hafting this with any handle. The first discovery of a shouldered lugged axe was reported fom Sidhauli in Sitapur district of Uttar Pradesh.[8] So far six lugged axes have been reported from the five sites of middle and upper doab of U.P., Kathmandu Valley and Lothal in Gujarat. On the basis of variation in shape of working edges and side edged, the lugged axes are classified under two groups as follows:-

Group I : The lugged shouldered axe of this variety (Type I) has a set of flat rectangular lugs in the middle on each side. It also has two concave shoulders above and below the lugs. Its working edge is sharp, elliptical or convex. The butt-end is straight. (Axes of this type were reported from the following sites : Kathmandu Valley in Nepal-1 and Kanpur Unnao border region, Sitapur-2 and 1 of unknown provenance, which is now in the private collection of Jagdish Gupta of Allahabad[9]; and also one from Lothal (alleged anthropomorphic figure)[10].

Group II : The lugged axe of this variety (Type II) has a set of flat conical lugs on each side. Its working edge is sharp and hemispherical in shape. Its two side edges and butt-end are straight. This does not have concave shoulder near the lugs. So far, only a single lugged axe of this type was discovered from Rewari (Haryana), now exhibited in Kanya Gurukul Museum of Jajhar in Haryana.

The lugged-shouldered axe (ACC NO. 86.59/1) of the National Museum is complete and belongs to group I type. This object is a chance find from Mohammadabad near Sitapur town of U.P. Its length from the corner of two lugs and width from top to butt-end is 13.6 cm and 11.3 cm, respectively. The maximum thickness near the middle portion is 1.2 cm. Its sharp elliptical working edge is significant.The concave depression on its right corner was meant for hafting pruposes. The total circular length of the elliptical working edge is 16 cm. and distance from one corner to the other is 10.4 cm. The elliptical working edge of this axe resembles in shape the convex head portion of the anthropomorphic figure. This minor difference of these two is also noteworthy. The axe does not have as thick a head as the anthropomorphic figure has. The two concave shoulders on the side edge of the axe have depressions as in the case of the anthropomorphic frigure. However, instead of incurved two hands, the axe has a set of lugs on each side. The lugged shouldered axe has also innumerable short vertical chisel marks (strokes) as any anthropomorphic figure bears on its body. The vertical dash or strokes are actually chisel marks, identical on these two was probably common. Both were first cast by the same method, and in the second stage they were flattened with the help of chisels and hammers. Typologically and functionally, the implement was thus meant to be a shouldered lugged-axe, not an anthropomorphic figure. The length and width of lugs are 2.3 cm and 1.9 cm., respectively.

The thickness of lugs near joints is .8 cm., and on its end .5 cm. The butt-end is straight and its corners are angular. This has covering of green patina on both flat sides. This axe resembles a similar type of axe from Kindhoulia, (Sidhauli) District Sitapur, U.P.[11] It is reported to be preserved in some private collection of London. It also resembles one from Kathmandu Valley in Nepal which is now in Seimberg collection, London[12]; and also one new find of unknown provenance now in the private collection of Jagdish Gupta of Allahabad.

Another fragmentary lugged shouldered axe (87.22/14) of National Museum, New Delhi, (8.2 x 5.7 x 7 Cm.), came from Kanpur-Unnao border area. It is also of unique value and is of Group I type. Its elliptical working edge and some of the left part with shoulder and middle part is intact,

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but its two lugs and butt-end portion are missing. It also has sharp vertical chisel dash-marks on both flat sides. This resembles the lugged shouldered axe described above (86.59/1) and also one from Lothal. The present authors are of the opinion that the so-called anthropomorphic figure fragment of Lothal is a lugged shouldered axe of Group-I type. There are some similarities between the axe of Lothal and the axes under discussion. These three have sharp ellipitical working edges and concave shoulders. The Lothal object also has a set of short straight lugs on each side, and these are not incurved arms and thus cannot be the arms of an anthropomorphic figure. On this basis, the Lothal implement can be described as a lugged shouldered axe. For this reason, D.P. Agarwal had some doubt about the so-called anthropomorphic figure from Lothal.[13]

A large number of shouldered axes have been reported from eastern India and also from Kanpur and its adjoining region. Shouldered axes of eastern India (Bihar and Bengal) are very crude and inferior in technology, whereas similar types of objects discovered in lower and middle doab are more refined and show some evolution and innovation in the manufacturing technique. The lugged shouldered axe described and illustrated represents a new variety in the type of shouldered axe group ; and this is an innovation of the copper hoard people in the middle doab (West of Kanpur to east of Bulandshahar) in U.P.

This explains the absence of this type of copper tools in west of middle doab. The lugged shouldered axe has its origin in the shouldered axes of eastern group, which had their origin from the shouldered axes of South-east Asia. Identical types of copper shouldered axes dated around 2nd millennium B.C., were found in excavations from the localities of Gomun, Dom in Thailand, and also from other localities of South-east Asia.[14] In Thailand the shouldered axe has an earlier date than eastern India. Earliest date of copper weapons in Thailand is 2700 B.C., from Non Nok. There is some possibility that shouldered axes in eastern India came through the migration of copper age people from South-east Asia. The linguistic similarity of Mon-khemer tribes of Burma and Thailand with the tribal people of Eastern India also supports the South-east Asian origin[15]. Stone shouldered celts, prototypes of copper axes, dated 8000 B.C., were reported from the Hoabinhian culture sites of South-east Asia. Shouldered axes of copper in this region had evolved out of these prototypes of stone shouldered celts of North-east India and Shouth-east Asia.

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34

The Religiosity of Cattle in Protohistoric India

Nupur Dasgupta

In this paper an attempt has been made to throw some light on the background of the veneration for cattle of the bovine species, evident in the present-day Brahmanical religion. As we shall see, behind this aspect of the Hindu religion there lies a long history of a curious and interesting interplay of the material needs of man, his emotional inclinations and his philosophic ideas, from the very early times. Human philosophy can hardly be dissociated from the vital conditions of existence. The association of the cattle (bovine species) with the Brahmanical religion proves an exellent illustration of this fact.

Mind, that most important faculty of human beings that sets them apart from other animals, was first and foremost concerned with the factors of human survival. The instincts of survival, in course of time, led humankind to the adoption of the process of food production. Along with plants, they began to domesticate some of the animals that they had earlier hunted down. Among these animals, the cattle evidently were the major species so far as our country is concerned. Cattle began to be primarily exploited for animal protein, i.e., milk and meat. A very clear rationale was working behind such activities. Gradually food production, viz., agriculture, and animal husbandry, created a situation where human population increased, societies developed, a higher cultural standard and an all-round prosperity were experienced. Throughout all those phases of development human fears, aspirations and emotional reactions were being vented through their religious beliefs. Now, with the attainment of a higher, stable order of life, they would naturally turn their attention to arranging their 'world outlook' and religious ideologies.

It is in the Pre-Harappan context that we find the earliest clear manifestations of a sort of organised religion, where we come across a lot of significant pointers to the fact of the religiosity of cattle, that had already become very useful in the economy of the people.

Two types of representational features are available, indicating this practice. Firstly, there are numerous terracotta figurines of the humped bull or ox in the excavated artifacts from several pre-Harappan sites like Mundigak in Afghanistan, Damb Dadaat, Periano Ghundai, Amri, Kot Diji and

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others in Baluchistan, and Kalibangan in Rajasthan. The animal has also been used repeatedly as a painted motif on pre-Harappan pottery. Such depictions occur on the pottery from Mundigak, Rana Ghundai, Amri, Kalibangan, etc. But, more interesting are the representations of horned human heads on the pottery from Kot Diji, Gumla, Rahman Dheri, Sarai Khola, Lewan, Kalibangan, etc. The horns appear to belong to the buffalo and the bull. And as Bridget and F.R.Allchin assert, these evidences indicate certain associations of the bovine species like buffalo and bull/cow with a horned deity or deities already in these pre-Harappan times in Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Sind and Rajasthan. They correctly point out that the pre-Harappan or Early Indus representations anticipate the horned deity of the Mature Harappan religion, and 'it is clearly possible to see that these ideas continued to exert their influence on Indian folk religion down to modern times and that the Early Indus Period is in every part of the continuing growth of India civilization'.[1] These representations have been designated as the 'Bull Deity' by the Allchins.

It is extremely significant that these representational features are common to several of the pre-Harappan or Early Harappan sites in the regions of Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Sind and Rajasthan. We may note that the cult of 'Mother Goddess' was becoming another religious feature common to the sites of this culture. It appears that along with the other aspects of life, the religious ideologies of the people were getting organised and standardised, so that certain common characteristics developed that could be designated, as a whole, as belonging to the 'pre-Harappan', or as some scholars like M.R.Mughal would like to call it, the 'Early Harappan' culture.[2]

The above religious ideologies attained full expression in the subsequent Mature Harappan Culture. By this time set standards had been achieved in every sphere of life, that give a specific form to this culture. The religion, likewise, was no exception. There were several features of the Mature Harappan religion, among which the association with cattle is especially noticeable. To quote Earnest Mackay, 'overwhelming evidence of the worship of animals on the part of the people of the ancient Indus Valley, is provided by the seal-amulets, which portray a varied assortment of beasts'.[3] Among these the bull or oxen and buffalo are the most commonly represented. Indeed, W.A. Fairservis holds the 'Bull-cult' as a major feature, characteristic of the Mature Harappan culture.

We are all familar with the famous Indus seal depicting the finely executed Brahmani bull with its prominent hump, dewlap and horns. However, the animal most frequently encountered on the Harappan seals is the humpless bull. In fact, as the Allchins point out, the figure that had been commonly held to be a unicorn is actually that of a humpless bull in profile with its horns super-imposed on each other and pointing forward. Most of these seals depict a common object like a manger or even an incense-burner placed before the animal which seems to have been a 'cult-object'.[4]

A clearer indication of the association of the bull with Mature Harappan religion is obtained from two amulets which depict a scene showing the urus-bull being carried in a religious procession by a human figure. Mackay points out that this scene recalls to mind the custom of carrying animal effigies in religious processions in ancient Egypt.[5] We may note here that terracotta, stone and metal figurines of the bull appear repeatedly at most sites of this culture throughout the length and breadth of the Harappan cultural zone.

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As to the horned deity which had already materialised out of the religious inspirations of the pre-Harappans, we get a series of horned human figures, both male and female, representing the horned deities, in several Mature Harappan seals and amulets. These figures often exhibit the hind-legs and hoofs of cattle.

One of the most significant representations is to be found in a series of seals which exhibit a nude human figure seated in a Yogic posture on a low throne. He is adorned with two horns of a buffalo or bull, and has three faces. John Marshall had identified the figure as Śiva of the later Hindu religion in his aspect of Pasupati.[6] The God is still associated with the ox 'Nandī', which serves as his divine *vāhana* or vehicle.

Another theme represented on seals shows a row of seven figures of uncertain sex standing before a *pipal* tree with a horned figure standing in it. The seven figures have been variously interpreted as seven *ṛṣis* (seers), or later, as seven mothers. Evidently they worship the horned deity. From Chanhu-daro comes a remarkable seal, which shows a bull bison with erect penis standing over and fecundating a supine human figure.[7] From this it appears that the bull may have been symbolically associated with some sort of fertility rite ; and this has a bearing on the practice of cattle breeding in those days.

Walter A. Fairservis touches the core of this phenomenon when he asserts that in the bull represented on the seals we are dealing with an animal that not only must have been a principal factor of the religious scheme of the Harappans, but a significant entity in the economy 'perhaps the *raison d'etre* for its sacrosant character'.[8]

In fact, the archaeological evidences indicate that the cattle of the bovine species had indeed attained the most important position as domestic animals in the economy of the Mature Harappans. The trend was set in the pre-Harappan days when we note the gradual shift of settlements and populations into the larger river plains and the gradual adoption of full-fledged agricultural economy. The cattle, especially suited to the river plains and an agrarian economy, as F.E.Zeuner points out,[9] naturally became the most preferred domestic animals. At most of the excavated Harappan sites that have yielded archaeological remains of animals, we find that the remains of the *Bos* species far outnumber the remains of other animal species, wild or domestic. The buffalo is, however, comparatively rare. It shows that the people derived the maximum supply of animal protein in their diet from cattle of the bovine species which they had domesticated. Not only did these animals provide milk and meat, but also supplied labour to these developing societies. Besides the works related to agricultural operations, work-bullocks were most commonly employed for transport and draft purposes. We have several specimens, often in fragmentary forms, of terracotta models of bullock-carts which are to all intents and purposes identical with those we see at present in rural areas. Further evidences are found in the form of cart-tracks on the roads as well as rubbing-marks on the corners of smaller by-ways of the cities.[10] From Harappa[11] and Chanhu-daro[12] come copper and bronze models of carts with seated drivers. It is obvious then that animals-drawn carts were most commonly used in those days. Bull, buffalo and ass or half-ass (hemiones) were the animals most likely to have been used for this purpose. The overwhelming instances of the Bos species at the excavated sites of these periods and less impressive number of asses or hemiones would indicate that the former was more commonly available and therefore

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utilized for the job. Thus it appears that this animal facilitated to a great extent even trade and commerce, a very important feature of the urban Harappan socio-economy. The Allchins agree that the caravans of cattle were indeed important in the overland trade of the Harappans. They even point out that such caravans of cattle still operate under the control of cattle breeders in present times in Karnataka and Saurashtra.[13]

Under the circumstances, the people could not but be aware of the importance of the breast in both the spheres of food economy and trade. The animal rendered great service to the Harappans. The cattle, therefore, must have been a prize possession of the people. It is most natural that this feeling of dependence on this one animal got reflected in their religious ideology. It should be noted, moreover, that men must have been impressed especially by the powerful bull, ox and buffalo, whose physical prowess, when geared to specific jobs, brought great advantages to them. We must remember that these were the times when the horse had not yet appeared on the scene, and physical labour in the sphere of draft, especially, was being provided primarily by the bull and buffalo. This is how the overwhelming evidence for the association of these animals with religion is explained. Physical prowess impresses and generates a feeling of awe and veneration, when an urban civilization, the powerful cattle of the bovine species warranted a religious attribution. The association of the great, powerful male God 'Śiva', the personification of virility, with the bull is most significant.

Cattle continued to dominate the herding economy of the other subsequent chalcolithic cultures in the different geographical regions. The terracotta figurines of the bull were often found at many excavated sites belonging variously to the Late Harappan, ochre-coloured pottery, Bara Wate and the Central Indian and Deccan chalcolithic cultures.

But it is at Daimabad, in Maharashtra, on the banks of the Pravara river, that more significant evidences are again available that may indicate some sort of association of the buffalo and bull or ox with local religious rites. Recent excavations have revealed the occurrence of a Late Harappan sequence of occupation at this primarily 'Malwa' and 'Jorwe' cultural site. Four massive pieces of bronze sculptures have been recovered that, according to the excavators S.A.Sali[14] and M.K.Dhavalikar,[15] belong to this Late Harappan sequence. The sculptures are those of an elephant, a rhinoceros, a buffalo all standing on cast copper bronze platforms, and a two-wheeled chariot complete with a human rider driven by two yoked oxen or bulls. Of these, the figure of the buffalo and the bull-driven chariot are of interest to us. The buffalo is modelled in a naturalistic manner. It stands on a cast copper bronze platform. An axle is attached to this through vertical bars, which are provided with holes for wheels. There are four wheels, the front ones smaller than those on the rear. The chariot is a light affair, more like a Roman 'biga' than a cart. The human driver stands bullocks with prominent humps and projecting horns. The solid wheels with projecting hub are fixed to the axle and rise over the light body of the chariot. This chariot is a unique specimen in Indian protohistory having no parallel and only a slight link with the model copper vehicles of Harappa and Chanhu-daro.

All these sculptures are massive in size, together weighing over 60 kg. They are also non-utilitarian objects. Moreover, the spectroscopic analysis of their metal content revealed the use of arsenic alloying. Now, all these features are quite common in the Deccan chalcolithic context and

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have raised the question of their actual age and origin. Nevertheless, S.R.Rao,[16] M.K.Dhavalikar,[17] S.A.Sali,[18] and H.D.Sankalia,[19] all concede, considering the evidence at Daimabad, that these objects belonged to the Late Harappan occupational levels at Daimabad. The Allchins also recognise the antiquity of these sculptures and place them in the Deccan chalcolithic context.[20]

Dhavalikar[21] puts forward the view that these pieces may have been imported into the Deccan from the Harappan centres further north, where arsenic alloying was a common practices and copper was more abundant. In fact he suggests that these Daimabad bronzes may have had some religious significance which accounts for their massiveness. They may have been used in religious processions by the people. The bronzes may have been sculptured on the order of some ruling authority or religious priest with the consent of the community, who all contributed to the cost of making them, which must have been great in those regions where copper was sparsely used.

We have already seen how effigies of animals like the bull were carried by men in religious processions in the Mature Harappan context. It is likely that the people of Daimabad, a little later, were inspired with religious enthusiasm to possess such elaborate wheeled models of animals that they carried in religious processions. The massiveness, uniqueness and non-utilitarian nature of these objects do not permit any other explanation for their presence. Thus, we are again face to face with an ancient instance of the association of the buffalo and ox or bull with the religion of the people.

The tradition was not unique to Daimabad. We get further instances of the probable religiosity of cattle from another chalcolithic site in Central India. At Kayatha, a specific cultural site near Ujjain, on the banks of the river Kali Sindh, a tributary of the Chambal, we again encounter significant indications of this nature. M.K.Dhavalikar,[22] one of the excavators of the site, suggests that the terracotta figurines of bulls showing prominent humps and horns that have been recovered from this site may have had some religious significance. He points out that the bull figurines are of two types, naturalistic and stylised. No figure is treated with slip nor is there any attempt at ornamentation. The only decoration, if one can call it that, consists of nail-marks over the body. The naturalistic and stylised bulls are found together from the ealiest levels of the excavated strata onwards. Dhavalikar reports that the stylised bull-forms, found in considerably large numbers, are unique in as much as they have no parallels elsewhere in the country even later in the historical period. They present an enigma before us. Dhavalikar suggests that these bull forms seem to have been used as votive offerings and also might have been suspended from the neck by means of thread as totemical medallions, the likes of which are worn by so many tribal people throughout the world. Dhavalikar also refers to the fact that the bull cult has a 'hoary antiquity' in India and the beast is still worshipped here in modern days.[23]

If we look at the food economy of these chalcolithic folks in Central India and Deccan, we find that the remains of the cow and bull predominate the total faunal debris at the sites. The buffalo is less in evidence. Nevertheless, together, the bovine species constituted the overwhelming majority in the faunal remains at these sites.[24] Taking Kayatha specifically, we note that the faunal remains comprise mostly those of the bovine species.[25] More interestingly, K.R.Alur's osteological analysis revealed turned-out-toes and turned-in-hocks — a feature which indicates restricted movement on the part of the animal. This goes to show that the animal had been domesticated and

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was perhaps used to carrying heavy burdens.[26] Thus we again come across the use of the physical power of these beasts by man. The traditions set in the Harappan context may have percolated to these peripheral regions, or the local indigenous people may have on their own organised their religious ideologies that arose out of their aspirations, fears and feeling of dependence. The physically powerful animals that they encountered must have impressed and aroused awe in them, which they sought to express through religious ideas and rites, etc. Moreover, the awareness of the domestic cattle's importance in the food economy would lead them to attach great value to this animal. Thus while beasts like rhinoceros and elephant may have been associated with religion out of awe, cattle are endowed with sanctity out of both feelings of awe and love and dependence. Hence, the artistic representations of cattle occur in prolific numbers at most of the sites in the chalcolithic context throughout India, many of which may have had to do with the local religious rituals.

With the Vedic Aryans, cattle clearly attained a very high position in the economy, society and religious philosophy. We get clear references to this in the Vedic literature. The Aryans were primarily a pastoral folk, especially in the early Ṛg Vedic days. To them obviously, cattle would have appeared as the most coveted possession. It is natural that this extremely useful beast, on which the early Aryans depended a lot for nourishment, would become associated with the Vedic religion. We get numerous instances in the *Ṛg Veda* where we find prayers to various gods for the gifts of cattle.

The Ṛg Veḍic prayer says "The kine have come and brought good fortune : let them rest in the cow-pen and be happy near us ...."[27]; and, more remarkably, "To me the cows seem Bhaga, they seem Indra, they seem a portion of the first poured Soma...", the divine drink[28].

Again, "O Cows, ye fatten even the worn and wasted, and make the unlovely beautiful to look on.

Prosper my house, ye with auspicious voices. Your power is glorified in our assemblies".

"Crop goodly pasturage and be prolific : drink pure sweet water at good drinking places.

Never be thief or sinful man your master and may the dart of Rudra still avoid you".[29]

Here in the Vedic context we find that the cow is accorded the highest postion and equated with the mother in her divine quality. As the sixteenth verse of hymn I of Book IV, *Ṛg Veḍa*, states, the ancient names of the milch cow, Ehi, Surabhi, Guggulu and Gandhini, etc., are equal to the Mother's thrice-seven noblest titles.

The cow, *go*, has been equated with the earth, *go*. The Aśvins are praised for having 'deposited the milk within the Cosmic Cow which is found unaltered in the cows of the earth'.[30] This is an excellent illustration of how much the Ṛg Vedic Aryans valued the milk of the cow, and therefore the milch cow. Another significant reference is made in the *Ṛg Veda*, Book III, hymn 55, verse 12, which refers to Heaven and Earth as the two cows, Mother and Daughter, who are said to meet and yield their lordly nectar'.

The bull has also been held in high esteem for its power and has often been compared in strength to Indra, Agni, Sūrya and other deities in the *Ṛg Veda*.

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We may note here that the buffalo is not actually accorded a place as high as the cow or the bull. Nevertheless, the beast had been used as metaphor for Agni as a type of extraordinary strength.

It is evident from the more numerous and lofty references to the divine character of the cow than the bull, that to the Vedic Aryans the former was of more importance than the latter. Indeed, the horse, a strong, speedy animal, impressed and invoked great praise from them, and hence the bull faced a competition in the horse as a domestic beast used for transport and draft purposes. But the cow with its milk and its breeding capacity becomes *aghnya* — a beast not to be hurt in any way or killed, by the later Vedic times.[31] The *Śatapatha Brāmaṇa* prohibited the consumption of beef during the period of performing a sacrifice.[32] The *Atharva Veda* exhorts that even touching the cow with a leg was a heinous crime, which was supposed to result in one's own destruction.[33] The consumption of beef and even buffalo-meat gradually became a taboo to the Aryans.

The cattle, especially cow and ox, are still held in high esteem in the Vedic Brahmanical religion. We have the divine *vāhana* of Śiva, the ox Nandī, who receives his due share of attention in the rituals concerning the great male god. Cattle are also associated with the other important male god of the Brahmanical pantheon, Kṛṣṇa or Gopāla, who is said to be the divine cow-herd of Vṛndāvana. The buffalo is equated with the great demoniac warrior 'Mahiṣāsura', who is eventually killed by the Mother Goddess Durgā. The demon is also worshipped with the Mother Goddess herself. The cow is called *Gomāta*, and six excellent productions of the cow, viz., milk, clarified butter, curd, urine, dung and *go-rocaṇā* (a bright yellow pigment prepared from the urine of a cow) are held as propitious and used as purifiers in several rituals. The oblations offered to the dead in the *Śrāddha* ceremony are either to be thrown into the Gaṅgā or given to the cow or ox, so that they may have a pure end. Some of the more religiously inclined would offer daily oblations and worship the *gomātā*. All these rituals, as we have seen, had a long history, the roots of which may be traced back to the first instances when man domesticated cattle and found that they yielded innumerable and excellent services to humankind. The Brahmanical religion records and reflects man's expression of gratitude to this gentle beast in the various religious practices mentioned above.

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Bhandarkar's Approach Towards Identification of Kings and Confederacies

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal

Historians are expected to be objective in their interpretation of evidence. However, despite the fact that they may try to be so, their temperament and background training is likely to influence their attitude and approach to a problem and its interpretation in some measure. In some cases the angularity of the author appears so pronounced that a critical reader can often correctly anticipate the conclusions he would arrive at in different problems. Here we take note of Professor D.R. Bhandarkar, an eminent historian, who with his command of original sources both literary and archaeological has made significant contributions to various branches of Indology. We would confine ourselves to his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Volume III, Gupta Inscriptions*, which took almost a quarter of a century of his mature scholarship to complete and was published posthumously.[1] In this work, too, we restrict ourselves to his opinion on two points (1) his taking two names as referring to one and same person, and (2) his theory of smaller kings fighting a stronger power by forming a confederation rather than individually. We would in each case first state the problem and then give Bhandarkar's view on it.

I. IDENTIFICATION OF PERSONS

1. Rāmagupta/Kāca

A king named Rāmagupta is known since long from literary sources[2] as the elder brother of Candragupta II. He was a weak king who stooped down to offer his wife Dhruvadevī to the invading Saka king, at the latter's bidding. By now there is also numismatic and epigraphic evidence for the existence of a king Rāmagupta in the Gupta period[3], which was not available to Bhandarkar. Significantly, in the epigraph he has been given the title of *mahārājādhirāja*,[4] which was the title of the paramount sovereign in the Gupta period. However, some gold coins of a king Kāca with the legend *Kāco gāmavajitya karmabhiruttamairdivam jayati*[5] were known to Bhandarkar. In metal, shape, size weight, and style, they are very close to the coins of Samudragupta. Some scholars consider Kāca as an elder brother of Samudragupta,[6] and suggest that despite the fact that

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Candragupta I declared Samudragupta as his successor in the Assembly (*vide* Allahabad Pillar Inscription)[7] Kāca, who was one of the princes who did not relish[8] this declaration, seized the throne for a short period and issued coins.

Bhandarkar, however, has a very different opinion in this matter. He is of the view that Kāca [gupta] of the coins is identical with Rāmagupta known from literary sources. The explanation that he gives is rather curious. According to him, the original name of the king was Kāca, which the manuscript writer, due to his carelessness wrote as *Rāma*.[9]

Of course, now with additional evidence at hand (above), the existence of a king Rāmagupta seems to be certain. But even when it was not available, hardly any historian accepted Bhandarkar's identification of Rāmagupta with Kāca. We do not know whether his preference for one instead of two has been responsible for advancing such a theory.

2. Govindagupta/Kumāragupta

A Vaiśālī sealing refers to Dhruvasvāminī as wife of *Mahārājadhirāja* Chandragupta II and mother of *Mahārāja* Govindagupta (*Mahārājādhirāja Candraguptapatnī - Mahārāja Govindaguptamātā Dhruvasvāminī*)[10]. Govindagupta is also referrred to in another epigraph[11] and his description is such as would normally befit a king. Nobody would doubt the identification of Govindagupta of the Vaiśālī sealing with homonym of the Mandasor inscription. Bhandarkar, however, going one step further, identified Govindagupta with Kumāragupta I[12]. Both have been referred to as son of Chandragupta II and Dhruvadevī/Dhruvasvāminī (the former form of the name occurring in the genealogical portion of a large number of inscriptions belonging to the reign of Kumāragupta I and his successors). Bhandarkar puts forth another argument. According to him, the way Govindagupta has been referred to in the Mandasor Inscription shows that he was a king,[13] and if so, he should have issued coins. But as no coins of a king by the name of Govindagupta are known, he should better be identified with Kumāragupta I. He also refers to a type of coins with *kramāditya* legend on the reverse and on the obverse *ku* beneath the left arm of the king and *go* between his feet. He suggest that *ku* stands for Kumāragupta I and *go* for Govindagupta,[14] both being the names of one and the same person. In his view Govindagupta was the original name. He became invincible and irresistible in his battles and was for that reason identified with Kumāra (Kārtti-keya) and henceforth styled as Kumāragupta.[15]

We may state that in the case of Chandragupta II, we know from an epigraph from Sanchi[16] that he had another name Devarāja (of which another form Devagupta is met with in a Vākāṭaka inscription).[17] But there is no evidence to show that Govindagupta adopted the name of Kumāragupta (or *vice versa*). Is the identification of Govindagupta with Kumāragupta I guided by Bhandarkar's preference for identifying two persons or kings?

3. Skandagupta/Purugupta

Several coins[18] and inscriptions[19] of King Skandagupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty are known, and the epigraphs invariably mention him as the son of Kumāragupta I. Also there are several seal-inscriptions of the later Imperial Gupta kings containing genealogies mentioning Purugupta as son of Kumāragupta I, and make no mention of Skandagupta.[20] One logical conclusion can be, and has been drawn by many scholars that Skandagupta and Purugupta were brothers and

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ruled one after the other though there were differences of opinion about their order of succession.[21] The last date of Kumāragupta I is 455 A.D.,[22] which is also the earliest known date for Skandagupta, and the latter is known to have ruled at least upto 467 A.D.[23] Therefore, Purugupta had either ruled for a very short period in 455 A.D., or after 467 A.D. from the non-mention of Skandagupta's name in seal-genealogies, it has been suggested that Skandagupta did not have male issues and hence after him the throne was passed on either to Purugupta or to the progeny of the latter (according to the order of succession between Skandagupta and Purugupta). The omission of Skandagupta's name in the genealogies contained in the seals of the descendants of Purugupta could be because they only trace father-to-son relationship and not king-to-king succession, and therefore brother-to-brother succession has been ignored in them.[24]

Bhandarkar, however, identifies Skandagupta with Purugupta.[25] His main arguments are:

(1) If Purugupta would have ruled, he must have issued coins, but no coins bearing his name are known (the earlier reading of *Puru* on some coins has been corrected as *Budha* by S.K. Saraswati),[26] and

(2) if Purugupta and Skandagupta are taken as two different kings, then a large number of kings have to be placed in the short period between 455 A.D. and 476 A.D. viz., Skandagupta, Purugupta, Narasimhagupta, Kumaragupta II (GE 154-473 A.D.) and Budhagupta (GE 157-476 A.D.).

As against this we may point out that some scholars, on the basis of the evidence of Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (as they interpret it), take Devakī as the mother of Skandagupta,[27] while the mother of Purugupta is known as Anantadevī.[28] This evidence, if accepted, would make the two as different persons. However, this being a doubtful evidence, we would not press it. But even without it, there seems to be weighty evidence in favour of taking them as two separate persons.[29] Bhandarkar, however, has no doubt about their being one and the same person.

4. Bhānugupta/Narasimhagupta Bālāditya

A king Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, is known from coins.[30] He is generally identified with King Bālāditya of Hiuen Tsang's account, who fought the Hūṇa king Mihirakula.[31] An inscription from Eran[32] refers to one Bhānugupta in a way to suggest that he was a ruler and one whose chieftain, Goparāja by name, fought for him against his enemy (the identity of the enemy has not been revealed therein, but Bhandarkar identifies them with the Maitras[32A]). In the scheme of chronology put forth by Bhandarkar,[33] Bhānugupta succeeded Budhagupta and is identical with the Gupta king Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, known from coins and also from Hiuen-tsang's (who refers to him merely as Bālāditya) account who took Mihirakula, the Hūṇa king, as prisoner, and later on at the petition of his own mother freed him[34]. Most of the scholars, consider Bhānugupta and Narasimhagupta Bālāditya as two different rulers,[34A] and the recent discovery of a coin of Bhānugupta with *Prakāśāditya* title for him has conclusiverly proved their separate identity[34B]

5. Acyuta, Nandin/Acyutanandin

We may refer to Acyuta-Nandin in the Allahabad Inscription.[35] Whereas other scholars have taken it to refer to two different kings,[36] Acyuta and Nandin, Bhandarkar[37] takes it as one name, and to substantiate his point gives examples of Nandi-ending names Bhūtinandin, Śiśunandin and

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Yasonandin as those of kings ruling over Vidiśā after the Śuṅgas. However, it is quite possible that the basic inclination of Bhandarkar for preferring 'one' rather than 'two' might have inspired him to interpret the evidence like that.

6. Kālidāsa/Mātṛgupta

Mātṛgupta is mentioned in the *Rājataraginī* as one who was appointed king of Kashmir by Harṣa-Vikramāditya, and who on the death of his appointing authority abdicated and returned as a recluse to Varanasi.[38] Bhandarkar identifies Vikramāditya with the famous Gupta king Candragupta II Vikramāditya, and Mātṛgupta with Kālidāsa, in view of the similarity of meaning of the two names (*mātṛ-mother*) being another appellation of Kāli and *dāsa*-ending of the name is similar to the *gupta*-ending one.[39] He also suggests that Kālidāsa's works *Vikramorvaśīyam* and *Kumārasambhavam* have been composed after the names Vikrama (Candragupta II) and Kumāragupta I. In his opinion, Kālidāsa in later period seems to have been despatched as *tantrapāla* or charge d'affaires to the court of Pravarasena (Vākāṭaka), and it was during his stay there that Vākāṭaka ruler, under his inspiration and guidance, composed *Setubandha* also called *Daśamukhavadha* or *Rāvaṇavadha*. Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty was not known as Harṣa and the title *Vikramāditya* common to both is hardly a sound basis for their identification, as the title itself was not uncommon in ancient India. Again, similarity (not even identity) of the meaning of the names Kālidāsa and Mātṛgupta does not provide a sound plank for the identification of the two. It is true that the identification of Kālidāsa with Mātṛgupta is not Bhandarkar's original suggestion, it being proposed earlier by Bhau Daji.[40] However, that this was accepted by him, also suggests his preference for identifying the two as one.

II. CONFEDERACIES

In the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Volume III*, D.R. Bhandarkar has shown preference in his interpretation for small kingdoms making a confederacy to fight the enemy. We may, in passing, say that this aspect of his approach is reflected in his other writings as well. For example, in a chapter contributed by him to the *Comprehensive History of India, Volume II, The Mauryas and the Sātavāhanas* (ed. by K.A. Nilkanta Sastri), he propounds a theory that there was a confederacy of kings against Mauryan king Bindusāra. He writes "According to Hindu political theory, Kaliṅga and Chola were natural enemies of the Maurya power and therefore natural friends of each other. It is not unreasonable to suppose that in Bindusāra's war on Chola and Pāṇḍya Kalinga was an ally of the latter...."[41] The editor (K.A.N. Sastri) of the *volume* sought for an explanation for "such highly speculative reasonings", but unfortunately Prof. Bhandarkar passed away before he could reply the letter.[42] We now discuss Bhandarkar's preference for a confederacy as met with in the *Corpus*.

1. Confederacy of Kāncī and other Kingdoms

The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta gives the names of twelve rulers of Dakṣiṇāpatha, and each of them is mentioned by name together with the name of the territory he ruled over. (e.g., Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghraraja of Mahākāntāra, etc.). There is no reference to any confederacy of two or more kings. Bhandarkar,[43] however, is of the view that some south Indian rulers had formed confederacies, and in each confederacy the most prominent king was the overlord of its other members. According to him "Viṣṇugupta of Kāncī was the overlord, and the rulers of Avamukta, Veṅgī, Pālakka, Devarāṣṭra and Kusthalapura were his feudatories ...".[44] He

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is also of the view that in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription rulers have been mentioned according to the political hierarchy to which they belonged.[45] He even believes that the Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries were also subordinate to Kāncī, and the defeat of the Kāncī overlord presupposes the defeat of all states subsidiary to him, though they might have not taken actual part with him in his fight against Samudragupta.[46]

The confederation of neighbouring kings to meet an invader is of course quite possible, but there is hardly any evidence of confederacies of kings in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. One feels that if the states of Avamukta, Veṅgī etc., mentioned above were satellites of the state of Kāncī, then either their relationship should have been mentioned in the epigraph which mentions all of them individually, or only the leader state, Kāncī, should have been mentioned, omitting the names of other kingdoms. Further, if Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries had also been members of the confederacy, they should also have been mentioned, as the greater the number of kings defeated, the greater would be the might of the conquering king reflected; and there is all the more reason for their having been mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription by the high Gupta official, Hariṣeṇa, the author of the *praśasti*.

2. Confederacy of Kosala and other kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha

Bhandarkar is also of the view that there was another confederation of Daksniṇāpatha kings. According to him, the king of Kosala was lord paramount and Mahākāntāra, Kaurala, Piṣṭapura, Koṭṭūra and Eraṇḍapalla were his subordinates in a descending order.[47] There is no evidence whatsoever in the epigraph for such a conclusion and practically the same points may be raised against this view as have been put forth about the preceding one.

3. Confederacy against the Vākāṭakas

Bhandarkar speaks of the temporary decline of the Vākāṭaka kingdom and considers a confederacy of enemy kingdoms mainly responsible for it: "There was the ruler of Kosala in the east, the Nāga confederacy in the north, the Kshatrapas in the west and the Pallavas and others in the south. These must have conspired jointly or severally to pounce upon the Vākāṭaka empire ...".[48] In the above, there is definite reference to a confederacy of Nāga kings, and the possibility of some other powers also conspiring against the Vākāṭaka kingdom joining it and thus forming a larger confedearcy. To the best of our knowledge there is no evidence whatsoever for such a confederacy.

4. Confederacy of Acyuta, Nāgasena, Gaṇapatināga and 'scion of Koṭa family'

According to Bhandarkar,[49] "Samudragupta singly (*ekana*) and in a moment (*kṣaṇāt*), uprooted the three kings" "through the prowess of his arms", Acyuta, Nāgasena and Gaṇapatināga, who have been mentioned together in the epigraph. In his view Samudragupta met the three foes at one and the same time and on one and the same battle-field. "Evidently Achyuta, Nāgasena and Gaṇapatināga had formed a coalition" against Samudragupta.[50] Bhandarkar further states that the scion of 'Koṭa family' mentioned in the next line, i.e., fourteenth line, had also joined this coalition.[51]

It may be left to readers to judge for themselves as to how far these interpretations can be considered as reflecting Bhandarkar's approach. However, one might give credit to that savant for being consistent in his approach.

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4. See *ibid.*
5. For gold coins of Kāca, see Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, and of Śaśaṅka King of Gauḍa, in the Brithish Museum*, London, pp. 15f.
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7. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 263, line 8.
8. *Ibid.*, line 7.
9. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 51. He does not elaborate the matter in the *Corpus*, but elsewhere (*Malaviya Commemoration Volume*) he opines that the inadvertent deletion of the horizontal bar in the centre of *kā* would make the letter as *rā*, and the Gupta letter *ca* has closeness to one of the forms of *ma*, and a slight carelessness of the scribe could make the letter look like that.
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11. D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 406ff.
12. *Corpus*, pp. 72-73.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
16. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 280ff.
17. Chammak Copper plate Inscription of Pravaraseṇa II, *ibid.*, pp.442ff.
18. For coins, see Allan, *op. cit.*, pp.114ff.
19. See e.g., Sircar, *op.cit.*, p.307, no.25, p.316, no. 26a ; p.313, no. 27; p.321, no.28 etc.
20. For seal inscription, see K.K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, pp. 67ff.
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24. See also H.C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 585.
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26. *IC*, I, pp. 691-92.
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28. See, e.g., Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 330.
29. There are some scholars who believe that the Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription belongs to Purugupta. See Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 325, on p. 327.
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32. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 345ff.
32A. R.C. Majumdar identifies with the Hūṇas, *Classical Age*, p. 34.
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34B. *JNSI*, XLII, pp. 120ff.
35. *Corpus*, p. 213, line 21.
36. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 535-36.
37. *Corpus*, p. 10.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
40. *JBBRAS*, V, 1861, pp. 218ff.
41. Bhandarkar in *Comprehensive History of India*, II, (ed. by K.A.N.Sastri), p. 23.
42. See K.A.N. Sastri's editorial note, *ibid.*, p. 23, n.2.
43. *Corpus*, p. 19.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
51. *Ibid.*

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Vox Populi and Ancient Indian State

S.N. Misra

The gradual evolution of the monarchical state, the expansion of *Janapadas* into *Mahājanapadas*, the rise of imperialist expansionism and the deification of the king enormously enhanced the power, position and the prestige of the king. Hereditary succession and primogeniture accentuated the monarchical polity. The coronation ceremony ritualised and legitimised the position of the king. Ancient Indian thinkers and lawgivers envisaged these autocratic tendencies and devised numerous checks to curb them and restrain them within the parameters of *Dharma*. Their ideal was a virtuous, righteous and benevolent ruler who would rule in accordance with the tenets of *Rājadharma*. In order to realise this ideal, the heir-apparent was given the best education. The Hāthigumphā inscription sheds welcome light on the education of the crown prince. We learn from the *Jātakas* that even the legitimate heir was put to test by the ministers,[1] and in case they found him incapable, he was bypassed.[2] People could banish wicked princes[3] and install the candidates of their choice[4] in consultation with the ministers.

We find in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that Daśaratha made up his mind to install Rāma as the heir-apparent only after satisfying himself with the capability, virtues and accomplishments of Rāma.[5] Having made up his mind, Daśaratha consulted the ministers and the *Sabhā* and obtained their concurrence[6]—and then informed Rāma thus: "O my son, hear me, it is the will of my people, that thou become their sovereign; I shall, therefore, install thee as my successor."[7] According to Kauṭilya, only a virtuous and amiable prince should be installed as heir-apparent.[8] We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that people protested and had to be convinced by the king Yayāti when he installed his youngest son Puru as the heir-apparent, bypassing all the elder sons.[9] Devāpī[10] and subsequently Dhṛtarāṣṭra[11] were excluded from succession on account of their ailments. We learn from the Junagaṛh inscription of Rudradāman I that "he was elected king by all the *varṇas* for their protection."[12] Samudragupta was appointed heir-apparent by his father Chandragupta I in his *Sabhā* because of his nobility (*Āryohi*). This gave happiness to the members, but the other princes became crestfallen (*mlānānano*).[13] Skandagupta, too, was selected as he was found to be most capable and meritorious.[14] We learn from the Khalimpur Plates of Dharmapāla that people had elected Gopāla

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subjects.[36] In no case should the king harm the source of income itself.[37] Kālidāsa says in the *Raghuvaṃśa* that the sun sucks the moisture of the earth only to return it manifold in the form of rain.[38]

The saints, sages and ascetics living in jungles and mountains, when coming down to cities, asked the king: "Art thou ruling righteously over the kingdom? "[39] The ascetics living in jungles censured the deceitful conduct of Dhṛtarāṣṭra towards the Pāṇḍavas at the game of dice.[40] Kauṭilya, too, says that bad government offends even the asetics and recluses.[41] When Rāma was exiled, the people censured the conduct of Daśaratha[42]. Rāma had full faith in Sītā's chastity while she was in the custody of Rāvaṇa, yet he ordered the fire ordeal to escape public censure.[43] When Pāṇḍavas were exiled after the deceitful game of dice, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and his vile sons became the objects of popular resentment.[44]

We learn from the *Jātakas* that many a times people forced their will on a wavering king. A king had to undertake a fast for seven days when his kingdom was afflicted by a drought[45]; another king was forced to banish his mad prince.[46] The people of Kosala forced Prasenajit to proceed against the bandit Angulimāla.[47] The *Rāmāyaṇa*[48] and the *Mahābhārata*[49] state that the people forced Mahārāja Sagara to banish his eldest prince Asmanjasa, who was a cruel maniac. Wicked kings were deposed and exiled.[50] Nāgadāsaka was banished.[51]

Numerous *Jātakas* tell the stories of wicked, vicious and tyrannical kings who were slain by the angry people.[52] The wicked king Vena was slain by the Ṛsis.[53] Kauṭilya states that even though an emperor, a vicious and unrighteous king falls a prey to the fury of his subjects.[54] Yājñavalkya says that the fire springing from the wrath, caused by the harassment of the subjects does not cease without burning the family, wealth and the life of the king.[56] Bhīṣma lays down the most revolutionary principle thus, "the subjects should arm themselves for slaying that king who does not protect them, who simply plunders their wealth, who confounds all distinctions, who is incapable of taking their lead, who is without compassion and who is regarded as most sinful of kings. That king who tells his people that he is their protector, but who does not or is unable to protect them, should be slain by his subjects like a mad dog."

Even after their death the wicked kings fell into hell[57], were cursed by the Ṛṣis[58], and their kingdom was visited by draught, famine, floods and pestilence.[59] Kauṭilya rightly states: "In the happiness of his subjects, lies his happiness; in their welfare, his welfare. Whatever pleases himself, he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good."[60]

Thus we find that *vox populi* asserted itself in ancient India as and when the kings deviated from the path of righteousness; consequently, even the monarchical states were sensitive to the feelings of their subjects. The benediction was : *Svasti prajābhyaḥ, pālayantām nyāyena mārgeṇa mahī mahīpatāh, ...lokaḥ samastaḥ sukhino bhavantu.*

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Kauṭilya's Concept of Espionage : A Review

Sukla Das

It is rather difficult to ascertain as to when exactly the system of espionage started in India. Spies do figure in the early Vedic literature. The spies of Varuṇa are pictured seated round him in his court[1]. In the *Atharva Veda* Soma is said to have spies which are ever vigilant and present everywhere[2]. It developed in course of time and attained shape as an organised system under the Mauryas.

A regular chapter in the history of Indian administration begins with the advent of the Mauryas to power in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. Inheriting the vast empire of the Nandas through a coup de'force, with the addition of that part of North-West India and Eastern Afghanistan which Candragupta Maurya attained from his Greek contemporary Seleukos, coupled with further conquests, the Maurya empire became extensive, and that necessitated a well-organised administrative set up[3]. Espionage developed as an integral part of this new political structure.

Kauṭilya's elaborate treatment of this topic in the *Arthaśāstra* pinpoints its importance and efficacy in the Maurya administration, and it finds corroboration in the early foreign notices. The Classical writers like Diodorus, Strabo and Arrian repeat what was recorded by Megasthenes regarding the spies. A large number of spies according to them secretly reported to the king important matters concerning the city and army. The most able and trustworthy men were appointed to fill these offices; and they employed courtesans as their coadjutors[4]. Arrian reports that false reporting was not prevalent[5].

Kauṭilya's description of the institution of spies, however, surpasses all accounts in his thoroughness of details. He devotes four chapters of the First Book of *Arthaśāstra* exclusively to the espionage system[6], though the entire book contains discussion of the system in a varied manner. In the Kauṭilyan concept of espionage, selection of spies was an important matter. It is learnt that the king was to select the spies with the assistance of the council of ministers.[7] But it is noteworthy that the ministers themselves were subject to verification of their character and antecedents by spies before final appointment[8]. It is something akin to present practice of appointment in Government service after police verification.

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Kauṭilya's system of espionage was rigorous. He rightly recognised its necessity as an important adjunct of the administrative machniery.[9] He divided the spies into two broad groups, namely, *Samsthāḥ*[10] or local agents and *Sañcārāḥ*[11] or wandering agents. He classified the spies into nine categories, (1) *Kāpaṭika Chātra*, who worked under the guise of a fraudu ent disciple, (2) *Udāsthita*, a recluse fallen from the real obligations of asceticism, (3) *Grhapatika*, a householder, (4) *Vaidehaka*, a trader, (5) *Tāpasa*, an ascetic, (6) *Satṛṇ*, a classmate, colleague or man of same profession, (7) *Tīkṣṇa*, a desperado, (8) *Rasada*, a poisoner and (9) *Bhikṣukī*, a mendicant woman.[12]

The actual function of each category was also specified by Kauṭilya. The *Kāpaṭika Chātra* directed his activities to assess the public opinion and sentiment. The *Udāsthita* was endowed with cattel and land in the zone of his action in which he had to maintain a group of spies to detect crimes against royal wealth. These spies were to send separately their reports to *Udāsthita*. The *Gṛhapatika* and *Vaidehika* worked from their own stations. The *Tāpasa* had a host of spy disciples around him. His area was the city where his subordinates practised palmistry and fortune telling. These five groups formed a class called the *Pañca Saṁsthā*.[13] They ascertained the loyalty of royal servants and were awarded with money and titles.[14]

The *Satṛṇ* was selected from the state orphanage without any ties (*asambandhinaḥ*). He was thoroughly trained in sciences (*Lakṣmaṇam*), palmistry *(aṅgavidya)*, sorcery (*Māyāgata*), jugglery (*Jāmbakavidyā*), the duties of various orders of religious life (*āśrama dharma*) and reading of omens (*antara-cakra*).[15]

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Tīkṣna or desperado, reckless of his own life was to spy on public life like the movements of the ministers, priests, military commanders, heir-apparent, door-keepers, officers in charge of harem, Collector General, Commissioner of the city, the officer in charge of the city, Superintendents of manufactories, the heads of multifarious departments, Commissary General and officers in charge of fortifications, boundaries and wild tracts.[16] Thus public life of the high officials came under the scrutiny of this group. All the informations collected by him were transmitted to the king through the Institute of Espionage.[17]

Rasadas were recruited from cruel and indolent people who acted as cook (*arālika*), water carrier (*snāpaka*), arranger of bed (*āstaraka*), barber (*Kalpaka*), beautician (*Prasādhaka*), domestic servants, bards, buffoons, musicians and actors.[18] The private life of all high officials was under the close observance of the *Rasadas*.

The *Bhikṣukīs* and *Parivrājikās* or female mendicants also collected information by frequently visting the residences and inner apartments of the high officials for transmission to the Institute of Espionage. These four groups formed the wandering spies or *Sañcārāh*.[18a]

The information thus gathered was verified by the officers of the Central Institute who by secret codes (*Samjñā-lipi*) verified them through their own spies.[19] The Institute of Espionage and the wandering spies did not know each other.[20] When the information received from diferent sources exactly tallied, it was considered reliable. If they frequently differed, the spies concerned were either punished or dismissed.[21] It is noteworthy that the spies were conversant with many languages and they used secret codes (*Gūḍhya lekhya*) to convey their message to the Institute of Espionage.[22] They also used carrier-pigeons to transmit secret intelligence.[23]

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Spies were also employed in foreign relations. In this area, the Kauṭilyan system of espionage was three-fold, namely, political, diplomatic and military. Political espionage implied an attempt to get into touch through secret service with the discontented elements of the hostile state and utilise their services. Diplomatic espionage was carried on by diplomatic agents[24] and military espionage consisted in the employment of secret agents to procure accurate information regarding military resources of the enemy.[25]

They were often posted in foreign states, where they lived as servants. They also received salaries from the home department. These agents therefore went by the name *Ubhayavetanas* or drawing salary from both sources.[26]

Spies of the Kauṭilyan system had to perform a number of jobs:

(1) to keep strict vigilance over all cadres of government officials from the highest to the lowest,[27]

(2) to keep the king informed about the trend of public opinion,[28]

(3) to detect youths of criminal tendency,[29]

(4) to detect sedition and antistate crime,[30]

(5) to assist in the administration of justice,[31]

(6) to sow seeds of dissension,[32]

(7) to neutralise the plans of the enemy[33] and

(8) even for the purpose of civil administration they were placed at the cross-roads, ruined temples, ferries, wine shops, brothels and busy market centres.[34]

Espionage was the backbone of the Kauṭilyan system, and it was a trusted department and the need of the hour.[35] A special time was allotted to spies for reporting to the king daily as a routine.[36]It appears that in this scheme of the state, spies had to do all types of work open and secret, and they included fraud,[36a] robbery, cold-blooded murder,[37] poison, arson[38] and various intrigues.[39]

A critical analysis of the institution of spies enunciated by Kauṭilya brings out some salient features. Firstly, it appears that there was an established and extensive network of the espionage system, and Kauṭilya set spies in frightful perfection.[40] Secondly, it was a powerful, well-trained, intricate and complicated system characterised by high efficiency and severity[41], and spies were recruited from all classes of people to form auxiliary links with all levels among the population as well as civil, judicial and military administration. Thirdly, it was all-pervasive and entered into almost every sphere of public and private life of officials and citizens. The spies of Kauṭilya ascertained the total number of men and beasts as well as the income and expenditure of each family[42]. Their duty was to find out the causes of emigration and immigration of persons.[43] Even the quantity and price of royal merchandise, products of mines, fields, gardens,forests and manufactories came within their range. Besides state servants and royal household, artisans,[44] merchants[45], professionals like physicians[46] and judges[47] and performing artists like musicians, dancers, mimes[48] and people of other categories were under their surveillaance. There was no section of the people that did not come within the purview of this system except the king.

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The system advanced by Kauṭilya is obviously open to same basic limitations. In the first place, it was not a very healthy sign to administer with the help of such a huge octopus-like network of spies. It aimed at removal of thorns[49] (*Kaṇṭakaśodhana*), but by its very nature the system itself was tantamount to a greater thorn. In the second place, it had a crippling effect. It hampered administrative efficiency and retarded individual initiative. A.L. Basham holds that a constant sense of fear was responsible for erosion of spontaneity of the bureaucrats, so that they never attained the highest degree of efficiency.[50] In the third place, under such circumstances of suspicion mistrust was inevitable,[51] which was positively detrimental to the stability and smooth functioning of the state machinery.

The terrible system of spying into the character and activities of all citizens and officials alike as envisaged by Kauṭilya raises a searching question: was the Kauṭilyan monarch a tyrant? Evaluated from the manner in which the people were held in iron grip, it may appear that he was no different from a tyrant. But the cumulative evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* suggests that though the king betrayed autocratic traits in some matters, he could not override the precepts of *Dharma*.[52] Kauṭilya enjoins that a king who is well educated and disciplined, devoted to administrative pursuits and bent on welfare of all his subjects[53], and above all a righteous person, will enjoy regal dignity unopposed.[54] The king is but an aggregate of the people; hence whatever is personally pleasant for a king has to be sacrificed for what pleases his subjects.[55]

The aforesaid political philosophy of Kauṭilya negates or narrows the scope of the proposition that his king was a tyrant and that the Kauṭilyan concept of espionage emanated from his personal motivation for perpetuation a tyrannical hold. The root of this system therefore has to be looked for elsewhere. One needs to note the contemporary situation, and the system has to be assessed against that backdrop.

In spite of scholarly controversy over the date of Kauṭilya, it is now generally accepted that the kernel of the *Arthaśāstra* at any rate belongs to the Maurya age, even if it might have been retouched here and there in later times.[56] Keeping this in view, a search for historical forces for the development of this obnoxious system of espionage can be made.

It is to be remembered that India was passing through a period of crisis prior to the accession of Candragupta Maurya. The Nanda rule in Magadha had proved worthless[57]; and Candragupta seized power during the phase of turmoil.[58] But his accession by overthrowing the Nandas was not easy. Kauṭilya ends his book relating that the *Arthaśāstra* was compiled by one who forcibly and quickly achieved the liberation of the country from misrule and rescued it from the grip of the Nanda ruler[59]. This very statement is significant, as it contains a broad hint of an impending crisis.

The new monarchy, it appears, was exposed to a two-fold danger.[60] On the one hand there were symptoms of dissatisfaction with the regime, as the numerous adherents of the Nandas were still rampant in the country and proved to be a source of anxiety to the Maurya government[61]. Kauṭilya makes mention of factions among people[62], and Viśākhadatta refers to two rival factions, one supporting Candragupta's usurpation of the magadhan throne and the other siding with the dispossessed Nandas (*Nandānuraktā*).[63] On the other hand, the invasion of Alexander followed by the presence of foreigners in the north-western horizon of the Indian sub-continent created

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complications in the sphere of external politics.[64] There were sympathisers of the Macedonians in the north-western part of the country.[65] Alexander's Indian invasion had given rise to a foreign stronghold in India, which was further reinforced after his death when the Macedonian Regents assumed independent status, whose loyalty to the nascent government set up at Pāṭaliputra was dubious. Kauṭilya condemned foreign rule (*Vairājya*) as the worst form of exploitation.[66] In the face of this double-danger, it may be assumed that the author of the *Arthaśāstra* envisaged a system of espionage unique in its intricate working and extensive power.

Presumably, there was also a crisis over the social status of the Mauryas. The Mauryas as a dynasty are implicitly given the status of Śūdras in the Puranic texts.[67] Viśākhadatta also expresses similar view.[68] These may refer to their unorthodox sympathies for Jainism and Buddhism, as the Buddhist texts refer to them as Kṣatriyas.[69] The classical writers, however, describe Candragupta Maurya as a man of humble origin[70], which tallies with the epithet *Kulahīna* or a man inferior lineage provided by Viśākhadatta.[71] The Maurya support of the non-Brahmanical sects gives rise to a query: was the family really of low origin, and therefore required legitimisation through patronising heterodox sects of the time that underrated caste status? In that case, stabilisation of their social standing definetely posed a problem. In this context Kauṭilya's view that spies should know the rumours prevalent in the state to silence the opponents[72] attains significant relevance.

Moreover, it is to be remembered that the Nanda empire of Magadha included the people of the Gaṅga valley and its adjacent regions. Culturally they either belonged to the Aryan orbit or the range of the Aryan civilisation. The Maurya empire embraced far more diverse elements, some even outside the pale of the Aryan culture. The Maurya society, as Romila Thapar suggests, was a "multi-cultured society"[73] of an assortment of people and tribes professing different faiths, creeds and life-styles with different levels of culture.[73a] The Maurya state tried to harmonise the conflicting interests of different peoples.[74] Welding divergent groups into a basic cohesion[75], however, was not an easy task. Social tension therefore was pronounced. Against this background Kauṭilya was aware of "content and discontent of people."[76] His concept of espionage may be viewed as a handle to surmount these acute problems.

Changes in the political system that need to be highlighted brought in their train multiple problems. The concept of a paramount power and imperial sovereignty developed in the later Vedic period[77] found its full expression under the Mauryas. The Mauryan empire indicates the triumph of monarchy as a political system over tribal polity.[78] Significantly, a whole chapter of the *Arthaśāstra* deals with the technique of breaking up of the tribes and their absorption into the monarchical system.[79] The specific tribal names mentioned by him suggest that those particular tribes had been formidable, and their survivors were still potentially dangerous.[80] Kauṭilya, according to D.D.Kosambi, gives a priceless outline of the policy where by tribal life was systematically converted into a caste-ridden peasantry conditioned not to bear arms and not to unite in opposition to the state.[81]

The imperial system of the Mauryas initiated by Candragupta was a new feature in Indian politics. It was the fruition of an indigenous tradition, and in part wise borrowings from contemporary foreign models, apparently Hellenistic, but in reality Achemenid imperial traits of Persia.[82] The imperial court was largely under the influence of a foreign culture-complex or within

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the orbit of an international West-Asiatic culture-complex.[83] From tribal tradition to this imperialism was a long jump, and it generated bitter conflict.[84]

Size and scope of this imperial structure demanded a strong centralised monarchy, which was inaugurated by Candragupta Maurya. Despite the anti-trading stance of the Brahmanical literature, the mercantile community came to limelight with the second urbanisation, though it had to contend with numerous hostile forces.[85] Whole new groups of people associated with trade, production of commodities and surplus grain needed immunity from tribal obstruction and from tribal sharing of profit.[86] Kauṭilya specifically emphasised the need for centralisation to ensure their safety and security.[87]

Emergence of the new centralised monarchy necessitated an efficient bureaucracy. The Maurya experiment brought in a vast and complicated bureaucracy that penetrated into every walk of socio-economic life, and the slightest laxity on the part of the centre stimulated the process of bureaucratic tyranny and exploitation.[88] The *Divyāvadāna* records instances of risings of the people of Takṣaśilā against the Maurya officials. During the reign of Bindusāra, prince Aśoka, and during the reign of Aśoka, prince Kuṇāla, were deputed to pacify them and to restroe law and order; and the rebels acknowledged their loyalty to the state, but complained of the highhandedness of wicked officials.[89] The Kaliṅga edicts of Aśoka record disregard of imperial instructions by the state officials.[90] Kauṭilya enumerates modes of embezzlement by the government servants,[91] which pinpoint dilution of loyalty.

The Maurya bureaucrats definitely emerged as a formidable force. They were a privileged group and the salary scale of the ruling elites was very high.[92] The whole bureaucracy, both high and low, were distinct partners in exploitation.[93] In the *Arthaśāstra* there is no clear indication of how the subordinate officers were recruited. Personal choice as mentioned by Kauṭilya[94] might have strengthened the bonds of social kinship, since there would be a tendency of the high functionaries to back the selection of subordinates from their own social groups. Romila Thapar detects "group-loyalty", "group-antagonism" and "local cliques"[95] in this trend, a propensity that was rather dangerous.

The Maurya state did control a vast territory, and its nucleus Magadha was enriched by flow of resources from other regions of the empire. But it failed to reorganise the economy of the peripheral areas.[96] This imbalance probably contributed to the peripheral discontent and sporadic unrest in remote regions[97]; and control of them was irksome.[98]

The Maurya urge for expansion emerged out of two primary considerations. One, access to resources[99], of which the great theorist of state-craft Kauṭilya was fully aware[100]; and two, a search for new trade routes[101]. According to Kauṭilya, trade routes or *Vaṇikpathas* are to be established as ways of profit.[102] Conquest and control over such areas required considerable outlay in terms of military and administrative organisation. It implied enormous financial involvement.

Megasthenes gives a detailed description of the Maurya military administration which was essential to the security of the newly founded empire.[103] It was an extensive organisation on many counts; and Kauṭilya also speaks of a complementary medical unit attached to it with trained doctors, nurses and ambulance personnel.[104]

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The development of the Maurya bureaucratic administration needed a massive task of constructing roads for maintenance of communication with remote places as far as far as the frontier. For this, a special group of officials had to be employed.[105]

To feed these gigantic machineries enormous amounts of money had to be squeezed out from the people through grinding taxation and exaction. In the *Arthaśāstra* we come across a large number or taxes and imposts hitherto unknown.[106] The *Arhaśāstra* advocates that in a period of emergency the basic tax of one-sixth of the produce might be raised to one-third[107], which was a high tax and consequently a heavy burden on the people.[108] Two inscriptions in Maurya Brāhmī script found in Sohagaura (Gorakhpur district) and Mahāsthāṅgaḍh (Bogra district, Bangladesh) evidently suggest that emergency did occur in the Maurya regime in the form of famine.[109]

Kosambi's suggestion that there was a considerable pressure on the Maurya economy[110] calls for serious attention. It appears that even religion had to be exploited for financial purposes. The superintendent of religious institutions (*Devatādhyakṣa*) used to arrange religious demonstrations in temple-ground and wayward places to draw popular attention to attract monetary offerings. In fact he was an important agent of the imperial exchequer[111]. Patañjali sarcastically remarked that 'the Mauryas grew greedy of gold and they manufactured images for sale to the public'.[112] It is a pointer to a financial crisis confronted by the Mauryas.

The *Arthaśāstra* reflects an economic orientation of life and culture[113] emanating from a secular approach. The Maurya rulers too adopted the new ethos and were essentially exponents of "personal-culture ideology"[114] that was largely alien to the people. The new changes cut at the root of popular beliefs and traditions that buttressed them. The secular ethos and policy of the Mauryas antagonised the caste prople.[115] There can be no doubt that the government and the new style of administration weighed heavily on the subjects, and there were resentments. Under the Maurya administrative structure trade was licensed, price controlled and profits were fixed. Its monopolistic economic policy and authoritatian social and religious ideology[116] were flowing towards an undercurrent of general discontent. The ascription of the term *"Asura"* to the Mauryas by the Purāṇic texts of the later period[117], pointed reference to the oppressive rule of the Mauryas in the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*,[118] jubilation of the *Yuga Purāṇa* at the advent of the Suṅga rule after a period of decadence and thraldom[119], and Patañjali's reference to wage rise under the Śuaṅgas[120] cannot be lightly scoffed at. They are suggestive of an accumulated hatred and discontent against the Mauryas, which persisted beyond their times.

Thus internal and external forces coupled with insecurity of the people must have created multifarious problems of stability of the empire. The Maurya experiment is an instance of imposition from above; and it was detached from the collective will of the people. Perhaps to overcome these intrinsic and extrinsic difficulties inherent since the inception of the Maurya rule, Kauṭilya, the confirmed realist advanced an unique system of espionage as a counter-measure. This espionage must therefore be taken as an outcome of political exigency and not as an isolated phenomenon. The Maurya empire was a vast one and road communications were few and far between; and for the needs of the Empire and Emperor the above type of official was absolutely essential.

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38

Sanghol Hoard of Kuṣāṇa Sculptures : A Fresh Study

S.P. Shukla

Sanghol, known as the Uncha Pinda locally, is situated at a distance of 40 km. from Chandigarh in Ludhiana district of Punjab. There is an extensive mound enshrining the relics of bygone past ranging in date from the protohistoric to early medieval phases of Indian history[1]. The site has become famous owing to an astounding discovery of a Kuṣāna hoard of the art relics of a Buddhist sect. These were found buried underneath, close to the *stūpa* complex, which came to light through the archaeological operations conducted by the Department of Archaeology & Museums, Punjab State, in Feb., 1985. The art relics of Sanghol were appreciated through the arrangement of an exhibition. A monograph, containing articles on various topics related to the Sanghol sculptures with excellent illustrations, was edited and published by S.P.Gupta.[2]

Since art is a conscious human activity, it needs to be understood in terms of the active intention involved, the supposed objective communication and its actual effect on the contemporary viewer[3]. It reflects the mode of life of the people delineated by the artist-craftsman based on his personal realism and observation. The study of Sanghol sculptures presented here would help the correct appraisal of the art forms and motifs found there.

II

In all, one hundred and seventeen architectural pieces used in the embellishment of the *stūpa*, consisting of four corner pillars, fifty-eight upright pillars, seven double-sided pillars, thrityfive crossbars and thirteen coping-stones[4] have been found. Sanghol sculptures are divisible into the following categories :- (a) Buddhist Symbols and motifs, (b) Devotees and (c) Young Maidens. A thematic short survey of these sculptures is given here for understanding the contribution of the Sanghol artists.

(a) Buddhist Symbols and motifs

On the coping stones two categories of symbols and motifs occur[5]. Of these *uṣṇīṣa* (headgear),

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pātra (vessel), *śava-peṭikā* (coffin) and *stūpa* (death monument) are decidedly Buddhist, which also occur in the early Buddhist art of India[6]. The representations of the *nāga-puṣpa, Śrīvatsa, Svāstika* and *puṣpa-dāma* belong to a common heritage and are shared by the other religions also as auspicious symbols. The occurrence of *cakra-stambha* and *Siṁha-stambha* on the railing pillars in the context of the Sanghol Buddhist *stūpa* respectively symbolize the great *dharma-cakra* and the *Śākya-Siṁha*, the Buddha. It would not be out of context to refer to one broken lintel, carved on both sides with representations, which was taken to be a *jātaka* story wrongly[7]. The fragment was a part of a gateway lintel. The scene on the extant obverse side depicts the Birth of Gautama, who is being handed over by Indra to some attendant. The gate and the tree with human figure (personification of the tree) represent the Lumbinī garden, where the event has taken place. The reverse of the same lintel has an elephant and a riderless caparisoned horse[8]. The elephant here represents the white elephant, which was seen by Buddha's Mother in her dream. The other animal, the horse, symbolises the event of the Great departure (*Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*). The broken part may have delineated other events from the life of the Great Master.

(b) Devotees

The representations of the devotees portrayed on the railing pillars at Sanghol appear to belong to two strata of society. The figure on one pillar shows a male with *uṣṇīsa, dhoti, uttarīya* and various ornaments. He stands carrying a garland in his right hand, his left hand being placed akimbo[9]. The youthful figure appears to belong to an elite class, may be a royal personage, but cannot be identified as a *kṣatriya* ruler or a *cakravartin* with certainty[10]. He may represent a *nāgaraka*. The figure of a seated winged-lion, below on the pedestal, may be a mere decoration carved to fill up the surface. It is difficult to associate it with the human figure carved above. The youthful figure in question is delicately modelled with diaphanous drapery, and a placid face marked with humility. The slightly tilted face imparts the figure with life. The balcony, partitioned in two parts, shows curtains suspended from the ceiling. It is notable that on other railing pillars the balconies have single or double human figures in various attitudes and engagements. It may indicate that the youth has come out of his room with none there for wait to him eagerly.

The male figure on another railing-pillar wears a *cīvara*-like garment covering the left shoulder, and a *dhotī* as lower-garment, and *kuṇḍalas* in his elongated ears.[11] He is shown with broad shoulders, deep chest, and a flat belly. The figure is marked by peace and tranquility on his face. He is not a Bodhisattva in *abhaya* or *varada* pose, but a young devotee who has been drawn towards Buddhism. The teaching of Buddhism appear to have changed his bodily look and mental thinking. The prostrate figure of a dwarf, shown below, may stand for the ego on which the weightless figure of the youth moves unaffected.

(c) Young Maidens

The representations of young maidens on the railing pillars have a variety of subjects delineated in graceful and charming manner. These provide a visual commentary on *aśoka dohada*, wine drinking, *prasādhana*, play on musical instruments, enjoyment of a game, lady with a garland, or mother and child. In the *aśoka dohada* scene on a railing pillar, a maiden stands in *tribhanga*

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pose holding the branch of an Aśoka tree by her raised left hand and a flower in her suspended right hand.[12] She stands on the back of a *vāmanaka*. On another railing pillar the young lady stands gracefully placing her tilted right foot on the trunk of an Asoka tree. In this example the lady has a wine flask in her left hand and some edible thing in the right.[13] The wine-drinking scene is depicted on another railing pillar also. It shows the lady sucking the last drop of the container with some edible held in her right hand.[14]

The representation of a *sadyaḥsnātā*, a fresh bathed lady, translates the much admired proverb. It is said that a *haṁsa*, the swan, has enormous love for pearls (*muktās*). On seeing the drops of water falling from the *veṇī* of freshly bathed maiden, the bird confusing them with *muktās*, began to swallow them. This motif is represented on one of the railing pillars discovered from Mathurā earlier. In the Mathurā example, the *veṇī* of the maiden is trimmed, and water drops fall incessantly on the ground. The *haṁsa*, in its turn, with its raised beak, is swallowing them. In the Sanghol example, the scene depicts the highest point of activity. The *haṁsa* has even taken the end of the *veṇī* in its beak, impatient to swallow the drops of water mistaken for *muktās*.[15] Toilet scenes are also not lacking in the Sanghol railing pillars. A lady, carrying a decorated *prasādhana-peṭikā* in her half-raised left hand and some roundish object in her suspended right hand is one example.[16] In another, a lady, looking at a *darpaṇa* held in her left hand, is caressing the torque around her neck.[17] Since this lady has a *maulī* as head decoration, it is possible to identify her as a royal lady. It is interesting that the facial expression of the figure is quite distinct from the faces of other maidens represented on the Sanghol railing pillars.

On one railing pillar we find the depiction of a maiden who is in *alasa*.[18] The same lady is seen putting on her person a neck ornament composed of three strings, segmented in three divisions.[19] In another example also, the same motif is repeated with slight modification in the personal ornamentation.[20]

The maiden looking at *nakha-kṣata* in *darpaṇa*[21] has its parallel in the railings from Mathurā[22] so far as the thematic part is concerned.

There is one example of a maiden playing on a harmonica on a Sanghol railing pillar.[23] The other young maiden, in folk style, seen with a necked wine-vessel in her left hand and a *bansarī* in her right hand, is a dignified representation.[24] The musical instrument is shown with a series of holes meant for emitting wind when blown into for creating musical vibrations. We have yet another figure that carries almost a similar pot in her hand.[25] But the object held in her hand, owing to breakage, is difficult to identify.

Women played various games in ancient India. In one of the Sanghol example a young maiden is enjoying a game of a *ghaṭa*.[26]

The motif showing a young maiden riding on the back of an old man is not only interesting[27], but also unique in the whole range of the Mathurā art creations. She also wears a sewn upper garment indicated by a decorated strip on both her arms. The lady, as it appears from her physical features, is intoxicated. She is taking the help of an aged man either to reach her lover or return home. The man, who is already burdened with his old age, weight and infirmity, is finding it difficult

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to move easily. The wrinkles on his cheeks, closely tied up lips and titled eyes indicated his helplessness.

The railing pillars shown with maidens carrying floral garlands breathe sanctity and sacredness and indicate the ritualistic aspect of the *stūpa* worship. In these examples the maidens are represented with serene facial expresssions. In one example the lady holds a bunch of lotus flowers[28] or a long garland[29] in her half-raised right hand gracefully. The themes related to fertility or motherly aspect are also illustrated at Sanghol. In one example[30], like the Mathurā representation[31], a young maiden is pressing one of her breasts to squeeze milk. This motif was assimilated in the personality of goddess Laksmi, as revealed in the Bharat Kala Bhawan,BHU example.[32]

The scenes depicting mother and child have interesting variables in so far as modes of representation at Sanghol are concered. In one example she is fondling a young babe with a rattle[33] which is locally called *caṭuā*. The baby struggles to stand and his hand reaches upto the knee of the lady. On another railing pillar the lady has upraised the child to please it [34]. In another scene the lady is represented as *aṅkadhātrī*, who is shown touching her own left breast to feed her hungry child[35]. In the fourth example a mother is shown with her grown up child as indicated by his ornaments and drapery[36]. In this case the lady is represented climbing a stepped way upwards perhaps to satisfy her child. In all these examples the child is most probably a male one.

The above figures of young maidens on the Sanghol railing pillars closely correspond to charming beauties described be Aśvaghoṣa. According to him they possessed round lotus-like faces, swelling, close and stiff breasts which bent their bodies under their load, red lips, red cheeks, long and flashing eyes, lotus-like hands with plump and well-rounded fingures, red and bright nails, slender waists and ravishing hips[37].

Thus the Sanghol hoard provides an interesting panorama of life full of pleasures and enjoyments conveyed through the graceful figures drawn from the women's world. It is interesting that some of the motifs, the *aśkoka dohada, prasādhikā, sadyaḥ-snātā* with *haṁsa* and the mother and child have close parallels in the Mathurā railing pillars; but in most cases they vary considerably in detail. But the prototypes of women playing with a pot, harmonica or carrying a *baṅsarī*, an old man carrying an intoxicated maiden, variations of the mother and child motif, women drinking wine, *etc.*, have not yet been discovered at Mathurā, the centre of art activity. From this point of view these may be counted among the unique examples of Indian art of the Kuṣāṇa age. The embellishment of the *stūpas* with railing pillars had independent development at Mathurā during the Kuṣana period. The Sanghol hoard of sculptures, decidedly a work of artists-craftsmen of Mathurā, bears testimony to it.

III

The above sculptures from Sanghol, all carved in white-spotted red sandstone quarried from Fatehpur Sikri, Rupavās and Agra region, share the characteristic features of the Kuṣāṇa art of Mathurā so far as head-dress, ornamentation and mode of drapery are concerned. On the basis of stylistic considerations the Sanghol hoard of sculptures may be placed in late first or second century A.D.[38]. The figures carved on the railing pillars at Sanghol are not comparable with the Bhutesvara

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pillars[39], as the latter figures are much more supple-bodied, refined and closer to the Gupta idiom. These may be compared with other figures of Mathurā, and the monolithic railing which depicts a *sadyaḥsnātā* with a *haṁsa* and a false arch with lotus petal decoration similar to Sanghol coping stones, is now housed in the Cleveland Museum of Arts[40].

The sculpturing of so many railing pillars, coping stones and cross-bars for erecting a railing around a *stūpa* was an enormous task, which must have been completed under the guidance of a competent sculptor heading a guild of artist-craftsmen[41]. A close perusal of the female figures gives the impression of the work of several artist-craftsmen. The facial expressions, physical features and modes of representation, and the prominence or otherwise of the sex-organ indicate it very clearly. In a few examples the nudity is exposed under a transparent lower garment ; sometimes it is concealed under a girdle or *paṭakā* of *sārī*. Likewise, the coping stones and cross-bars also bear a distinctive style and features. These must have been made under two separate artist-craftsmen. These specialized artist-craftsmen must have been assisted in their work by artists of lower category and novices in this field.

Sanghol, which lay on the caravan route joining Uttarāpatha with Madhyadeśa, was inhabited by rich and prosperous people as revealed by the archaeological excavations[42]. The traders and *nāgarikas* living in the citadel and the family living in the palace complex patronized and professed Brahmanical and Buddhist religions. The discovery of some seals with Graeco-Roman motifs indicates the presence of people of Greek, Indo-Parthian and Śaka-Kuṣāṇa lineage. These may have especially shown their reverence for Buddhism at Sanghol. Áryabhadra appears to have been one of the most important Buddhist saints, may be the head of the Saṁgha, whose inscribed relic casket in the Kharoṣṭhī script has been recovered from the ruins[43]. But the main *stūpa* was erected on the corporeal relics of the Buddha himself, as is evident from the nativity scene protrayed on the lintel, and symbolic representations of the Buddha on the coping stones. Moreover, the edifice and monastic establishment belonged to the Hīnayāna Buddhists. No Buddha image of the age of the *stūpa* and its railing has so far been recovered from the ruins. The two images decisively belonged to a late date,[44] and were placed in the monastic establishment at Sanghol during the Gupta period.

Does the decoration of railing pillars with *kāmuka* figures of young maidens in various poses and attitudes at Sanghol and Mathurā indicate a change in the outlook of the Buddhists ? It appears that the women were no more regarded as a bundle of vices. Their portrayal on the Kuṣāṇa railing pillars reflected a love and admiration for life rather a negation of the same. This change in attitude came owning to Brahmanical influence and the patronage of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇas who adored a materialistic life. The enjoyment of the *pañcakāmaguṇas* (i.e. dance, drama, music, orchestra and women)[45] was originally the privilege of royalty[46]. The great Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa, whose ideas reflect the contemporary ethos and psyche, ensured them for the sages in heaven. "There the amorous Apsaras ravish the weary minds of the ascetics, who had determined to purchase paradise by first paying the price of austerities"[47]. In portraying voluptuous figures of young maidens on the railing pillars, the intention may have been to instruct the followers of the Buddhist creed in the wiles of women, of which one had to be cautious if one wanted to cross the ocean of misery (*dukha*); or else, they represented the enjoyments and pastimes of women in paradise waiting for the

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Buddhist followers. The monuments served the purpose of art galleries in ancient India. The viewer gathers the impression in his own way, originating from his own understanding and liking; the intention is not always conveyed to him. So far as the figures on the Sanghol railing pillars are concerned, they may have made different impressions on their viewers of various categories. The children have enjoyed the representations of Mother and child motif. Wine-drinking and erotic scenes have roused *kāma* instantly. Hardly a few lucky ones have reached close to the original ideas behind the whole scheme of figuration. The new and changed outlook in aesthetics did influence the psyche of the citizens of Sanghol city. They had developed a liking for female figures in worldly atmosphere as represented on the railing pillars, as is also evident from a pottery handle discovered during the excavations[48]. This particular pot was used for keeping wine or water. The potter-artist produced a new female figure, but in conformity with existing motifs. The pot was in considerable demand as suggested by the use of the mould in its preparation.

IV

Thus the *stūpa* at Sanghol, with decorated railings, was a centre of life, presenting a panorama of activity of the Kuṣāna age. But it was subjected to destruction. Who destroyed the monument? We do not know it clearly. One of the explanations in such cases is the foreign invasion cause the destruction; and in the case of Sanghol the barbarous Hūṇas are held responsible[49]. But the objects in the hoard reveal that before their deposition most of the sculptures and architectural members were subjected to bodily damage[50]. A few figures were even badly chiselled off[51]. Thus the destruction had already taken place before their deposition. It has been suggested that fearing the invasion of the Hūṇas , the railing was dismantled and deposited in the womb of earth close to the *stūpa*. The habitational structures of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta period do not reveal the happening of any such event. Archaeological excavations reveal that followers of the Brahmanical and Buddhist orders lived at Sanghol. The chances of sectarian rivalry could not be ruled out there, and as a result the *stūpa* complex may have suffered destruction at the hands of religious rivals. It is possible that the family of rulers living in the palace complex inside the citadel may have patronized Buddhism and after the fall of the Kuṣāṇa power in north India, the *stūpa* may have suffered a loss. It is a matter of concern that after the fall of the Kuṣāṇas we witness further change in the psyche of the people. The figures on the Yaudheya[52] and Gupta coins[53] and relics of contemporary art vividly indicate this. Thus it is quite possible that under the changed circumstances the railing was dismantled and deposited near the *stūpa* complex.

V

The sculptural wealth of Sanghol is important for the study of contemporary ethos and psyche of the people. The sculptures were carved in white-spotted red sandstone by the artist-craftsmen of Mathurā. The *stūpa*, which was dedicated to the mortal relics of the Buddha, came into existence in late first century A.D. The attribution of its destruction to the Hūṇas by some scholars does not appear to be tenable.

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45. *Mahāvastu*, II, p.113.
46. *The Buddhacarita* (II,29-312 ; IV 23-31 ; V 45-46) informs us that in the royal chamber a host of women waited upon the king or prince, and were expert in the art of playing soft instrument and music. These women had sweet voices and laughs and were indefatigable in giving sexual pleasure. They took spirituous liquor. Their only aim was to entertain and relax royalty.
47. Cf.S.Khosala, *Aśvaghoṣa and His Times*, New Delhi, 1986, p.214 ff.
48. C.Margabandhu, *op.cit.*
49. *KSS*, p.24.

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50. *Ibid.*,pls.16A and B,17,21A and B,30.

51. *Ibid.*, p.51, pl.6.1.

52. K.D.Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, New Delhi,1976, p.26 ff., pl.II-IV.

53. A.S.Altekar, *Gupta Coinage*, Patna,1972, pls.

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Pura-Pattana Settlements under the Tripurī Kalacuris in the Tenth Century : Their Urban Pretensions An Exploratory Study

Raghavendra Vajpeyi

Introduction

When we identify any settlement as an urban centre, we differentiate it from its rural counterparts by maintaining that : it was larger in size than any village settlement, was settled by a non-agriculturist population devoted to urban occupations and professions and had a regular market-place from where trade in various commodities was carried on with other areas and that too in terms of monetary exchange*.

Let us at the very outset accept the fact that settlement archaeology in general and medieval settlements in particular is yet to attract the attention of Indian archaeologists and as such we do not possess archaeological evidence which might help us in determining in actual terms settlement status of *pura*[1] and *pattana*[2] centres mentioned in the lithic records of the tenth century Kalacuri rulers Lakṣmaṇarāja II and Yuvarājadeva II. Paucity of literary evidence and non-existence of Kalacuri coins before the time of Gāṅgeyadeva[3] too impose serious restrictions on our willingness to accept V.V.Mirashi's opinion on the flourishing state of cities and towns and on economic role of market-place.[4]

Although we agree that the combined testimony of the Karitalai stone inscription of Lakṣmanarāja II and the Bilhari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva II wants us to believe that : (a) *pura* and *pattana* settlements were in existence; (b) distinguishing feature of a *pattana* was its *maṇḍapikā* ; (c) twin cities—main city having a township adjoining it —were also in existence; and (d) a local officer maintained law and order and supervised economic activities of the settlement, it is equally true that other Kalacuri records do not care to mention these features. In such a situation it becomes logical to inquire : could or did urban settlements emerge in the Kalacuri kingdom in the tenth century—the time when most portions of India were experiencing a climax of urban decay.

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Since evidence at our disposal is quite inadequate and sketchy, our suggestions and hypothesis in the following paragraphs remain tentative and subject to modification if and when more positive evidence becomes available.

I

Pattana-Maṇḍapikā : Its Role and Functioning

Monier Williams defines the word *maṇḍapī* as 'an open hall or temporary shed (erected on festive occasions), pavilion, tent, temple[9]. G.Bühler[10] accords to it the status of a technical term in the context of early Indian epigraphy and declares it 'a custom house'. U.N.Ghoshal accepts Bühler's view.[11] V.V.Mirashi identifies it as *śulka-maṇḍapikā* and thinks that it was 'a pavillion in the market-place where things brought to the market for sale were taxed'.[12] In his *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, D.C.Sircar strikes a compromise between the views of Bühler and Mirashi and says thus : '*maṇḍapa*—custom house ; Marathi *mandavi*, from Sanskrit *maṇḍapikā* ; explained by some as 'a market place' (Hindi *mandi*) ; but Hindi *mandi* seems to be derived from the same word because the toll-stations were often situated in market places'.[13] But elsewhere he defines the term *pattana-maṇḍapikā* as'custom house at the town'.[14]

Although we do not have much difference of opinion with the aforesaid scholars and their views on the meaning of the term *pattana-maṇḍapikā*, we have a feeling that it was an open hall which was enclosed on all the four sides and had a single opening point a gate meant for entry of commodity in the market-place and also for collection of market dues by the customs office situated near it. It not only had lanes in which were situated shops but also had sufficent open spaces where elephants and horses brought to the market for sale could be kept. This is what one can make out from the evidence of the Bilari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva II (hereafter Bilhari inscription) which tells us that all things and commodities brought to the market for sale were supposed to be allowed entry only after acquiring a *yugā* voucher or licence which was valid for the day of the issue and was obtainable on payment of one half *paura* fee per item.[15] Every trader had to pay *vīthī* shop rent at the rate of one *kapardda* on costly things and one *dyūta-kaparddī* on things like vegetables etc.[16] Traders had to pay sales tax which was fixed permanently on basis of sale value of each article.[17]

The Bilhari inscription also gives the list of things and commodities brought to the market for sale. The list happens to be peculiar in the sense that, though it mentions salt (*lavaṇa*)[18], oil (*taila*)[19] and vegetables (*śākavārttāka*)[20] among the necessities, it completely leaves out foodgrains, pulses, jaggery etc. So also, it does not include milk cattle, donkeys and mules among the animals sold in the market. We may not be wrong in suggesting that non-inclusion of the essential things in the list may be considered as an indicator of the non-rural or urban character of the *pattana-maṇḍapikā* where things needed by the upper strata of society and relatively more costly were supplied, such as, betel-nuts (*pūgaphala*)[21], black-pepper (*marica*)[22], dried-ginger(*śunṭhi*)[23] etc. The first two, by virtue of not being locally available everywhere, had to be obtained by way of distant trade. Even the standard and inferior varieties of cowrie-shells used as *kapardda* and *dyūta-kaparaddī* tokens in lieu of coins for small transactions and payment of taxes had to be acquired from south India.

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We may point out here that the Bilhari inscription list of marketable items is not exhaustive. It only indicates the behaviour of the wholesale market and tells us nothing about other markets and shops where dress material, ornaments, jewellery, decoration things, furniture, metal-ware, things of domestic needs were sold. The Karitalai stone inscription of Lakṣmaṇarāja II makes mention of high quality silken garment (*dukūla*)[24], coarse linens (*vūravāsa*)[25], golden girdle (*kāñcī*)[26], girdle made of *muñja* grass, lamps studded with jewels (*ratnapradīpa*)[28], perfume (*gaṅdha*)[29], scented or prefumed water (*gāṅdhaudaka*)[30] etc. Elsewhere, it not only speaks of five unhspecified spirituous liquors (*Kaṣāya-pañcaka*) but also about the chief of guild of traders trading in spirituous liquors (*deśī*)[31]. It also makes mention of the chief of the guild of wholesale betel-leaves seller (*vāgulika-pradhāna*)[32] as well as ordinary betel-leaves retailers (*pāyaṭi*). Although the Karitalai inscription clearly proves the existence of traders and organized trade on the basis of guild system in *puṛa-pattana* type of settlements, it too leaves out many things and keeps us guessing.

The Bilhari inscription sheds light on yet another aspect of market economy by linking tax demand with fixed weights and measures and their relationship with non-changing value of different commodities and things. Arrival of one *khaṇḍikā*[34] of salt (suggested to be somewhere between 800 to 1000 seers), daily supply of oil on monthly basis and according to each oil-mill (*ghāṇaka*)[35] capacity and of containers (*bhāṇḍa*)[36] of unspecified capacity of betel-nuts, black-pepper, dried ginger etc., did not cause any fluctuation in prices, and sales-tax demand not only on them but also on elephants[37] and horses[38] remained constant. Thus the *pattana-maṇḍapikā* did not register sharp fluctuations in prices of commodities, as witnessed in later day demand and supply mechanism based *mandi* behaviour.

As regards the use of metal currency in day to day transactions in and outside the *pattana-maṇḍapikā*, the combined testimony of the Karitalai and the Bilhari inscriptions asserts that *paura*[39] and *ṣodaśika*[40] coins were in circulation. Although nothing can be said with any amount of confidence either about the value relationship between *paura* and *ṣodaśikā* coins or about the purchasing power of the former, the sales-tax demand of four *pauras* on elephants and two *pauras* on horses[41] and a half *paura yugā* licence fee[42] for entry of commodity in the market seems to be indicative of its higher purchasing power—higher than that of *ṣodaśikā* which is generally suggested to have been 1/16 of a *paṇa* or *kārṣāpaṇa*[43] standard coin. Should we then believe that *ṣodaśikā* was a lower denomination subsidiary coin? How many *kapardda* standard cowrie-shells were equivalent to one *ṣodaśika* and how many *dyta-kaparddi* inferior cowrie-shells could be exchanged for one *kapardda*, is anybody's guess. The demand of bundles of grass and fishing nets as sales-tax on liquid merchandise (*rasa-vaṇija*)[44] is no doubt intriguing, but it suggests continuation of barter system in the case of some very low priced commodities.

II

Pura-Pattana Settlements : Their Urban Pretensions

Whether Saubhāgyapura, Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura, Vimānapura[45] and the settlements whose names have been erased along with other portions of the lines 32-33 of the Bilhari inscription were urban centres cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. However, their mention along with the Kalacuri capital Tripuri[46] seems to support their urban pretensions.

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The use of the expression "*pura-pattanayoḥ sthānaḥ*"[47] in the Karitalai inscription not only suggests that an officer known as *sthānādhikṛat* (abbreviated into *sthāna*) was appointed to oversee the administration of the interlinked settlements of *pura* and *pattana* and that the twin settlements were treated as one single administrative unit. The mention of that officer's decision to donate the custom dues collected from the settlement to the Viṣṇu temple of Karitalai during the eleventh and the twelfth day on the occasion of *yātra*[48] or the car-festival clearly indicates that he was officer in charge of the local administration and his duties included the work of revenue collection as well as maintenance of law and order. That is, D.C.Sircar's view that he was officer in charge of a police or military outpost[49] undermines the position of *sthāna* who had more comprehensive authority, rights and responsibilities. Although the Bilhari inscription does not make any mention of this officer in the context of administration of the *pattana* type of settlement, it stands to reason to suppose that in that case also he would have been charged with the responsibility of general administration, maintenance of law and order, exercise of administrative control over *pattana-maṇḍapikā* as well as collection of various categories of dues from the traders who had access to the market-place.

Although continuation of barter economy in some aspects and use of cowrie-shells as small time medium of exchange indicated that *pura* and *pattana* settlements were still not completely free from the spell of urban decay and non-monetary phase of economy, gradual emergence of urban centres was facilitated by the existence of industrial and trading sectors as organized into guilds, market procuring and providing to their clients things and commodities not necessarily available in the same locality or area, and resurgence of metal currency, like *paura* and *ṣodaśikā*, on howsoever modest a scale, it might have made a thrust in the life of settlements which were different from village settlements, some of which were granted to privileged beneficiaries through the instrumentality of land grants.

III

Conclusion

We must confess that our study of settlement status of the centres belonging to the category of *pura* and *pattana* is based entirely on the examination of the two lithic records belonging to the latter-half of the tenth century the period when the Kalacuri rulers Lukṣmaṇarāja II and Yuvarājadeva II had occupied the Tripurī throne. Since numismatic evidence is not forthcoming and archaeology has nothing to add to our knowledge, we cannot say with much conviction and confidence that the *pura* and *pattana* were urban centres and not overgrown and semi-urbanized villages having the wherewithal which could later on entitle them to claim urban status.

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The most ancient excavated city of the world—the Neolithic city of Jericho no doubt indicates the then overlapping of urban-rural spaces. "The construction of the tower and of the enclosure wall, the system of irrigation required by an expanding agriculture, the installation of salt-pans (if any) and the subsequent maintenance of these undertakings, the water supply, the distribution of produce, the conduct of business with the outside world, all these matters would necessitate an organied community, obedient to its leaders, and following accepted rules. Is it possible to speak of a city yet ? Jericho would then be by far the earliest city in the world, not the earliest which can have existed, but the earliest now known." *The Cambridge*

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Ancient History, i, i, eds. I.E.S.Edwards, C.J.Gadd & N.G.L.Hammond, London, 1970, pp.500-02; Gordon Childe's ten-point formula suggests the features which distinguished an urban settlement and most of which were not applicable in the case of village settlements (V.G.Childe, "The Urban Revolution" *The Town Planning Journal*, Liverpool, xxi,i, April, 1950, pp.3-17, cited in A.Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*, (Simla, 1973,pp.23-28). Although Ghosh has his own reservations with regard to its blanket and universal application, he agrees that 'A higher density of population, largely non-agricultural, would distinguish a town from a village'; *ibid.*, p.41 ; D.N.Jha has reservations about the role of trade and coins as concomitants of urbanism. According to him : "While the available historical evidence does indicate an increased volume of both foreign and internal trade and the greater use of coins around and after A.D.1000,... the concept of a self-sufficient economy cannot and should not be visualized in absolute terms. It is a relative concept and so is the rise of system on the basis of trade", *Feudal Social Formations in Early India*, (ed.) D.N.Jha, Delhi,1987, p.19 ; R.S.Sharma however reiterates his stand on the role of trade and metal money circulation in determining the urban status of a settlement, on the strength of his exhaustive study of archaeological evidence in his *Urban Decay* (*c. 300-c. 1000*), Delhi,1987. Sharma is quite emphatic when he says: "Towns which were primarily settlements of non-agriculturists distinguised by crafts and commerce, reached the peak of prosperity... . Although the number of coins money without doubt was a distinctive feature of the post-Mauryan urban life, and it played a vital role in Indo-Roman and probably also in Central Asian trade... temples, monasteries and walled structures of early medieval times were monumental buildings. Though such buildings symbolize the consumption of considerable surplus, overall they do not articulate artisanal and mercantile activities on any scale till the end of the tenth century... . Coins and coin moulds are practically absent, and so are the seals depicted with coin devices.... Mild urban renewal began in parts of the country in the eleventh century, and by the fourteenth century urbanization became a recognizable process". Sharma, *op.cit.*, pp.178,183 & 185.

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (CII)*, iv, (ed.) V.V.Mirashi, Ootacamund, 1955,-No.42,p.191,l 32;No. 45, pp.215, L 32.
2. *Ibid.*, p.1191,l 32 ; p.215, L 30.
3. *Ibid.*, introduction, pp.clxxxii-iv.
4. *Ibid.*, pp.cixx,clxxii.
5. *Ibid.*, No.42, L 32 ; No.45, LL 30, 32.
6. *Ibid.*, No.45, L 30.
7. *Ibid.*, No.42, L 32.
8. *Ibid.*,
9. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*,(ed.) M. Monier Williams,(Indian Reprint),p.775,clmn.3.
10. *Epigraphia Indica*, i,No. 1, p.7,fn.11 ; No.16,2.p.101.
11. U.N.Ghoshal, *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System*, Calcutta, 1929, pp.238-39 and Glossary of Fiscal Terms.
12. Mirashi,*op.cit.*, pp.clxx,223 fn.2.
13. *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, ed. D.C.Sircar, Delhi,1966, pp.195-96.
14. *Select Indcriptions*, ii,ed., D.C.Sircar, Delhi, 1983, pp.323,767.
15. *CII*,iv,i,p.215, L 32.
16. *Ibid.*

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17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, L 30.
19. *Ibid.*, L 31.
20. *Ibid.*,
21. No.45, L 31.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. No.42,p.189, L 11.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, L 13.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, p.191, L 33.
32. *Ibid*, L 34.
33. *Ibid.*
34. No.45, p.215, L 30.
35. *Ibid.*, L 31.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. No.42, p.191, L 33 ; No.45, p.215, LL 30-31.
41. No.45, 1 31.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *CII*, iv, i, p.223 fn.3; *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*,p.315.
44. *Ibid.*, No.45,p.215, L 31.
45. *Ibid.*, ibid, 11 32-33.
46. *Ibid.*, ibid, L 32.
47. *Ibid.*, No.42, p.191, L 32 ; for other meaning of term, see, *Inidan Epigraphical Glossary*, p.322.
48. No.42, L 32.

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49. It is evident from the very name that the officer concerned had his headquarters permanently fixed on a particular spot in the settlement. It is also clear that he was discharging functions of an administrator, a revenue collector and also of maintainer of l am and order. D.C.Sircar's suggestion is no doubt tempting but it is equally difficult to believe that he was only an officer like 'modern Thanadar ; officer in charge of a police or military post, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p.322.

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40

Date of the Mahabodhi Temple Reconsidered

B.P. Sinha

We do not know if some of the monasteries at Bodh Gaya referred to by Fa-hsien were built in the time of *Kuṣāṇas*. But activities there, during the Kuṣāṇa period became quite well known from the excavations at Mahābodhi by Cunningham and Beglar. Many competent scholars believe that the main Mahābodhi temple with the *śikhara*, without the porch and the two storeyed pavilion and entrance *toraṇa* was the work of the Kuṣāṇa period. While Fa-hsien does not describe the temple, he is quite explicit that a tope was built on the spot where Buddha received enlightement. He mentions topes built over sites, besides the site where Buddha attained *nirvāṇa*, sanctified by the Buddha. He says; "Where Buddha after attaining to perfect wisdom for seven days contemplated under the tree and experienced the joy of vimukti; where under the Patra tree he walked backwards and forwards from west to east for seven days; where the devas made a hall appear composed of seven precious substances ... where the blind dragon Mucalinda encircled him for seven days; where he sat under the nyagrodha tree on a square rock; where four devas brought to him almsbowls, where the five hundred merchants presented to him the roasted flour and honey, and where he converted the brothers Kasyapa and their thousand disciples — at all these places topes were reared". But he gives architectural details of none of the buildings and not even of three monasteries referred to above. Fa-hsien is not as meticulously careful an observer of details as Hsüian Tsang. Cunningham, while removing the plaster facing of the inner Vajrāsana throne found a ball which, when broken, was found to contain numerous relics including 'two impressions in thin gold of the obverse face of a gold coin of Huviṣka joined together and held by a ring'. The early date of this deposit is attested to by the presence of five punchmarked coins; and the gold impressions of Huviṣka's coin would seem to point to the period of his reign as the actual time when the deposit was made, about 120-160 A.D. The inscription dated 64 on the pedestal also points to the reign of Huviṣka as the period when the Great Temple was erected.[1] The most important objections against the 2nd Century date of the Mahābodhi Temple are: (i) Fa-hsien would have noticed it, this great edifice was standing in his time; (ii) the evolution of *Śikhara* of a temple is to be dated after the Gupta temple at Sāncī, which has a flat roof and a *maṇḍapa*. The first temple with the four-faced curvilinear tower is believed to be the Lāḍ Khan shrine at Aihole dated around *c.* 450 A.D. The

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Bhitargaon brick temple with the curvilinear north Indian *Śikhara* with *āmalaka* and pinnacle is placed in 400 A.D. by Percy Brown.[2] The inscription on the pedestal of the red sandstone Buddha image at Bodh Gaya is dated in the Gupta era, assignable to 483-484 A.D.

These arguments can be rebutted. We have already seen Fa-hsien is not interested in giving details of architecture which he saw, quite unlike Hsüan-Tsang. He is interested in recording legends about the sites which he visited. He visited Gāndhāra, *Peshanar*, Sankissa, Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu, Vaiśālī, Rājagṛha, Pāṭalipurta; and all that he says about monasteries and topes he saw, amounts to "grand, beautiful", and so on. He never describes the architectural details; and if he does not do it about the Mahābodhi Temple which he may have seen, it is not very surprising. The 'tower' is certainly a 5th century development for a Brahmanical temple. But caityas with tall members were known in 1st-2nd centuries A.D. The tendency to elongate the body of the main sanctum can be seen in the stūpa-caityas of the northwest in the Kuṣāṇa period. "There is evidence that the original shape of the stūpa of this region was in the form of the traditional hemispherical mound ... . But the tendency of the Gāndhāra builders was to depart from the orthodox yet commonplace round tumulus and to develop it into an architectural composition of more inspiring proportions and character. Their aim was the creation of a structure of more height which they obtained by elevating the stūpa on a tall platform and *elongating* the body of the stūpa upwards. The upper surface of the platform which was approached by a flight of steps, became the processional path, while the stūpa itself being composed of a series of diminishing drums and surmounted by a slender many-tiered umbrella began to assume the appearance of a pagoda. So lofty were some of these stūpas that the Chinese pilgrims have described them as pagoda.... In addition to changes in the proportions of the stupa, plastic ornamentation, in the form of cornices, mouldings, niches, arcades, medallions, and other quasi-architectural elements were freely applied".[3] This long quotation from Brown gives us the source of inspiration from the quarter, which was taken by Magadhan archirects to translate into a temple. The conjectural restoration of the Takhti Bahi stūpa (2nd Century A.D.)[4], the Buddha in *Dharmacakra mudrā* in the centre of the stūpa with three circular tiers of well carved drums, capped by a dome and *harmikā* with *five* umbrellas in diminishing order with a pointed pinnacle could very well serve as a model translated into a temple with the change of medium from stone to brick; and the figures in the arched entrance may be particularly noted. Coomaraswamy refers to the remarkable temple at Jaṇḍial, which had a lofty central tower, and an otherwise flat roof; it may have been a Zoroastrian temple with a Ziggurat like those of Mesopotamia.[5] Coomaraswamy has very ably shown that the two schools, Mathurā and Gāndhāra arose independently almost at the same time, and that by the 1st-2nd Century A.D., both had almost merged. It was natural that the Gāndahāra architecutral representation of the stūpa was not unkown to Mathurā artists; and we find two shrines represented in Mathurā.[6] Both figures suggest a shrine on a raised platform, entrance to the sanctum through an arched door, and the tower rising in five or more tiers of receding composition provided with carvings and niches, and topped by a finial. These models are dated to 100-150 A.D. Now the Kuṣāṇa masters with the example of the tall Takhtibahi stūpa and the designs current in Mathura region for shrines did not have to go very far for the plan of the Bodh-Gaya temple with a tower. Magadhan architects had consistently shown their capacity to introduce original elements into their plans.

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In this context we may consider the clay-plaque found at Kumrahar. This plaque was discovered by Spooner in 1914 in his Kumrahar excavations. He was of the opinion that the figure in the plaque is the replica of the Mahābodhi temple; and the plaque is to be placed in the 2nd century A.D. Barua declares it to be spurious, a fraud with an air of modernity. But he does not explain the motivation of the modern forger. There is no man or hat in the photograph. Barua does refer to the Kharoṣṭhī inscription on the plaque, but in a way which shows he does not believe in its genuineness: let its inscribed label be assigned to a pre-Kanishkan date by so expert an Indian palaeographist as Dr. Sten Konow. We have to declare the plaque as it appears, as spurious, nothing but spurious."[7] Recently B.N.Mukherjee has reread and revised the reading of the inscription, which has been read as Kiti (kṛti) of Saṁghadada (Sanghadatta) of Kothuma. His translation is : "the work or creation or a charitable endowment or a house of relics of Saṁghadatta". The term *Kiti* here obviously refers to the structure near which the inscription occurs. So the sancturary which is obviously a Buddhist one was either founded by Saṁghadatta, or he played an important role in its creation or renovation. The shrine could also be described as a house of relics of the Buddha financed or constructed or renovated by Saṁghadatta. Palaeographically Mukherjee places the record in *c.* 1st century A.D., or at least in 1st-2nd century A.D. Mukherjee for the first time noted a Brāhmī inscription displaying of the plaque, which he read as *rajño-cait* (*ye*). The expression of royal caitya obviously refers to the Buddhist shrine in question. Mukherjee further states that the palaeography of the Brāhmī inscription, displaying an early type of *ca* is not against the date in 1st Century A.D. Thus, on the basis of the plaque and the inscriptions, Mukherjee concludes; "The sanctuary in question was built under the order of a king. Its planning and/or actual construction or renovation was done under Samghdatta's supervision. The use of the Kharoṣṭhī script for writing an inscription recording this work in a Brāhmī-using zone, along with a Brāhmī epigraph, may indicate that it hailed form a Kharoṣṭhī using area in the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent."[8]

The genuineness of the plaque and inscriptions is now clear. The only question is, which is the temple depicted on the plaque. Spooner thought it to be the *Mahābodhi* Temple. V.A. Smith after comparing the plaque with the Bodh Gaya Temple as seen by Hsüian-Tsang, notices many differences between them and holds that the plaque does not represent the *Mahābodhi* Temple, but the Tilāḍhake Temple visited by Hsüian-Tsang, though he observes that the agreement is not complete; and suggests that it may represent one of the great temples of Pātaliputra where the plaque was found.[10] Mookerjee finds some very superficial resemblance to the present Bodh Gaya temple, but concludes that this evidence may not be very relevant since the details of the appearance of the temple do not tally with those of Bodh Gaya shrine given by Hsüian Tsang in the 7th Century A.D. ... It may, however, be argued that the shrine on the plaque may be a likeness of a caitya, which according to Hsüian-Tsang himself had been built earlier by Aśoka at the site of the great temple visited by the pilgrim. The shrine associated with King Aśoka could be called a royal shrine, as the one so described on the plaque... The plaque may well display some other Buddhist shrine built under the patronage of a king..."

This dating (1st-2nd Century A.D.) has a bearing on the chronology of the development of temple architecture in India. "It may indicate that by *c.* 1st or 2nd Century A.D., a type of temple had the form as displayed by the plaque ... the temple concerned might have been in or near the neighbourhood of the provenance of the plaque".

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We may briefly try to arrive at a reasonable conclusion. In our opinion the temple represented by the plaque cannot be a temple of Tilāḍhaka, visited by Hsüian Tsang, who mentions seven monasteries accommodating about 1000 monks. He refers to multi-storeyed towers, pavilions, gates, and refers to *vihāras* which house images of Tārā and Avalokitesvara; there is no particular mention of Buddha's temple. There is nothing in the images nor in the inscriptions which would date Tilara ruins earlier than 7th Century A.D. And we do not have any ruins of such a temple as depicted on the plaque yet found in the course of excavations of Pāṭalipura, from Waddell to Altekar. The Bodh Gaya temple is nearest in design to the temple on the plaque. It is true that there are differences between the figure on the plaque and the Bodh Gaya temple as seen by Hsüian Tsang. The plaque is not a carbon copy of the temple, but a near representation of the temple as it stood in the 1st-2nd Century A.D. The *śikhara* is rectilinear, straight, four-faced with niches, as in the Mahābodhi temple. Both are on a high platform and have a vaulted entrance. Differences may be noted as such :-(i) there are no corner turrets in the plaque temple as in the Mahābodhi, (ii) the *āmalaka* on the plaque representation is not comparable to the Bodh Gaya one; (ii) the image in the Mahābodhi is in *bhūmi-sparśa mudrā*, but it is in *dharmcakra pravartana mudrā* in the plaque figure.

None of these differences are overwhelming enough to negate their probable identity. We should remember that Hsüian Tsang himself speaks of restorations and changes in the temple before he saw it. In Brown's conjectural representation of the Bodh-Gaya temple when it was originally built,[12] the corner turrets are not shown; there are only 5 *bhūmis* in the tower, while the present *śikhara* has more than seven ascending *bhūmis*. There is no *āmalaka* as in the present temple. The portion in front is a later construction. The *āmalaka* might have replaced the earlier *harmikā*-like thing. The remains of a copper *āmalaka* put up later were found in the compound of the temple. The image in the present temple may not be necessarily the same as set up when the temple was built. Hsüian-Tsang saw it as 17.5 high, sitting cross-legged. Cunningham rightly remarks that the statue has long since disappeared and only the pedestal remains.[13] But another explanation is possible. We have seen that in the Takhti-Bahi Caitya the image of the Buddha is in *Dharma-cakra-pravartana pose*, common and popular in the north-west. But in Bodh Gaya the *bhūmisparśa mudrā* was more relevant. The Kuṣāṇa masters preferred the *Dharmacakra mudrā* on the plaque as more familiar to the north-west audience.

Thus we find that there is no real stumbling block in identifying the Kumrahar plaque temple with the Mahābodhi Temple as it stood when constructed in 1st-2nd century A.D. We are told that Kaṇiṣka took away Aśvaghoṣa from Pāṭaliputra; and he is credited with the construction of *vihāras* and *caityas*. He could very well have visited Bodh Gayā, the most sacred pilgrimage for Buddhists, and may have afterwards sent his officer Samghadatta to get a temple of the Buddha constructed at Bodh Gaya; and so it could be a royal-caitya as well as a *kṛti* of Samghadatta. Brāhmī using people had to know that it was a royal-caitya, and the Kharosthi using people had to appreciate the good work of the official Samghadatta. The only relevant question that can be raised is that if the rectilinear high tower was already there in the 2nd century A.D., why should the *śikhara* on Hindu temples arise first in the 5th-6th century, with models of the evolutionary process from flat-roofed temples of a century earlier. It is possible that Brahmanical temple builders were not enamoured of Buddhist architecture, and were evolving their own architectural motifs to suit the exigencies of their cults. We should remember that in earlier times Brahmanism believed in individual

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worship, with provision of a worship-room in each house; it was later that community participation arose, and so the *maṇḍapa* was added later; and the tall *śikhara* arose not as a development from Buddhist elongated and ornamented caityas of N.W.India of 1st-3rd centuries A.D., but from earlier Vedic or Brahmanical tall-ornamental *yūpas* and *dhvajastambhas*.

That the Hindu *śikhara* was never a copy of the Mahābodhi *śikhara* should also be clear. The straight four-faced rectilinear tower of Bodh-Gaya is never found reproduced in a North-Indian style of temple architecture. The lines ridged are always curvilinear, culminating in the Liṅgarāja temple of Bhuvaneswar, and can be observed in the earlier temple tower of Parasurāmesvara.[14] Nearer home, even the Śiva temple at Konch which appears to be nearest to Mahābodhi Temple in architectural motifs, has not the straight faced, but curvilinear lines for the *śikharas*; and so also appears to be the Bhitargaon temple (5th Century) tower, though very much ruined. Unlike the Mahābodhi Temple, the Bhitargaon temple is a three-*ratha* temple. Above the last *ratha* rise the receding levels of the spire which consists of tiers of arches of varying size. Instead of progressively diminishing in size, these arches alternate in levels of layers, smaller and medium sized.[15] The difference in architecture and elevation seen between the two temples (Mahābodhi and Bhitar-gaon), generally believed to be built during the same period (5th century A.D.), tells its own story.

We are therefore disposed to agree with Benjamin Rowland that excluding the restoration and additions carried in the temple even before Hsüan-Tsang saw it, and also later, the Mahābodhi Temple of the Kuṣāṇa period replaced the (earlier) Aśokan temple.[16] Coomaraswamy's observation that "the present temple, substantially in its present form, but of course without the later porch was erected in the 2nd century A.D.,"[17] should have been given more weight. Remains of red-stone (Mathurā) statues have been found at Rājagṛha (Maniyar Math) and in Nongarh (Monghyr Dist.). The red spotted Masuma sandstone image of Buddha with the inscribed date 64 may be placed in the Kuṣāṇa period as the other remains of red stone status mentioned just above. The date in Śaka era appears to be quite consistent with the date of the construction of the Mahābodhi temple by a Kharoṣṭhī writing of north-western government officer. The palaeography of the inscription on the image and the style of the image make it nearer Kuṣāṇa than the Sarnath Buddha.

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4. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIII.
5. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p.55.
6. *Ibid.*, figs. 69 and 69 a.
7. Cf. Sten Konow, *JBORS*, XII, pp. 179ff.
8. *JISOA*, XIV, pp. 43 ff.
9. *JBORS*, II, pp. 375 ff.

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10. *Ibid.*, p. 377.
11. *JISOA*, XIV, P. 45.
12. Brown, *op. cit.*, pl. XL, 8.
13. *CASR*, I. p. 6.
14. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pl. LXV, no. 216.
15. A.G. Poster, *From Indian Earth*, pp. 47-48.
16. Benjamin Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, p. 99.
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41

Nature of Early Buddhist Historiography

Shankar Goyal

One may begin a study of the early Buddhist historiography with a reference to the tradition of the later Vedic historiography[1], in the atmosphere of which it originated and developed. In the Vedic age there grew three types of composition which indicate the first systematic attempts of our ancestors to record historical facts. These are, firstly, the *vaṁśas* (succession-lists of Vedic teachers) and the lists of *gotras* and *pravaras* (which are translated as family genealogies); secondly, the *gāthās* (epic song-verses) and *nārāśaṁsīs* (songs in praise of heroes); and thirdly, the records of contemporary historical incidents. These are all embedded in different works of the Vedic literature. The early Buddhist historiography was influenced most by the *Vaṁśa* list.

The compilation of succession-lists of Vedic teachers probably began in the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* and was continued down to the times of the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*. The first list is preserved in the *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda* school; the second and third are found in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* likewise belonging to the *Sāmaveda* school; the fourth and the fifth are found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* forming the concluding portion of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the White *Yajurveda* school; the sixth is found at the end of the *Śānkhāyana Āraṇyaka* of the Ṛgvedic school and the seventh is found in the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* of the *Atharvaveda* school. Thus the compilation of these lists can be traced back to the late *Brāhmaṇa* works of the *Sāmaveda* and *Yajurveda* schools. In contrast, the *Brāhmaṇas* of the Ṛgvedic school (*Aitareya* and *Kauṣītaki*) as well as the *Brāhmaṇa* of the *Atharvaveda* school (*Gopatha*) are wanting in such lists. According to U.N.Ghoshal, "probably the growing scepticism about Vedic sacrificial ritual, of which we have indications in the *Brāhmaṇas* themselves and which was to culminate in the revolt of Buddhism and Jainism, led the priestly authors of the late *Brāhmaṇa* texts to justify themselves with the weight of formidable authority going back to the gods."[2]

Succession-lists of teachers are given in the *Gṛhyasūtras* also. But there is a great difference between these late lists and those found in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts. In the lists of the Vedic texts the human teachers were looked upon as historical personages, whose names and order of succession were recorded correctly as proof of the genuineness of their teaching; while in the later accounts the teachers belong to the rank of semi-divine personages to be venerated along with groups of

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deities and manes. Now it was felt no longer necessary to transmit their names in genealogical succession. It is true that the oldest names in the Vedic lists consist of the names of deities like Agni, Vāyu, Indra and Brahman. But rest of the names of these lists consist of human teachers who may be broadly accepted as historical. Some of these personages obviously took an outstanding share in the development of Vedic thought and rutual. According to Max Müller, "with the exception of the highest links in each chain of teachers the lists have an appearance of authenticity rarely to be met with in Indian composition." However, the value of these lists to the modern historian is discounted by the fact that they utterly fail to approach the level of a biography of the human teachers. They are usually names which acquire some personality only when one is able to relate some ideas or facts mentioned elsewhere in the same or some other text with a particular name. It is aganinst this background that the rise of the early Buddhist historiography has to be studied.

The rise of various religious movements in the sixth century B.C.brought into prominence several *tīrthaṅkaras* who were marked out from the Vedic thinkers by their more or less distinctive teachings and personified in themselves the whole of their teachings. Nothing, therefore, could be more natural than that their lives should form the subject of reverent investigation by their followers. That the followers of the Buddha were interested in such investigations is apparent from their canonical literature. The present Pāli canonical literature represents the scriptures of the *Theravādins*. The canonical literature of other schools has been preserved in the form of Sanskrit and Prakrit fragments of the original texts recently brought to light in Kashmir and Central Asia, as well as in extensive Tibetan, Chinese and other translations. Like the Vedic lore, the Buddhist sacred texts were also at first handed down by oral tradition and were not put to writing till centuries afterwards. According to a tradition preserved in the *Dīpavaṁsa* and *Mahāvaṁsa*, which has been accepted as trustworthy, the Pāli *Tripiṭaka* along with its commentaries was fixed in writing for the first time under the Siṁhalese king Vaṭṭagāmaṇī in the first century B.C.

Theoretically, the *Tripiṭaka* is a record of important happennings in the life of the Master including his discourses (*Sutta Piṭaka*) and the events connected with the establishment of the Buddhist Church and the enactment of its rules (*Vinaya Piṭaka*). The discourses of the *Sutta Piṭaka* are not arranged chronologically. Their arrangement is according to their length, topic and mnemonic convenience. However, usually the circumstantial account of the events leading up to the discourse, the place where the discourse was given and the time when it was given are mentioned. Thus the *Suttas* sometimes include glimpses of contemporary history. The compilers of the *suttas* obviously knew some version of the Paurāṇika history also. They were not much interested in ancient rulers, though they have recorded the deeds of some of them. When they wrote, the legends of the *cakravartins* were no longer historical. The emperors were now ideals to be followed and the Buddhist valued the legends as examples which contemporary kings could follow. The first emperor was *Mahāsammata*, the Great Elect. Sometimes he is identified with Manu. Others were Dāḷhanemi, Reṇu, and Māndhatā, all mentioned in Brāhmaṇical and Jaina legends also. Stories about historical kings such as Janaka of Videha, and the ancient kings of Kāśī, and Uddālaka, a thinker of the Upaniṣadic age and probably contemporary of king Janaka, and the fact that he taught at Takkhasilā (as in the *Chāndogya Upa.*) are also recorded. This 'history' however, is already fading into legend and being adapted for the purpose of edification.

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In the whole range of Pāli canonical literature, no connected biography of Buddha is found. However, these texts record some contemporary events, in which activities of the Buddha form a special category. A number of episodes describing the Master's ancestry and birth, his infancy and youth, his renunciation, austerities and enlightenment, his career as a wandering preacher and lastly his *nirvāṇa* are found interspersed with the texts on doctrine and discipline.

"Four *suttas* in the *Majjhima*, however, describe the days of his wandering in search of Truth. In several more *suttas* spread over the four *Nikāyas* and the *Mahāvagga* there are references to Buddha's Enlightenment. The *Mahāvagga* further attempts to narrate the history of the days following the *sambodhi*, just as the *Mahāparinibbāna sutta* pieces together fragments relating to Buddha's last days and tries to build a continuous narrative. In the *Mahāpadāna sutta* one finds that the attempt to schematize Buddha's life theologically is already far advanced. Besides, there are other incidental references in the *Nikāyas*, which shed some light on Buddha's personality. Much later is the sketch presented in the *Nidānakathā*. Still later, and of only hagiological importance is the Pali poem *Jinacarita*, while *Mālālaṅkāra vatthu* is quite modern work of uncertain date."[3]

For the authors of these texts the events recorded in them were not records of ordinary events but of "momentous events of cosmic significance, a significance which was not very apparent at first, perhaps (to the immediate followers of the Buddha), but which in any case gained strongly at the expense of the accuracy of the records as the personality of the 'perfect' Buddha (or still more of a Buddha) became a cosmic symbol. The *sthiviras*, perhaps more than any other school, preserved ancient records of the Buddha as an ordinary human being living amongst his fellows, subject to sickness and weariness, but they too worked in an accompaniment of supernatural manifiestations."[4] The same appears to have been the case with the oldest parts of additions, complete biographies of the Buddha, such as we find in the Pāil commentaries and chronicles as well as in the Sanskrit *Mahāvastu* and *Lalitavistāra*.

"An early form of the Sanskrit tradition is visible in the collection of legends in the Tibetan scriptures, especially the *Vinaya*. The most important have been translated into English by Rockhill as *Life of the Buddha*. *Mahāvastu*, belonging to the *Vinaya* of the *Lokottaravādins*, contains much legendary material for Buddha's biography. *Lalitavistāra*, in its present form a *Mahāyāna sūtra*, but containing some clearly old passages, gives a continuous narrative of Buddha's life. The *Abhiniṣkramaṇa sūtra*, existing only in a Chinese translation, has been published in an abridged translation in English by Beal as *The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*. It agrees in the main with the *Mahāvastu*. Finally, the Sanskrit epic *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa may be mentioned."[5]

According to G.C.Pande, "the earlier disciples of Buddha paid much less attention to his life than to his teachings, and were inclined to regard him as essentially a human being, a Śākya, a Gautama, who, through his own efforts, became Awakened, and finally, at his death, entered a mysterious state beyond common comprehension. He was remembered as a Great Ascetic, a Great Sage; his *Dhamma* was what remained on earth after his death as the source of inspiration for his followers. The recollection of Buddha's life played a small part in the practice of *Dhamma*, and hence little attention was devoted to the compilation of his historical biography. Within a century however, the situation began to change through the gradual apotheosis of Buddha, and accounts of

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his life were embellished and systematised in accordance with the requirements of Buddhological theories."[6]

In the process of transformation of Buddha's personality, the authentic fact of his life tended to be obscured or forgotten, while numerous legends gathered around the various incidents of his career. The fact that the romantic tales of Buddha's miraculous conception and birth and the dogmatic beliefs about the six preceding Buddhas occur in the texts of the Pāil canon as well as on the relief sculptures of the Bharhut stūpa belonging to the second century B.C., proves their early origin.

Let us begin with the ancestry and birth of the Buddha. Now it is usually accepted that he was born in 563 B.C.,[7] and that the place of his birth was Lumbinī. The Śakyas are described as Kṣatriyas of pure descent, though at the same time the Brāhamaṇa *gotra* of Gotama is ascribed to them. In the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* of *Dīgha Nikāya*, their origin is traced to the eponymous ancestors, four brothers and their sisters, who expelled by their royal father took refuge in the Himalayas where they inter married with each other to preserve the purity of their race. The story is put forward as an answer to a proud Brāhmaṇa's description of them as menials, and is a deliberate attempt to ennoble the origin of the Buddha, which is not justified by the incidental allusions to the comparative insignificance of the Śākya stock in other parts of the canon. Politically, the Śākyas were practically independent till Viḍūḍabha the son and successor of Prasenajit of Kosala invaded them. The administrative and the more important judicial business of their tribal republic was carried out in public assembly, while the headship of their state was vested in an elected chief, entitled *Rājan*. The Pāli canon does not try to connect the Śākyas with Mahāsammata, the first king, or to carry forward the descent of Śākya kings to the Buddha. Such connected accounts are found for the first time in the Pāli commentaries and chronicles, in the Sanskrit and mixed Sanskrit works like the *Mahāvastu*, the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins* and the *Lalitavistāra*. There can be little doubt that these later developments were inspired by the Paurāṇika view of history tracing the descent of royal houses from Manu, the son of Vivasvān and dogmatic belief in a succession of the Buddhas.

Of the genealogy of the Buddha, the Pāli texts give very few details. Only in such late discourses as the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* of *Dīgha Nikaya* and the *Buddhavaṁsa*, do we come across the names of Gautama's father and mother. Mahāprajāpati Gotamī is mentioned at several places in the *Vinaya* and *Nikāyas*, but her relationship with the Buddha is not mentioned. About his birth and infancy we have a number of stories or legends in the canons of the various sects. In the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta* of *Dīgha Nikāya*, it is only said that the Samana Gotama is "well-born on both sides, of pure descent through the mother and through the father back through seven generations with no slur put upon him and no reproach in respect of birth." In the *Accariya-abuta-dhamma Sutta* of *Majjhima Nikāya*, Ānanda recounts to the assembled monks "exactly as he has heard it from the lips of his Master" that the Bodhisattva, who lived in the Tuṣita heaven (Heaven of Delight) during the whole term of his existence, entered his mother's womb to the accompaniment of a measureless effulgence. When he entered his mother's womb, four deities guarded the four cardinal points to keep watch over the precious child., while the mother was freed from all physical and mental ailments. The mother gave birth in an erect position. The child, as it issued out from her womb was received by the gods and bathed with two jets of water starting from mid-air. Then he took seven strides to the north proclaiming his pre-eminence. However, the incident of the Bodhisattva

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assuming the form of a white elephant before entering his mother's womb, is not found before the Bharhut stūpa (2nd century B.C.) and later works like the *Nidānakathā*, the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistāra*.

The *Nālaka Sutta* of *Sutta Nipāta*, the *Lalitāvistara* and the *Nidānakathā* introuduce us to the famous episode of the visit of the sage Asita to see the holy child shortly after his birth. The metrical introduction (*Vatthugāthā*) of the *Nālaka Sutta*, which contains this legend, belongs to the class of metrical narratives or ballads. Asita described the Bodhisattva's possession of the external marks of superman, and made the famous prophecy of his attaining the summit of enlightenment. Thus both in form and content the episode has little claim to be regarded as authentic.

On Buddha's education and early life the earliest records are almost fully silent. The later story of his having had in his early life three different palaces for three seasons does not appear plausible in light of the fact that his father was not a king and the Śākyas were not a rich urban community. The early records are also silent on the name of his wife, though the Tibetan *Vinaya* speaks of his three wives—Yaśodharā, Gopā and Mṛgajā. Rāhula is mentioned as a monk in the *Nikāyas*, but only the *Mahāvagga* makes him the son of the Buddha.

The episodes connected with Buddha's renunciation (*abhiniṣkramaṇa*), which is said to have occurred in his twenty-ninth year, and his search for truth (*ariyapariyesaṇā*), and enlightenment (*sambodhi*) are related in a number of passages in the Pāli *Tripiṭaka*. According to the later tradition, the crisis leading to his renunciation came suddenly, and was caused by the first sight of old age, sickness, death and an ascetic. Though sudden conversions are not unknown to history, as pointed out Professor G.C.Pande, "it seems difficult to believe that the 'Bodhisattva' could have lived for twenty-eight years without encountering sickness, old age, death and asceticism. The silence of the *Nikāyas* over the story deepens our doubts."[8] The earliest accounts of the *abhiniṣkramaṇa* prove that their authors were not aware of the four sights. In the *Ariyapariyesaṇā Sutta* (Discourse of the Noble Quest) of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the Bodhisattva simply states that he at first pursued what was subject to rebirth, decay and the rest. Then perceiving the wretchedness of these states he sought "the consummate peace of Nirvāṇa which knows neither disease nor death, neither sorrow nor impurity." Then despite the wishes of his parents, who wept and lamented, he went forth from the householder's to the homeless life. He sought instruction successively from Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, but finding no satisfaction he came to the township of Uruvelā where he sought and won "the consummate peace of Nirāṇa." The *Mahāsaccaka Sutta* of *Majjhima Nikāya* speaks of the renunciation in still more general terms and describes the austerities at great length. Here it is said that the Bodhisattva reflecting on the contrast between life at home and life in the open, put on the yellow robes and went forth from the householder's to a homeless life. "There flashed on him the three allegories which led him to practise the hardest austerities, till at last, convinced of their futility, he renounced his fasting and was able to enter into the five successive trances and attain the supreme knowledge." The *Sutta Nipāta* simply states that "cramped is this household life, the home of dust. Free as air is going forth. Thus seeing he went forth."

The evolution of the historiography of the episode of renunciation may, however, be noted in the *Nikāyas* themselves. For example, a passage in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* attempts to give a dramatic turn to this incident. The Buddha, it says, was delicately nurtured youth having for himself three

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lotus pools and three palaces (one for the cold, one for the hot and one for the rainy season). There came to him the poignant thought of old age, sickness and death, and all the elation in life disappeared. It is unlikely that this is a genuine historical tradition, if only because of the poetical character of the story of the three palaces which is also told of Vipassi Buddha in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*. Further development of the legend in which Gautama's abstract reflections take the concrete shapes of an aged man, a sick man and a corpse, followed by the sight of a contemplating hermit, was quite natural. Even this development which is found in *Nidānakathā*, the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* and other works, is anticipated in the story of Buddha Vipassi as described in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*.

After this Gautama spent several years in restless wandering and noble seeking (*ariyapariyesanā*). The *Nikāyas* mention two teachers by name — Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta — from whom he learnt to attain third and fourth immaterial trances respectively. But they failed to answer his quest. Then, passing through Magadha he approached the site of Uruvelā where he practised as much austerities as anyone else, but could not attain the goal. To strengthen himself he resumed the taking of food, at which his companions left him. Now he adopted the practice of *Jhāna*, through which he obtained Enlightenment (*Sambodhi*) under the Bodhi tree. The canonical texts are silent about the temptation of Māra, which played a conspicuous part in the later Buddhist works as well as in Buddhist art. The *Padhāna Sutta* of *Sutta Nipāta*, however, of which parallel versions exist in the Sanskrit *Mahāvastu* and *Lalitavistāra*, contains the first suggestion of this legend. In this *sutta* not only is Māra said to have vainly tempted Buddha while engaged in the performance of his austerities, but Lust, Aversion, Hunger and Thirst are personified as Māra's armies. According to Thomas, the whole story of the contest with Māra is a mythological development, while G.C.Pande sees in it a psychological struggle with secular temptations.

According to *Vinaya*, Buddha remained four weeks at the Bodhi tree after obtaining *Sambodhi* to enjoy its bliss; later authorities makes it a period of seven weeks. After this, according to the *Mahāvagga*, he accepted Tapussa and Bhallika as lay disciples, which was followed by Buddha's hesitation to preach and the final decision to preach at the entreaty of Brahmā. In the *Majjhima*, however, Buddha's hesitation and Brahmā's entreaty follow *Sambodhi* immediately.

Then the Buddha went to Banaras, where the *pañcavaggīyas* were converted. After this there is no continuous narrative of his activities in the *Nikāyas*. However, the story of his *Parinirvāṇa* and funeral is told in a number of texts belonging to the canon of the *Theravādins* (preserved in Pāli) and that of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins* (preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations). These consist of the *Sagātha Sutta* of *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtras* of *Saṁyukta Āgama* and the corresponding passages of the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins*. Jean Przyluski, who has made an in-depth comparative study of the traditions contained in these texts, has concluded that there were two *Parinivāṇasūtras*, one very short and almost entirely recorded in verse and the other quite long and mostly in prose. Przyluski believes that the tradition recorded in the shorter version in verse goes back to extreme antiquity and was superseded by the latter. From the shorter version it appears that Śākyamuni was in the eyes of the faithful not essentially different from other men : he was (only) the Bhikṣu *par excellence*. The most ancient tradition accordingly recorded that he had the funeral of a religieux and was shrouded in the *cīvara*. Later, the rise of the popular concept of *Cakravartin* had great impact upon the legend of the Buddha.

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Śākyamuni must now appear even superior to the legendary kings. The aim of this legend was to show that Śākyamuni in his former birth was a mighty *Cakravaritī* king, and that the village of Kuśa, where he died, was formerly a capital-city more magnificent than the residence of the greatest monarchs. Now, therefore, it was accepted that the funeral of Śākyamuni had been as magnificent as those of the *Cakravartī* monarchs. It was even said that shortly before his death, he had expressed his ideas on this subject. In the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* of *Digha Nikāya*, the career of the Buddha is related with the concept of the great time-cycles (*Kalpas*) and their divisions which are marked by diminishing durations of the span of human lives. In course of these *kalpas*, it is said, there have arisen several Buddhas, viz.,Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Konāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama. The text gives for each of them in identical phraseology his particular time-cycle, his *jāti* and *gotta*, his *bodhi* tree, his two chief disciples and usual attendant, his parents and birth-place. What is more, the miraculous story of Gotama's conception and birth is found to be repeated verbatim in the case of the first Buddha. The *Buddhavaṁsa* which is incorporated in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* gives in as many chapters the legends of the twenty-four Buddhas supposed to have preceded Gotama in the past twelve ages of the world (*kalpas*), and in the last chapter describes in Gotama's own words his last earthly existence. The tendency towards schematization reaches its climax when the same principal incidents are repeated in a very monotonous fashion in relation to the career of each of these Buddhas. The same pattern is found in Jaina texts for the twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras*.

From the above analysis it is obvious that the Buddhist historiography, even in its early period, is passed through several stages:

(1) The earliest layers of the canon describe the various episodes of the life of the Buddha, who was looked upon as a human teacher, in a matter-of-fact manner. The episodes are mentioned disjointedly; no attempt is made to give a connected biography of the Master.

(2) In the next stage was added much mythological account professing to trace the story to Buddha's antecedent existence in the Tuṣita heaven, and claiming a supernatural conception and birth of the holy child.

(3) In the third stage the legend of the Buddha was intertwined with the Buddhist theory of the great time-cycles and the Buddhas associated with them, so that now Gautama is presented before us as a superman having a long series of prototypes in the remote past, the chief incidents of whose career are marked by miracles and legends. "Thus was formed what may be called the standard biography of the Buddha, which dominated Buddhist art and literature till it was thrown into the shade by the rise of Docetic ideas in the schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism."[9]

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An Iconographic Study of Brāhmanical Divinities on Śaka-Pahlava Coins

Prashant Srivastava

At least three Brāhmanical divinities— Indra, Lakṣmī, and Śiva—make their appearance on the coins of the Śaka-Pahlava rulers.

INDRA

In Hindu mythology, there are eight Dikpālas or guardian deities governing each of the eight quarters of the universe. Indra is the lord of the east, the other seven being Agni (south-east), Yama (south), Nirṛitti (south-west), Varuṇa (west), Vāyu (north-west), Kubera (north), and Īśāna (north-east).[1] Indra is also included among the Ādityas.[2] He is the twin brother of Agni.[3]

According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the name Indra is derived from *Indha*, 'the kindler'.[4] Though he was obliged to be a Dikpāla in later times, in the Vedic period, Indra, like the other Dikpālas, held a prominent position among the gods. He is invoked in as many as 250 hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, i.e., about one-fourth of the sacred text, while he is worshipped along with other gods in at least 50 hymns of the same text.[5] Hence, he is undoubtedly the "greatest of the Vedic devas". P.L. Bhargava says, "As his name does not designate any phenomenon of nature, he has become more anthropomorphic and more invested with mythological imagery than any other member of the pantheon."[6] In the fifth chapter of the Naighaṇṭuka, Indra is mentioned as one of the eleven atmospheric deities.[7] He is god of "power and valour". He is the lord of *śakti*, having in his possession as many as one hundred *śaktis*.[8] Indra is the sole master of the world,[9] and "the lord of all that moves and breathes".[10]

In the *Ṛgveda*, Indra is described as "one without a fellow",[11] and as "one without a rival".[12] Still he is not a self-existent being, but has a mother.[13] In the Vedic period, the triad Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva had not gained prominence. Rather, the Vedic triad comprised Agni, Indra, and Sūrya, with Indra representing the air.[14] In fact, in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, we see Indra and Viṣṇu contesting for supremacy.[15]

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Though Indra is generally regarded as the personification of thunder and lightning, yet there is no certainty as regards the natural basis of Indra. At least three passages in the *Ṛgveda*[16] identify him with Sūrya. It is interesting to note that Hillebrandt, too, sought to identify Indra with Sūrya.[17] Hillebrandt's view seems to be based on the episode of Indra's slaying the demon Vṛtra, the most notable achievement of the deity. According to Hillebrandt, this Vṛtra is the demon of snow and winter, and as the sun is the melter of snow and destroyer of winter, Indra has to be identified with Sūrya.[18]

Indra is described thus in the *Ṛgveda* : "Indra is ... the wielder of the *vajra* (or iron thunderbolt), encompassing the sky and the waters, and reaching up to heaven and is said to have fixed the earth, the luminaries, propped up the sky and so on, and it is also stated that these acts were all done under the exhilarating influence of the drink quaffed off from three cups."[19]

As Indra was the divine warrior *par excellence*, and the great god of battle, leading the gods against the demon Vṛtra, the Āryas invoked him as their military leader in their conflicts with the terrestrial demons, the dark aborigines, the *Dāsas*.[20] However, in later Hindu mythology, with the rise in the popularity and prominence of the triad Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, Indra, one of the supreme deities of the Vedic pantheon, was reduced to the position of the "chief of the minor gods, the leader of the army of the gods", and finally, was transformed "into one of the guardian deities of the eight regions."[21] The worship of Indra, however, continued at least upto the tenth century A.D.[22]

The Vedic literature gives the following features of Indra : his favourite weapon is *vajra*, the thunderbolt, and as such, he is called *vajrabhṛt, vajrabāhu, vajrahasta*, and *vajrin*.[23] Sometimes, he holds a bow and arrow.[24] He is also described as holding an aṅkuśa or elephant goad in the *Ṛgveda*[25] and according to the *Atharvaveda* he catches his enemies in a net.[26] He rides a chariot driven by two, a hundred, a thousand, or even eleven hundred horses.[27]

The image of Indra is described in the *āgamas*, and in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. The *Aṁśumadbhedāgama* describes the image of Indra thus : it should have two eyes and two arms, be possessed of handsome features, be adorned with *kirīṭa, kuṇḍala, hāra, keyūra*, and other ornaments. He should carry *śakti* in his right hand and the *aṅkusa* in his left hand. The image should be seated or shown standing upon a lotus-seat (*siṁhāsana*), or seated upon his elephant, the Airāvata.[28] According to some other authorities, the two-armed image of Indra should hold *vajra* and either an *aṅkuśa* or a *nīlotpalla* bloom[29], while still other texts[30] prescribe a four-armed image holding *vajra* and *padma* in his two right hands, *aṅkuśa* one of the left hands, while embracing Indrāṇi, his consort, with the remaining left hand.[31] The Airāvata should have four tusks, two on either side.[32]

The *vajra* of Indra is an imaginary name for the thunderbolt. It is said to have been fashioned by Tvaṣṭṛ[33] from the bones of Dadhīca. The *Ṛgveda* describes it as made of metal or gold, "with four or a hundred angles and a thousand points."[34] This *vajra* Indra used to kill the demon Vṛtra. As the chief of the gods, Indra churned the Ocean of Milk, and out of it came Airāvata the white elephant, among other things. This Airāvata was taken by Indra for himself as his mount.[35] Mount Meru is believed to be the abode of Indra.[36]

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In Avestan mythology, Indra is represented as a demon. But some scholars identify Verethraghna, the Iranian god of victory, with Indra. Verethraghna is believed to be the equivalent of Vṛtrahan, an epithet of Indra.[37] Another deity of a foreign pantheon with whom Indra is sought to be identified is Zeus, for, according to Homer's description, Mount Olympus is the abode of Zeus, and his attribute is the thunderbolt.[38] These two features of Zeus seem to match with Indra, who dwells on the Mount Meru and whose characteristic weapon is the *vajra*. On the coins of most of the Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, and Śaka-Pahlava rulers, there appears a male deity wielding a thunderbolt, and sometimes, an elephant might be seen accompanying him. This god has been identified by most of the scholars with the Greek deity Zeus.[39] J.N. Banerjea, however, suggests that on these coins,"Indra appears in the garb of Zeus."[40] Bhaskar Chattopadhyay finds this "difficult to accept",[41] though he says : "It may, however, be assumed reasonably that in the Greek god Zeus and his emblems, we may trace the beginning of the development which ultimately led to the iconic concept of Indra later on depicted in the Buddhist sculptures of Gandhāra and Mathurā."[42] He regards the representation of enthroned Zeus holding sceptre in his left hand with Nike standing on his right hand, the divinities accompanied by the forepart of an elephant, on the reverse of some coins of the Indo-Greek ruler Antialkidas, [43] as "the prototype Indian god Indra."[44]

Among the Śaka-Pahlava rulers, Indra appears only on the coins of Azilises. On these coins, he is shown as standing facing front, on his elephant, the Airāvata. In his left hand is held a bow. To the right and left of Indra are foreparts of other elephants.[45]

It is seen that the attribute in the hand of Indra on this coin-type, i.e. the bow, does not match with the iconographic description of the deity as given in the ancient Indian texts.[46] However, bow and arrows as attributes of Indra are described in the *Ṛgveda*.[47] Moreover, it is seen that even while constructing images of Indra, the artists sometimes gave him attributes which are not found associated with him in any known iconographic texts. For instance, *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalu* are seen in the front right and front left hand respectively of an image of Indra illustrated by T.A.G. Rao.[48] Similarly, a two-armed image from the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Khajurāho with its one hand in the *abhaya mudrā* and a *ghaṭa* in the other hand is described as an image of Indra on the basis of its *vāhana*, the elephant.[49] *Pāśa* is found in one of the four hands of another image of Indra in the same temple at Khajurāho.[50] Even serpent and lotus-bloom may be seen in the hands of images of Indra at Khajurāho.[51]

Apart from appearing on Śaka-Pahlava coins in anthropomorphic form, Indra appears to be represented on these coins in theriomorphic form as well. Indra is often compared in the *Ṛgveda* with a lion in strength.[52] Is it possible that the lion appearing on the coins of Maues,[53] Azes I,[54] Azilises,[55] Azes II,[56] Kharahosta,[57] and others[58] might be the theriomorphic representation of Indra?

Some scholars have suggested that the elephant, too, might be the theriomorphic representation of Indra.[59] The elephant device is depicted quite often on the coins of the Śaka-Pahlava rulers like Maues,[60] Azilises,[61] Azes (II?),[62] and Zeionises.[63] Bhaskar Chattopadhyay says: "The adoption of the device by the foreign rulers is, no doubt, an indication of their readiness to accept an Indian device which had been previously introduced on the coinage. But it is difficult to categorically state that those who introduced the type intended to represent god Indra through it."[64] In a passage from the *Niddeśa* quoted by R.G. Bhandarkar, elephant-worshippers are distinguished from the

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worshippers of Indra : "The deity of lay followers of the Ājivikas is the Ājivikas, of those of the Nirgranthas is the Nirgranthas, of those of the Jaṭilas is the Jaṭilas, of those of the Parivrājakas is the Parivrājakas, of those of the Avaruddhakas is the Avaruddhakas, and the deity of those who are devoted to an elephant, a horse, a cow, a dog, a crow, Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Puṛṇabhadra, Maṇibhadra, Agni, Nāgas, Suparṇas, Yakṣas, Asuras, Gandharvas, Mahārājas, Chandra, Sūrya, Indra, Brahmā, Deva, Diśa, is the elephant, the horse, the cow, the dog, the crow, Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Puṛṇabhadra, Maṇibhadra, etc. respectively."[65]

The thunderbolt occurring on the coins of some Indo-Greek rulers like Demetrios,[66] and Antimachos[67] might be considered as the symbolic representation of either Zeus, or Indra, or both[68]. We would also like to add that the thunderbolt is an attribute associated with Athena-Pallas as well, and thundering Athena is a quite common device on the coins of the Greek and Śaka-Pahlava rulers of India.[69] However, to the best of our knowledge, there is no representation of a thunderbolt alone on any Śaka-Pahlava coin.[70]

LAKṢMĪ

Lakṣmī, also known by the name of Śrī, Padṃā, and Kamalā,[71] is the goddess of good fortune and luck, bringing to her devotees "blissful prosperity and abundance". She is also looked upon as the goddess of feminine beauty. A careful analysis of the literary and archaeological data would seem to indicate that several folk elements are imbibed in this deity.[72] J.N.Banerjea says: "In the earliest literature of the Indians, the *Ṛig* and other *Samhiṭās* there is no mention of the goddess as such. Words like Śrī, no doubt occur there, but they are used in a general way".[73] However, in the early *Saṁhitās*, there are references to deities like Purandhi as the goddess of plenty; Rākā as a rich and beautiful goddess; Sinivālī as the wife of Viṣṇu. These J.N. Banerjea finds "reminiscent of the goddess Śri-Lakṣmī of later texts"[74], though he adds that after "a careful comparison of Śri-Lakṣmī with these Vedic goddesses, it cannot be clearly established that any one of the later could have served as the sole prototype of the former."[75] All this leaves little doubt as to the abstract origin of Lakṣmī. Thus, it appears that Lakṣmī, who occurs in the *Ṛgveda* in the sense of plenty,[76] "embodied all the major good things coveted by man" ; and this aspect of the goddess is highlighted in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*.[77] Once Lakṣmī had come to be established as the Goddess of Fortune, the idea of radiant beauty associated with her gradually receded to the background, and "she was accorded not only religious worship but also the homage of kings"[78] in the form of Rājyalakṣmī or the Goddess of Royal Fortune.

It is only in the later Vedic literature that goddess Lakṣmī is endowed with a more concrete form. The *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* states that Śrī and Lakṣmī are co-wives, probably of Āditya as told by the commentator.[79] But in some later traditions, for example, in South Indian Vaiṣṇavism, Śrī's co-wife is Bhūdevī, while according to Bengal iconographic tradition, Lakshmī and Sarasvatī are co-wives, but of Viṣṇu.[80] In a passage in the *Mahābhārata*,[81] Lakṣmī is associated with Kubera, and what could be more natural than the "ideological union of the goddess of prosperity with the god of riches". She is, however, most well-known as the consort of Viṣṇu, and with the spread of Vaiṣṇavism, the worship of Lakṣmī gained in popularity. But her association with Viṣṇu came to be established only in the epic and Purāṇic literature.[82] The fact that Viṣṇu took Lakṣmī as his consort after she emerged from the churning of the Ocean of Milk is taken to indicate that the

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goddess was not originally associated with Viṣṇu.[83] That the conception of Lakṣmī as the chief among the consorts of Viṣṇu was established in the Gupta period is proved by the Junagarh record of the Gupta emperor Skandagupta, where Viṣṇu is described as the "perpetual consort of Lakṣmī."[84] According to the *Āgama* literature, Viṣṇu and his *śakti* Lakṣmī in their highest manifestation are indivisible, and represent the Supreme Being. It is only at the time of Creation that the two take distinct forms.[85] It has been proposed that probably the Sāṅkhya doctrine of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* played some role in the conception of Lakṣmī as the consort of Viṣṇu,[86] just as there is possibility of Devī being conceived as the consort of Śiva under the influence of this Sāṅkhya doctrine.

In Buddhist literature, Lakṣmī in the form of Śrī is the goddess of beauty, and she is described along with *Āśā* (Hope), *Śraddhā* (Faith), and *Hrī* (Modesty), as the daughter of Śakra.[87]

Lakṣmī is a goddess credited with multiple origins. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, when Prajāpati became tired of creating beings, Śrī emanated from him. Being envious of her radiant beauty, the gods wanted to kill her, but were persuaded by Prajāpati to take away from her all attributes, but spare her life as she was a female. "Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Savitri, Pūṣan, Sarasvatī, and Tvaṣṭṛi took from her food, kingdom, universal sovereignty, noble rank, power, holy lustre, dominion, wealth, prosperity, and beautiful forms respectively. Then, on Prajāpati's advice, she after offering ten sacrificial dishes to the ten divinities had everything restored to her."[88]

The epics and the *Purāṇas* give a different account of the origin of the goddess. According to the epic and Purāṇic literature, when the Ocean of Milk was churned by the gods and the *asuras* for obtaining ambrosia, Lakṣmī came out of the Ocean along with several other objects and beings, and this goddess fell to the share of Viṣṇu, who took her as his consort and treasured her on the right side of his broad chest.[89]

According to a still later tradition, referred to by H.D. Bhattacharya,[90] Lakṣmī came out of a lotus that grew out of the forehead of Viṣṇu. Lakṣmī is credited with multiple origins and relations, because as the goddess of wealth and prosperity, she was adored by the followers of all the sects and religions.[91]

Lakṣmī is often equated mythologically with the Greek goddess Demeter, Roman goddess Fortuna, and the Iranian goddess Ardokhsho. In the form of Rājyalakṣmī or the Goddess of Royal Fortune, she might be taken to correspond to the Greek deity Nike.[92] It is interesting to note that cornucopiae, the horn of plenty, and the characteristic attribute of Demeter, Fortuna, and Ardokhsho, may also be seen in the hand of Lakṣmī on early Imperial Gupta coins,[93] before it was replaced by the traditional lotus-bloom.[94]

D.C. Sircar says : "The cult of Śrī-Lakshmī had probably something to do with the worship of the Greek Goddesses, especially Pallas Athene, introduced in the country by the Indo-Greek kings, as indicated by their coins from the beginning of the second century B.C."[95] In this connection, it must be remarked that the account of the birth of Laksmi from the tired body of Prajāpati as given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[96] is reminiscent of the birth of Pallas-Athene out of the aching head of Zeus.[97]

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The iconographic descriptions of Lakṣmī as given in various texts have been collected by T.A.G. Rao and J.N. Banerjea. According to the *Śilparatna*, Lakṣmī should be shown wearing a necklace of pearls, and attended by two *chāmara*-bearing maidens ; she would be represented as being bathed with water "taken out of two exactly similar vessels." Two elephants, one on her either side and a little behind her, should be adorned with *keyūra* and *kaṅkaṇa*. When shown by the side of Viṣṇu, she should be two-armed with a lotus in her left hand and a bilva fruit in her right hand. When alone, the goddess should be four-armed,[97a] holding a stalked lotus and a *bilva* fruit in her right hand, an *amṛitaghaṭa* and a *śankha* in her left hands. She should be seated upon a lotus of eight petals placed upon a lion-throne.[98]

In the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, she is described as wearing golden ornaments set with rubies and other precious stones, with jewelled *nakra-kuṇḍalas* in her ears. She should be like "a maiden who has just attained age".[99] She has to be of very beautiful appearnace, "with pretty eye-brows, eyes like the petals of a lotus, a full neck and a well developed waist." There should be a lotus in her right hand and a *bilva* fruit in her left hand.[100]

The *Viśvakarma-śāstra* describes Mahālakṣmī as a lovely young girl adorned with various ornaments, carrying a *pātra* or vessel and a *gadā* (named *kaumodakī*) in her right hands, *bilva* fruit and a *kheṭaka* or shield in her left hands, with a *liṅgam* on her head.[101]

According to the *Caṇḍīkalpa*, a supplementary text to the *Devī-māhātmya* chapter of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Lakṣmī is eighteen-armed, holding in her hands such objects as *akṣamāla*, hatchet, *gadā*, arrow, *vajra, padma*, bow, *kuṇḍikā* (small pitcher), staff, spear, sword, *carma*, bell, and wine-cup.[102] But, as J.N. Banerjea says, "this form of the goddess really illustrates one of the primary aspects of the principal cult-icon of the Śāktas, which stands for the supreme fountain-head of all divine power."[103]

The *Rūpamaṇḍana* prescribes a four-armed image of Lakṣmī, holding lotus-blooms in the upper two hands, and *amṛitaghaṭa* in the lower left, and a citron (*mātuliṅga*) in the lower right hand.[104]

It is extremely difficult to trace the association between Lakṣmī and elephants, and yet some texts like the *Śilparatna*[105] and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*[106] refer to the *Abhiṣeka* of Lakṣmī by two elephants. In the latter text, the two elephants are described as the two *nidhīs* of *Śaṅkha* and *Padma*.[107] T.A.G. Rao says that the pots of water should be presented to the elephants by attendant celestial maidens.[108]

According to B.C. Bhattacharya, the lion can also be shown as the *vāhana* of Lakṣmī, though, he says, no such image of the deity has been found.[109] Urmila Agarwal, however, illustrates an image of Gaja-Lakṣmī from Khajurāho, where a lion may be seen as the *vāhana* of the goddess.[110]

Among the Śaka-Pahlava rulers, Azilises, Azes (II?), Hagā-maṣa, Rañjuvula, and Śoḍāṣa gave place to the Lakṣmī device on their coins, *Lakṣmī*: standing to front with flower in raised right hand"[111] may be seen on the observe of the coins of Azes of the type "Lakṣmī and Bull". According to Gardner, there is a lotus at the feet of the deity and a lion by her side.[112] On this basis, J.N. Banerjea has identified the deity with Durgā *Siṁhavāhinī*[113], though he adds that "the lotus at her feet and the same flower in her raised right hand would indicate the possibility of her being Lakṣhmī.[114] Also,

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as noted above, B.C. Bhattacharya prescribes a lion also as the *vāhana* of Lakṣmī,[115] and one such image has actually been found at Khajurāho.[116] Therefore, the presence of the lion by the side of the goddess on this coin-type of Azes need not necessarily imply that she is to be identified with Durgā. Moreover, Gardner himself admits that "the supposed lion which seems to lie under her left elbow, may be after all only a lump of oxide."[117]

Lakṣmī standing to front and holding lotus in either of her two hands may be seen on the obverse of some of the coins of the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Mathurā, *viz.*, Hagāmaṣa,[118] Rañjuvula,[119] and Śoḍāṣa.[120]

Abhiṣeka-Lakṣmī as a coin device was adopted by Azilises,[121] Rañjuvula,[122] and Śoḍāṣa.[123] On the reverse of some coins of Azilises, Lakṣmi is seen standing facing front on a lotus-bloom with two stalks and two leaves. On each leaf is shown a standing elephant bathing the goddess by sprinkling water on her head.[124] The device of Abhiṣeka-Lakṣmī was adopted by Rañjuvula and Soḍāṣa as well for their coins, but with a slight difference. On their coins, instead of standing on leaves coming out of the lotus-bloom on which the goddess stands as on the coins of Azilises, the beasts are seen standing on pedestals on either side of the goddess.[125]

It is interesting to note that on these Śaka-Pahlava coins, Lakṣmī is not depicted as seated, though the device of seated Lakṣmī sometimes being bathed by elephants — is often met with in ancient Indian coin-series, particularly those of Ayodhyā[126] and Ujjayinī.[127]

J.N. Banerjea is of the view that the female deity standing between two trees on some coins of Maues[128] and Azes[129] represents the Hellenised version of the Indian goddess Lakṣmī[130]. But, as Bhaskar Chattopadhyay points out, "No attribute of Śrī-Lakṣmī can be said to have been held by the female figure between two trees."[131]

In the *Śrī Sūkta*, believed to be a later supplement (*khila*) of the *Ṛgveda*, Lakṣmī is described as "a golden coloured antelope decorated with garlands of silver and gold."[132] As such, the antelope may be regarded as the theriomorphic representation of Laksmi. It is believed that the deer on the coins of the Kuṇindas might be the theriomorphic representation of this deity. But the antelope or deer are not to be found on the coins of the Śaka-Pahlava rulers.

ŚIVA

The history of the worship of Śiva in one form or the other goes back to very early times, and it is not unlikely that he was revered even by the non-Aryas in pre-Vedic times. Phallism was prevalent in India in pre-Arya times, and "realistic specimens of phallic symbols were discovered among aniconic objects of stone" from the sites of the Harappan Culture.[133] Also, a seal from Mohenjodaro bears the figure of a 'Yogin' surrounded by animals,[134] and this regarded as the prototype of the anthropomorphic representations of Śiva-Paśupati.[135]

The character of Śiva "was formed by the conflation of the attributes of many deities, one of the earliest being the Vedic Rudra."[136] In the *Ṛgveda*, only three hymns are dedicated to Rudra alone, one to Rudra and Soma conjointly, and in all, the name of Rudra occurs seventy-five times in the text.[137] As such, he appears to be but a minor deity in Vedic times.

There is no certainty regarding the etymology of Rudra. Most of the scholars derive it from

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the Sanskrit root *rud*, "to cry', and *Rudra* is "interpreted as the roarer."[138] Grassmann, however, interprets it as "bright", and Pischel as "ruddy".[139]

In vedic literature, the term Siva occurs in the sense of auspicious, and is used as an epithet of Rudra.[140] Therein, Rudra is represented "as a malevolent deity causing death and disease among men and cattle and is therefore prayed to by the hymnists for allaying his wrath towards them, sparing them, their families and cattle, and attacking and damaging their enemies and their belongings."[141] The fusion of diverse ideas that played an important role in providing a concrete form to the deity is mirrored in the various epithets used for him in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Yajurveda*, and the subsequent texts. He is the Lord of Beasts as *Paśupati*, auspicious as *Śankara*, dweller on mountains as *Giricara*, Blue and Red as *Nīlalohita*, Blue-necked as *Nīlakaṇṭha* or *Nīlagrīva*, and clothed in a Skin as *Krittivāsa*.[142] The absorption of the characteristics of even some non-Arya deities might have been the cause, or the result, or both to a certain extent, of the rise in the popularity of Rudra-Śiva.

Rudra is often identified with Agni. Evidence of this identification may be seen in the *Ṛgveda*,[143] the *Atharvaveda*,[144] the *Tattirīya Saṁhita*,[145] the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[146] and even in the *Mahābhārata*.[147]

In the *Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra* and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, Śiva is mentioned as a minor god, showing that "his position of unquestioned supremacy was not established at a very early period." In fact, he was not even given any oblations in sacrifices in early times, for he himself tells his consort Umā, "the old practice of the gods has all along been that no portion should be offered to me in any sacrifice. By this custom, which is established by the earliest arrangement, the gods legitimately (*dharmataḥ*) decline to give me a share in the sacrifices." It was only by the entreaties of Pārvatī that "Śiva establishes for the first time in the *Yāga* of Dakṣa, his right to receive oblations... gets up to the level of the Vedic gods at a later period and is reconciled with the Vedic Hindu."[149]

In the last quarter of the fourth century B.C., the Greek envoy to the Maurya court, Megasthenes, refers to Śiva under the name of Dionysos.[150] Patañjali, in the second century B.C., refers to 'Śiva-bhāgavatas' and to images of Śiva sold by the Mauryas to raise money.[151] In the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, Śiva is described as *Mahādeva* or the Great God, "superior to the Vedic pantheon".[152] By the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Śiva "had gained a history and founded a family", and the epic describes in a nut-shell some of the legends more elaborately dealt with in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*.[153] in the Vedic period, Rudra-Śiva was a malevolent deity, as stated earlier. But the awesome Vedic Rudra was transformed, with the evolution of Śaivism, into an "Infinite Intelligence ... Creator of the World ... Redeemer of mankind".[154] In fact, his third eye came to stand for the "light of Pure Knowledge".[155] In the Hindu triad of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, the last deity was regarded as "the destroyer of universe when it requires to be created anew."[156] But with the rise in the popularity of the Śaiva cult, Śiva came to be regarded as the Creator, Supporter and Destroyer of the Universe.[157]

Like several other popular Indian deities, Śiva, too, is credited with multiple origins. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the account of the birth of Rudra is given thus : "Prajāpati (the lord of beings), who is identified with the Sun and also the year , (the being of the who he is Lord being the seasons),

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desired to have son ; he consorted, for that purpose, with Ushas and a son (Kumāra) was born. As soon as he was born the boy wept . . . Prajāpati gave him the name Rudra . . . he was Rudra because he wept" (*arodit*, for *rud*, to weep).[158] A similar account is given in the *Śānkhāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa* and the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*.[159]

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* gives two versions of the origin of Rudra. According to the first version, also to be found in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, "At the beginning of the *kalpa* (acon) Brahmā was meditating upon begetting a son similar to himself. At once a boy of blue and red colour was seen sitting on his lap and weeping loudly ... Brahmā conferred upon him the name Rudra."[160] The second version is given as follows: "Sanandana and others who were first created by Brahmā for the purpose of creating the various beings become absorbed in meditation, attained all kinds of knowledge and became free from love and hatred. They neglected the business for which they were brought into existence by Brahmā. Seeing the indifference of his sons towards the creation of the world, Brahmā grew angry and from the frowned forehead of this deity was born a son as resplendent as the sun. The body of this newly born was half male and half female and its was terrific and large in size." On the orders of Brahmā, the male and the female parts separated, each dividing further into eleven bodies. The eleven male divisions were the Ekādaśa Rudra.[161]

According to the fourth account, Viṣṇu grew fiercely angry with Madhu and Kaiṭabha, the two *Rākṣasas* who were trying to kill Brahmā, and from the frowned brows of Viṣṇu sprang forth a being, Śaṁbhu, wielding a *triśūla* and having three eyes.[162]

In the *Ṛgveda*, the anthropomorphism of Rudra-Śiva is "fairly advanced". He has hands, [163] arms,[164] and firm limbs,[165] beautiful lips,[166] and wearing hair in braids.[167] His whole being shines like a brilliant sun or gold.[168] He wears gold ornaments including "a glorious multiform necklace."[169] He is strongest of the strong,[170] swift,[171] and mighty,[172] besides being young[173] and unageing.[174] He wields a thunderbolt in his hand,[175] besides carrying a bow and arrows.[176] In the post-Vedic period, new features of Rudra like wearing of serpents and smearing of ashes on the body, are given to the deity.[177] A white bull becomes his *vāhana*. This was probably the result of the comparison of Rudra to a white bull in the *Ṛgveda*.[178]

In the *Purāṇas*, Śiva is described thus: "he carries a discus, trident, a club, an axe and a sword; he wears a girdle of serpents, ear-ornaments composed of serpents and a *Yajñopavīta* of serpents ... he has erect hair, looks obscene in his nakedness and has an excited look."He is further said to have "braided hair and matted locks". In his north Indian depiction, Śiva has *triśūla* and *sarpa* as his characteristic attributes.[180] In the *Purāṇas* and later literature, Śiva is described as a *yogin*, who meditates while seated on a lion-skin. A crescent-moon adorns his *Jaṭāmukuṭa*, and from his matted locks flows the river Gaṅgā. His abode is the mount Kailāsa.[181] With the rise in popularity of the worship of Śiva, his anthropomorphic figures "show a bewildering diversity."[182]

Śiva, in his anthropomorphic form, appears on the coins of Maues, Azilises, and Gondopherṇes, among the Śaka-Pahlava rulers. Much diversity is not seen in the representation of the deity on these coins.[183] He is generally two-armed, and the bull is never present by the side of Śiva. On the coins of Maues, Śiva is shown as walking to left. He is dressed in flowing draperies, and holds a club in the right hand and a long spear (sceptre?) in the left hand.[184] Whitehead does not name the deity, but even when the *triśūla* is not shown with the god, it seems to be quite likely that Śiva is intended,

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for the club is mentioned as an attribute of Śiva in the *Purāṇas.*[185] As regards the spear in the hand of the deity, it has been pointed out that in a specimen of this type of Maues in the British Museum, Śiva is shown holding a trident in place of a spear,[186] and the "spear found on the Punjab Museum specimen actually represents a trident."[187] In their work on the coin-type of the Śaka-Pahlava kings of India, Jenkins and Narain have described a similar deity on a coin-type of Azes I.[188] But the coins are described by Marshall, to whose work the two scholars have referred, as those of Maues, and not of Azes I[189]. On the basis of the trident in the hand of Poseidon on the coins of Maues,[190] it is suggested that the deity might also be identified as Śiva.[191]

A deity holding a club in the left hand carrying Nike on the right hand appears on the obverse of some coins of Azilises,[192] and on the reverse of some other coins of the same ruler.[193] Neither Cunningham[194] nor Marshall[195] identify this deity with Śiva.[196] But Jenkins and Narain suggest the tentative identification of the deity with Śiva.[197] The club in the hand of the deity, which, as already mentioned, is described as an attribute of Śiva, would seem to render the identification of this deity with Śiva more likely.

Some variety is seen in the representation of Śiva on the coins of Gondophernes. On one type of his coins, he is shown standing facing front, holding a *triśūla* in the left hand. The right hand of the deity is extended.[198] A British Museum specimen of Gondophernes depicts Śiva as holding a *triśūla-paraśu* in the right hand, while a skin is seen hanging down from his left arm.[199] On yet another coin-type, Śiva stands facing front. He has a *triśūla* in the right hand and a palm in the left hand.[200] It is interesting to note that on most of his coins, Gondophernes takes the epithet of *Devavrata*. This *deva*, to whom Gondophernes seems to be devoted, appears to be Śiva, for in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Śiva is mentioned as such.[201] The appearance of Śiva on the coins of these Śaka-Pahlava rulers has rendered untenable the view of W.W. Tarn[202] that the earliest anthropomorphic representation of Śiva is to be found on the coins of the Kuṣāṇas.

The connection of the bull with Śiva goes back even to the *Ṛgvedic* period, for in the *Ṛgveda*, Rudra is compared to a white bull to describe his complexion and power.[203] Gradually, Śiva himself came to be identified with the bull, as is apparent from his epithets *Mahāvṛsa*, *Vṛṣadhvaja*, and *Vṛṣavāhana*.[204] It has been suggested that "Śiva displaced the Primeval Bull who was the fecundative power of the Archetypal feminine deity, not only by bringing the animal to the sacrificial altar but also by identifying himself with the animal."[205] Bull came to represent theriomorphically the god Śiva, and even after the deity came to be represented anthropomorphically, the bull continued to be used as the representation of Śiva. Although on Śaka-Pahlava coins, the bull is never seen by the side of Śiva as his vehicle, the animal is quite commonly depicted as an independent coin device.[206] It is not certain whether the Śaka-Pahlava rulers "adopted the bull device in order to maintain an indigenous numismatic tradition or to indicate their devotion to an Indian faith".[207] Also, it is possible that the bull was itself worshipped as a deity in ancient times, and its appearance on these coins might have had no connection with Śiva, who is nowhere associated with the bull on these Śaka-Pahlava coins.

List of abbreviations used :

AIU : *The Age of Imperial Unity*, The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II, 5th ed., Bombay, 1980.

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BMC, AI : *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, in the British Museum, London*, by J.Allan, London, 1936.

BMC, GSKBI : *Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, in the British Museum, London*, by P.Gardner, Reprint, New Delhi, 1971.

CA : The Classical Age, The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III, 4th ed., Bombay, 1988.

CCS : Coins of the Śakas, by A. Cunningham, Reprint, 1971.

CGE : Coinage of the Gupta Empire, by A.S.Altekar, Varanasi.

CIGC : Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins, By A.N. Lahiri, Calcutta, 1965.

Coins and Icons : Coins and Icons, A Study of Myths and Symbols in Indian Numismatic Art, by Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, Calcutta, 1977.

DHI : The Development of Hindu Iconography, by J.N. Banerjea, Calcutta, 1941.

HDK : Hindū Dharma Kośa, by R.B. Pandey, Lucknow, 1988.

IVA : India in the Vedic Age, by P.L. Bhargava, Lucknow, 1971.

NNM(NSI) : Numismattic Notes and Monographs (The Numismatic Society of India).

PMC : Catalogue of Indo-Greek Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, by R.B. Whitehead, Reprint, Varanasi, 1971.

REHI : Elements of Hindu Iconography, by T.A.G. Rao, 2nd Reprint, Delhi, 1985.

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1. *REHI*, Vol.II, p. 515.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 517 ; also *IVA*, p. 278.
3. *Ṛgveda*, VI. 59, 2.
4. *REHI*, Vol. II, p. 516.
5. *HDK*, p. 100.
6. *IVA*, p. 282.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
8. *HDK*, p. 100.
9. *Ṛgveda*, III. 46, 2.
10. *Ibid.*, I. 101, 5.
11. *Tvaṁ anapir Indra Janjṣasanadasi*. See *REHI*, Vo. II, p. 516.
12. *Aśatrur Indra jajñiṣe*. See *REHI*, Vol. II, p. 516.
13. *Ṛgveda*, X. 134, 1.
14. *IVA*, p. 282.
15. *REHI*, Vol. II, p. 516.

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16. VIII. 93, 1 ; viii. 93, 4 ; X. 89.2.
17. *vide* R.B. Pandey *HDK*, p. 100.
18. See *IVA*, p. 287.
19. *vide REHI*, Vol. II, p. 516.
20. *HDK*, P. 100 ; also *IVA*, p. 285.
21. *REHI*, Vol. II, p. II, p. 517.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 517-18.
23. *IVA*, p. 283.
24. *Ṛgveda*, VIII. 45,4.
25. X. 44, 9.
26. VIII. 85, 8.
27. *IVA*, p. 283 and fn. 13.
28. *vide REHI*, Vol. II, p. 519.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 519-20.
30. e.g., *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, vide REHI*,Vol. II, p. 253, *Pratimālakṣaṇāni*.
31. *REHI*, Vol. II, p. 520.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ṛgveda*, I. 32, 2.
34. *IVA* p. 283.
35. W.J.Wilkins, *Hindu Mythology*, p. 46.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
37. *IVA*, p. 287.; also Carnoy, *Iranian Mythology*, p. 271.
38. *Coins and Icons*, p. 184.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
40. *DHI*, p. 148 ; cf. also p.9.
41. *Coins and Icons*, p. 184.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *CIGC*, Pl. V.1.
44. *Coins and Icons*, p. 183.
45. *Taxila*, Vol. II, p.811, Pl. 240. 163 ; *White King Sale Catalogue*, Pl. iv. 299.
46. Cf. *REHI*, Vol. II, pp. 519-20.
47. VIII. 45, 4.
48. *REHI*, Vol. II, Pl. CLI. fig. 1.
49. *Khajuraho Sculptures and Their Significance*, p. 89.

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50. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
52. *Ṛgveda*, IV. 16, 14.
53. e.g., *BMC, GSKBI*, Pl. XVI., 5.
54. e.g., *CCS*, Pl. VI. 7.
55. e.g., *PMC*, Pl. XIV. 369.
56. e.g., *Ibid.*, Pl. XII. 263.
57. e.g., *Ibid.*, Pl. XVI.91.
58. e.g., Rañjuvula, *BMC, AI*, Pl. XLIII., 21.
59. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Icons*, p. 183.
60. e.g. *PMC*, Pl. X. 31.
61. e.g., *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV. 363.
62. e.g., *BMC, GSKBI*, Pl. XIX.7.
63. *CCS*, Pl. XII. 5.
64. *Coins and Icons*, p. 183.
65. *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 3.
66. *BMC, GSKBI*, Pl. XXX., 3.
67. *CIGC*, Pl. VI. 9.
68. *Coins and Icons*, p. 184.
69. See, *Coins and Icons*, pp. 92-94.
70. See, e.g., *NNM (NSI)*, No. 4.
71. *REHI*, Vol. II, p. 373.
72. *DHI*, p. 370.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 370. Cf. R.B. Pandey, *HDK*, p. 565, where he says that Lakṣmī is described in the *Puruṣa Sūkta* of the *Ṛgveda*.
74. *DHI*, pp. 370-71.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 371.
76. *AIR*, p. 470.
77. I. 4.
78. *AIU*, p. 471.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 470.
80. *Ibid.*
81. II. 10, 19.
82. For example, in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Lakṣmī is explicitly mentioned as the wife of Viṣṇu. See W.J. Wilkins,

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op. cit., pp. 107-11.

83. H.D. Bhattacharya, *AIU*, p. 470.

84. *SI*, Vol. i, p.

85. See *HDK*, p. 565.

86. See D.C. Sircar, *CA*, p. 425.

87. *AIU*, P. 470.

88. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI. 4, 1 ff.

89. *vide REHI*, Vol. I, p. 373.

90. *AIU*, p. 471.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 470.

92. *Coins and Icons*, p. 202.

93. *Ibid.*

94. *CGE.*

95. CA., p. 425.

96. See above.

97. *DHI*, p. 371.

97a. Cf. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, vide REHI*, Vol. I, p. 134, *Pratimālakṣanāni.*

98. *REHI*, Vo. I, p. 374. Also, pp. 133-34, *Pratimālakṣaṇāni*; cf. *Khajuraho Sculpturesā and Their Significance*, p. 58.

99. *REHI*, Vol. I, p. 373. In fact, Mahālakṣmī is the name given to Devī when she is thirteen years old. See *Ibid.*, p. 333.

100. *REHI*, Vol. I, pp. 373-74. also p. 133, *Pratimālakṣaṇāni.*

101. *REHI*, Vol. II, p. 375.

102. *vide* J.N. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 373.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 373.

104. *vide REHI*, Vol. I, p. 135, *Pratimālakṣaṇāni.*

105. See above.

106. III. 82, 7. *Avarjita-ghaṭaṁ kāryaṁ tatpṛṣṭhe kuñjaradvayaṁ.* See *REHI*, Vol. I, p. 134, *Pratimālakṣaṇāni.*

107. III. 82, 100. *Hastidvayaṁ vijānahī Śankhapadmāvubhau nidhī.*

108. *REHI* Vol. I, p. 373.

109. *Indian Images*, Pt. I, p. 37.

110. *Khajuraho Sculptures and Their Significance*, Fig. 39.

111. *PMC*, p. 129, Pl. XII, 308.

112. *BMC, GSKBI* Pl. XIX. 5.

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113. *DHI*, pp. 134-35.

114. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

115. *Indian Images*, Pt. I, p. 37.

116. Urmila Agarwal, *Khajuraho Sculptures and Their Significance*, Fig. 39.

117. *BMC, GSKBI*, p. lix.

118. *BMC, AI*, Pl. XXVI., 1, 2.

119. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVI., 12.

120. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVI, 14, 16, 18, Pl. XLIII., 15. Compare this type of representation of the goddess with that occurring on Kuṇinda coins, *BMC, AI*, Pl. XXII., 1.

121. *PMC*.Pl.XIII. 332., 333.

122. *BMC, AI*, Pl. XXVI., 12.

123. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVI, 14, 16, 18 ; Pl. XLIII., 15.

124. *PMC*, p. 135.

125. *BMC*. AI, P. 187 (Rañjuvula) ; *Ibid.*, p. 190 (Śoḍaṣa).

126. e.g., *BMC, AI*, Pl. XLIII., 4.

127. e.g. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVIII. 23-25, PI. XVIII., 24.

128. *CCS*, Pl. III., 23.

129. *BMC, GSKBI*, Pl. XIX., 10.

130. *DHI*, p. 110., fn. 2.

131. *Coins and Icons*, p. 203.

132. *Hiraṇyavarṇāṁ hariṇīṁ suvarṇarajata-srajām Candrāṁ hiraṇmayīṁ Lakṣmīm jātavedo mamāvaha., vide* J.N. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 372.

133. See Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, p.59.

134. *Ibid.*, Pl. XII., 17.

135. *Coins and Icons*, p. 208.

136. *AIU*, p. 453.

137. *IVA*, p. 290.

138. *Ibid.*, p. 292.

139. *vide* P.L. Bhargava, IVA, p. 292.

140. e.g., in the *Ṛgveda*, the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, and the *Atharvaveda*. See *REHI*, Vol. II, p. 39.

141. *REHI*, Vol. II, p. 39.

142. *IVA*, p. 293.

143. II. 1, 6.

144. VII. 87, 1.

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145. V. 4, 6, 1 ; V. 5, 7, 4.
146. VI. 1, 3, 10.
147. *vide REHI*, Vol. II, p. 42.
148. *AIU*, p. 453.
149. See *REHI*, Vol. II, pp. 51-52.
150. *AIU*, p. 456.
151. *Ibid.*
152. *Ibid.*, p. 453.
153. *Ibid.*, pp. 456-57.
154. R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 222-23.
155. A. Shivapadasundaram, *Śaiva School of Hinduism*, as quoted by Urmila Agrawal, *Khajuraho Sculptures and Their Significance*, p. 46.
156. *IVA*, p. 292. Cf. R.B. Pandey, *HDK*, p. 628.
157. *HDK*, p. 628 Cf. Urmila Agarwal, *Khajuraho Sculptures and Their Significance*, p. 45.
158. *vide REHI*, Vol. II, p. 44.
159. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
160. See *REHI*, Vol. II, p. 45.
161. See *Ibid.*, p.46.
162. See *Ibid.*, p. 47.
163. *Ṛgveda*, II. 33, 7.
164. *Ibid.*, II. 33, 3.
165. *Ibid.*, II, 33, 3.
166. *Ibid.*, II, 35, 5.
167. *Ibid.*, II. 114, 1.
168. *Ibid.*, I. 43, 5.
169. *Ibid.*, II. 33, 9-10.
170. *Ibid.*, II. 33, 3.
171. *Ibid.*, I. 111, 4.
172. *Ibid.*, II. 33, 10.
173. *Ibid.*, II. 33, 1.
174. *Ibid.*, VI. 49, 10.
175. *Ibid.*, II. 33, 3.
176. *Ibid.*, VII. 46, 1. Cf. *REHI*, Vol. II, p. 40.

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177. See *IVA*, P. 293.

178. II. 33, 8. See *IVA*, p. 293.

179. See *REHI*, Vol. II, p. 43.

180. *Ancient India*, No. 5, (1950), p. 52.

181. See *HDK*, p. 629.

182. *CA*, p. 439.

183. Cf. *AIU*, p. 461.

184. *PMC*, Pl. X. 25.

185. See *REHI*, Vol. II, p. 43. Cf. Sirkap seal showing Śiva with club, and explicitly mentioning Śiva by name. See *Coins and Icons*, p. 210.

186. *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 71, Pl. XVII. 3.

187. *Coins and Icons*, p. 211.

188. *NNM (NSI)*, No. 4, p. 7.

189. *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 807, coins nos. 127, 128.

190. *PMC*, Pl. X. 20.

191. See Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Icons*, p. 210.

192. *CCS*, Pl. VIII. 7.

193. *CCS*, Pl. VIII. 6; also *Taxila*, Pl. 240. 165.

194. *CCS*, p. 52.

195. *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 811.

196. In fact, they are silent as to the identification of thsi god.

197. *NNM, (NSI)*, No. 4, p. 10.

198. *PMC*, Pl. XV. 46.

199. *BMC, GSKBI*, 1. XXII. 9.

200. *PMC*, Pl. XV. 43.

201. See J.N. Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 117, 475.

202. *GBI*, p. 402.

203. II. 33, 8.

204. *Coins and Icons*, p. 207.

205. See *Ibid.*, p. 207. The theory was propounded by A. Sen, *Animal Motifs in Ancient Indian Art*, p. 62.

206. See e.g., the coins of Maues (*PMC*, Pl. X. 32) ; Azes I.
(*PMC*, Pl. XII. 292) ;Azilises (*PMC*, P. XIV. 363) ; Azes II.
(*PMC*, Pl. XII. 288) ; Zeionises (*CCS*, Pl. XII. 5).

207. *Coins and Icons*, p. 208.

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43

The Role of the Indian Immigrants in the Economy and Culture of the Ottoman-Turkish Empire: A case study of Bulgaria

B.R. Grover

During the ancient and early medieval periods, maritime activities in the Indian Ocean led to movement of populations and cultural contacts between the East and the West. In fact, the Indian tribal settlements in the Mediterranean region and the east European countries, even beyond the Danube, near the Euxine Sea and the Black Sea can be traced ever since the ancient times. However, during the medieval ages, apart from the commercial relations, one of the significant channels of the dissemination of some of their cultural aspects by a few ethnic groups of the Indians was through their settlements in different countries in Asia, Egypt and Europe. Even though copious literature has been produced on the Indian immigrants, especially the *Tsigane*/ Roma/ Gypsies, by eminent anthropologists, sociologists, linguists and other scholars,[1] a few aspects of their culture which became an integral part of the societies abroad need to be emphasised. Though designated differently in varying languages of Asia and Europe, they came to be popularly known as the Roma. However, of these people, the role of tribes/ groups comprising occupational and professional classes who emigrated over there, and led a sedentary life and made distinct contribution to the socio-economic and cultural life of these countries, has yet to be clearly underlined. In fact, the Jats, Rajputs, the Meds, Ahirs, Banjaras, Gujars, Brahmans, Khatris, Tandas (i.e. *saudagars*/merchants, especially horse dealers), Sansis, Siklighars, Dhangars, Bhats, astrologers and singers, from Sindh, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Gujarat, (Cutch-Kathiawar) and Maharashtra (India) emigrated to Asian countries and then to Europe under varying political circumstances. Apart from linguistic evidence, the literary Greek, Persian and Arab sources bear testimony to the distinguishing traits of these people in various countries and the distinct contribution made by them in the fields of craftsmanship, medicine, archery, gunnery, art of warfare, pastoral and agricultural production, music, dance, astrology and jugglery, etc.

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During the nineteenth century, especially the later half, innumerable books and research articles were written on the subject of the origin and the spread of the Gypsies in West Asia, Egypt and Europe. Based upon linguistic or linguistic-cum-historical studies, they were of the unanimous view that the original home of the West Asian and European Gypsies was India.[2] With rare exceptions, they all adhered to the "Zott" theory, i.e., it were the Indian Jats (*Zatt* in Arabic) who had emigrated from Sindh, Multan and other North West regions of the West Punjab to West Asian and European countries[3], and who in due course of time came to be known as Gypsies. All of them maintained that the Indian emigration started during the late ancient and early medieval periods of Indian history. A.F.Pott traced the earliest Indian emigration to the 5th century A.D., when a large troupe of 12,000 Indian musicians (named *Luris/ Lulis* in Persia) of both sexes, having been invited by the Persian king Behram Gaur permanently settled in Iran.[4] However, the otherview which was ultimately elaborately substantiated by M.J. De Goeje, held that various branches of the Indian piratical *Zatts* of martial character, who were skilful sailors, owning large vessels (*bari/barija*) along with their families and chattels penetrated into the bottom lands of the Euphrates and neighbourhood of Babylon, and established their colony for permanent settlement in Khuzistan, during the 7th century (635-644 A.D., the reign of Omar). With the influx of fresh *Zatt* families, the process of settlement continued on an accelerated scale during the later half of the 7th century and the 8th century, when the *Zatts* had settled in Basra, around Orontes and other seaboard towns of Syria.[5] During the 9th century, they moved for settlement of upper Syria, and to the Byzantine State, and from the Greek Empire to the other countries of Europe.

It seems that the nomenclature 'gypsie' came into being in 16th century England as a substitute for the 'Egyptian.' As the Indian immigrants in Europe had enroute settled at Epirus in the Mediterranean, called by them 'Lower Egypt'/'Little Egypt'/, they also came to be known as Egyptians,[6] even though they had nothing to do with Egypt proper in Africa. In the earlier English literature, the Scotch name *Tinkler* occuring in the character of William the Lion (1165-1214), a variation of *Tinker* was, in fact, the corrupt form of the German *Zigeuner*, even though these people were known by different names in various countries.[7] In the Ottoman-Turkish State, they were known as *Tehinghianes/Tsiganees*.[8] There was divergence of opinion among the 19th century European scholars, as to whether the bands of the 'Gypsies' spread over West Asia (*Zatts*), Ottoman-Turkish Empire (*Tsiganees*) and Europe (named differently), were members of the same family. Based on comparative analysis of the dialects spoken by the Gypsies all over West Asia, Egypt and Europe as well as the North Indian languages, some scholars, especially A.F.Pott, Paul Bataillard and even A.G.Paspati, who has produced a specialised treatise on the *Tsigane* of the Ottoman-Turkish Empire, advocated the above version, even though a number of other scholars inclusive of M.J.Goeje cast serious doubts on this theory.[9] As a matter of fact, during the medieval age, Indian families belonging to various tribes and castes intermittently emigrated to the West Asian countries not only during the 7th and 8th centuries as held by De. Goeje, but even later on during the 10th-12th centuries owing to the impact of the Turkish campaigns in North India. This is well confirmed by the Bulgarian folk-tales as well.[10]

Even though the 19th Century Europen Orientalists based their studies on deep linguistic research, and, at times, in coordination with the historical data, the vast divergence in views at times inspired by Eurocentric racial complexes and lack of appreciation of historical data in proper

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perspective left a number of issues more or less unresolved. They themselves conceded that there were wide gaps in their knowledge in so far as, at least, the research on non-European dialects of the so-called Gypsies (*Tsigane* / Roma) was concerned.[11] The fundamental error committed by them was that they identified all the Indian immigrants with the 'Gypsie' character in the vagrant and contemptuous sense representing the baser groups of their respective societies. They ignored the fact that apart from the Indian immigrants, there were numerous other racial groups like the Tatars, Yuruks, Khurds (in the Ottoman-Turkish Empire/East Europe), the Egyptians, the English and other such groups which equally fell in the category of the Gypsies and were recorded as such in the official documents.[12] The majority of the Indian immigrants who had settled in the Byzantine empire during the 9th Century A.D. preferred to call themselves Roma, and were very much distinguishable from the Gypsie racial groups of the other nationalities.

The European Orientalists not only committed the error of identifying the Gypsie groups only with the Indians, they mostly emphasised the baser elements of a section of the itinerant groups who were musicians, dancers, jugglers, magicians, soothsayers, bear-keepers and serpent charmers etc.[13], while completely ignoring the other traits of their character and occupations, especially of the sedentary groups who had taken to different vocations in society. This accounts for the fact that a few writers, (I.Miklosich, Richardson), while tracing their original home, tried to identify them with the Sanskrit *doma* or *dhokba* (low caste musicians / menials) or *Natts* (acrobats/ musicians) in India.[14] Apart from this, during the medieval age, racial or religious bias equally contributed to the use of contemptuous appellations for the other religious or racial groups. As such, the Persians, the Arabs, the Turks, the Bulgarians and the peoples of the other European countries used varying contemptuous words for the Indian immigrants settled in different countries.[15] So the 19th century European Orientalists, having been misled by such appellations and nicknames, characterised the entire immigrant communities all over West Asia and Europe with special 'Gypsie' traits in blood and race, occupational professions and the way of life in society. Even though the mobile and itinerant tribes (*Khānābadosh*) used to living in huts / tents on the outskirts of the village /towns and following particular professions, pastoral, or making and selling petty handicrafts were known to Indian Society during the medieval age,[16] it is rather significant to observe that the Indian immigrants abroad (Roma) nicknamed as 'Gypsies' had nothing to do with such Indian tribes. The emigrating tribes and classes left India under varying circumstances, and some of their sections who were not easily acceptable to the foreign societies because of their religious or social practices, remained itinerant in character, which became more or less their normal way of life for a long time.

Another fundamental error committed by the 19th century European Orientalists was identification of the *Zatts* settled in the Arabian countries with only the Jat tribes in India. No doubt, the medieval Arab chronicles/lexicons do confirm that the *Zatts* from the Arabian lands had moved to the Byzantine state as well as to Europe. It was maintained that the *Zatts* being the Indian Jats belonged to the 'Gypsie' race.[17] As a matter of fact, even though the word *Zatt* was the the Arabicized form of Jat, the Arabs called the Hindus *Zatt*. As such, the earliest Arab writers used the word *Zatt* for the Hindus from India.[18] Not only the people of the proper Jat tribes, but all Hindus settled in the Arab countries were known as *Zatt*. As the term Hindu was basically geographical and cultural in its connotation, in the pre-Islamic and early medieval age, a person from India

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belonging to any tribal social order or any religious sect, i.e. Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jaina, Śivaite, Vaiṣṇavite, etc., was named as Hindu. It also goes without saying that in the early stages, the Jat tribes (belonging to mostly Buddhist and Brahmanical orders before conversion to Islam) settled in the Arab countries were also Hindus, but the *'Zotts'* also comprised the other Indian tribes like the Meds, Gujars and Rajputs, etc., along with all their branches.[19] After the advent of Islam, all Indians settled in the Arab lands, even when many of their tribes became Muslims in due course of time, continued to be named as *Zatt*. One has to read and understand the context of the passage in which the Arab writers used the word *Zatt*.[20] A minute reading of the Arabic texts of the medieval age for the Arabian countries / Byzantine Empire clearly reveals that these were referring to the Indian immigrants as *Zatts*. However, the Arab travellers/geographers who visited India from the 8th - 9th centuries onwards and gave descriptions of the various tribes settled in Sindh and Multan, mention Jats as one of the local tribes along with other tribes like the Meds, Bhattis and Balochs, etc., with their respective territorial jurisdictions, religious faiths, customs and practices.[21] Since the European Orientalists could not appreciate the connotation of the *Zatt* used by the medieval Arab writers in the Arab lands, they took its meaning in the literal tribal sense, i.e., only the Jat, which was of course one of the tribes of Sindh and Punjab in India. As such they enunciated the 'Jat theory', i.e., only the Jats had emigrated to the Arab countries, Byzantine Empire and the European countries. For this purpose, many of them (Burton, Trumpp and Dowson) who came to India and studied the linguistic and social structure of the Jat communities, also propounded the fallacious theory that the Jats of Sindh, Punjab and Rajasthan (in Bharatpur) belonged to the 'Gypsie' blood and race.[22] As such, according to them, the Jat immigrants in the Arabian and European countries all belonged to the 'Gypise' race. The entire assumption of the European Orientalists was ill-founded, as it was not only the Jats but various other tribes who had emigrated from India to the Arab lands and Europe not only in the ancient times, but also during the medieval age.

It is known from Arab accounts that the *Zatts*, a people of Indian origin, followed pastoral and agricultural life as well as commercial, medical, civil and military professions and were settled in many Arab countries.[23] Though initally the immigrants retained their original religion (Buddhism/ Hinduism) and continued to pay *jizya* (poll tax) for acquiring citizenship rights, in due course of time, most of them embraced Islam. Some occupational and professional classes came to occupy important positions in the administrative and military establishments of the countries they inhabited.[24] The Arab sources testify to the fact that, of the Indians settled in the West Asian countries and some parts of Europe, the cooks, accountants, artisans and gunners were highly valued.[25] By the 8th - 9th centuries, they had settled in Syria where there were both sedentary and itinerant types. Gradually the sedentary people came to be known as the *Zatts* who were engaged in agriculture and cattle-rearing, whereas the wandering class known as *Zigeuners (*or *Zigani)* comprised the musicians, fortune-tellers (*warrzeggers/* soothsayers), jugglers (*goochelaars*), acrobats and pedlars, etc. They were also known as the *Nowar*. From Syria, there were numerous voluntary emigrations of the Indian families to the Greek Empire, Hungary and Transylvania. In 855 A.D., the Byzantine (Rum) rulers, after a successful attack on Ainzarba (Syrian town), captured all the *Zatt* prisoners of the town (about 20 thousand) and carried them to their own country along with their women, children, buffaloes, and cows.[26]

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This process of occupation of the Syrian frontiers along with the capturing of the families of Indian origin by the Byzantine Empire continued in the 10th century as well. Apart from them, subsequently too, there was an equally intermittent flow of these families from Syria to the Byzantine Empire, from where they spread to the western and eastern parts of Europe. By this time, the Christian medieval Bulgarian State, despite tussles and conflict with the Byzantine empire, had links with Constantinople and the 'Byzantine community' both with regard to religion and politics. There was Byzantine influence on various aspects of the Bulgarian society and institutions. It resulted in the influx of some of the Indian tribes/ethnic groups from the Byzantine Empire into the Bulgarian lands and other regions of the Balkan peninsula. It seems that it was in the Byzantine Empire (also known as Raum in the Oriental countries) that a number of tribes and groups of Indian immigrants identified themselves with its nationality and came to be known as Roma.[27]

Apart from them, there were also other people of Indian origin who had settled in the Byzantine Empire and even much beyond, in the Russian territories. During the 14th century, Ibn Battuta who travelled to Constantinople (in the reign of Aneronicus III) en route to Majar, Bulghar (capital of the medieval kingdom of great Bulgaria), Bishdagh, Tarkhan (Astrakhan), Utak, Surdaq (Sudak in Crimea), found the Indians as part of the troops and the military establishments of various chieftains as well as the Byzantine State.[28] The leader of such Indian troops was known as *Sunbul* the Indian, as distinguished from the leader of such Greek troops called Michael, both the captains named so because of their conspicuous bravery.[29] The Indian troops at the royal court were non-Muslims, apparently Hindus, who were distinguished by Ibn Battuta from the Greek Orthodox Christians and the Frankish Christians. The Muslims were called *Sarakinu*.[30] While spelling out the trading communities dwelling in Istanbul, i.e.,the Genoese, Venetians, Romans and the French paying tax to the king of Constantinople, Ibn Battuta does not refer to any of the Muslim or Indian trading communities therein.[31] The Indian *Sunbuls*/troops formed not only a part of the security guards, but they also manned the civil departments of the Royal Court. As Ibn Battuta mentions the *Sunbuls*, i.e., officers in charge of the security-cum-civil departments for other countries of Asia, especially the Sultanate of Delhi,[32] it is evident in the context that they did not essentially belong to the slave category in the Byzantine Empire and in the other chieftainships in the Russian or West Asian countries. Although it is extremely difficult to express any definite opinion, it seems in the context that the Indian troops/*Sunbuls* settled in Constantinople, East European and the Russian territories for many a century constituted quite a distinct class from the other Indian immigrant groups named Roma in the Byzantine State and elsewhere, for there is evidence to show that even before the 14th century, the *Tsigane*/Roma had established a separate colony of their own in the vicinity of Constantinopole in the Byzantine Empire.

After the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire, the Indian immigrants remained inhabitants of the territories of the erstwhile Empire, and later on with the establishment of the Ottoman Turkish State, became its citizens. Under the latter's rule, a professional section of the musicians and dancers, etc., i.e. the *Zigeuner* also came to be known as *Tehengan*, or *Tehengans*. In due course of time, all categories of Indian immigrants, i.e. the erstwhile *Zatts*, *Tehengans* and other vocational groups came to be covered under the nomenclature *Tsigane*/Roma.[33] From here, a few groups of these people were taken by the Turks eastward as well.

By this time, the Indians who had earlier lived in the Arab countries, in Greek and some of

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the Slavonic lands, developed dialects which had not only indigenous Sindhi, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Marathi and other Hindi words, but also Arabic, Greek and Slavonic elements which became common to all the dialects of these people settled in the Turkish Empire, the Slavonic countries as well as West Europe. Notwithstanding the fact that, in due course of centuries, many a tribe of the *Tsigane* in the west Asian Arab countries and the Ottoman-Turkish Empire had formally accepted the religion of Islam, like the Meos (of Punjab/ Haryana) in India, they kept up most of the pre-Islamic Hindu religious rituals and traditions.

During the 19th century, M.I.Kaunavine, a Russian gypsiologist, during nearly thirty years of intensive research, collected vast materials on the mythological tradition, tales, ritual songs, poems, saying proverbs, charms and incantations of the Roma ('Gypsies') settled in West Europe and Hungary (Central Europe); East Europe covering Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria (the territories of the latter two countries being under the direct administration of the Ottoman-Turkish Empire); Asia Minor, also a part of the Turksish Empire; the West Asian Arab countries, Iran, Central Asia and India.[34] He found remarkable identity and an intimate affinity between the Roma legends and tales and the ancient Hindu culture and mythology. He maintained that concepts and features of Hindu mythology were strongly marked in the Roma legends and mythology, and that even the names used in the Roma tales were analogous to the divinities of the Hindu theogony. In the Roma legends, ritual songs and mythology, the names *Bramy, Jandra, Laki* and *Mata/Kutia/De-Develeski* have been identified with *Brahma, Indra, Kali/Lakshmi* and *dharat-mat*(mother-Earth) respectively.[35] Similarly, in the Roma legends, tales and worship, the importance attached to *Yag* (Agni/Fire), *Omoni* (Om), Yogic meditation, *Devanni* (Sanskrit *Deva*-good spirits), *Mura/mor* (Sanskrit *mara* - wicked), Sun, Moon, Water, Hymns/prayers are parallel to the Vedic Hindu terminology and rituals. The Hindu belief in one Supreme God with different names and forms, i.e., *Brahma* the Creator, *Viṣṇu* the sustainer, *Śiva* the destroyer of evil, permeates all the Roma mythology, of course, with names of their own dialects for the above gods. A survey of the folk-tales showed that in due course of time they were passed on from one country to another reflected in their more or less identical nature. Many fold-tales of the Roma in West Europe were passed to the *Tsigane*/Roma of the Ottoman-Turkish Empire and *vice versa*.[36]

Based on personal investigation, M.I.Kaunavine found that the European Roma, even when a majority of them were Christians/Muslims, worshipped the idol of St.Sarah, the European form of the Indian Goddess *Kālikā/Kāli*, a practice which has continued till today.[37] Like the *Durgā Pūjā*(worship of the Goddess *Durgā*) in India, at a festival held at the village St.Maries-de-lamer in Southern France, they immerse the idol in a nearby pond. Similarly, at Skopje in Macedonia (a Bulgarian land under the Ottoman-Turkish occupation in the 19th century, at present in Yugoslavia), *Tsigane* (Roma), majority of them being Muslims (even performing *sunnat* circum-cision) worshipped God *Jandra* (Indra) on St.George's Day. This is in consonance with the ṚgVedic Hindu legend of God *Indra* killing the demon Vṛtra and the serpent Śuṣṇa or Ahi who had obstructed the heavenly rains and streams on their way to Mother-Earth.[38] This legendary celebration, too, has continued till today along with the same Hindu Vedic names of gods and demons. On St. George's Day (23rd April, celebrated as the beginning of summer), the Roma of Skopje(Macedonia) would visit as pilgrims the small stream flowing by the village, regarded as a sacred and "heavenly stream" associated with God *Jandra (Indra)*, who brought it down to earth after killing the serpent Ahi and the demon Vṛtra. The Roma of Macedonia regarded St.George's

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Day as *Khizar Alysas Kuni*, i.e. Khizer Elija Day/Khizr St.George's Day/ "Green dressed God" Day.[39] They would also visit the saltish spring (*Shutlo Pani*) and take back home branches of trees with green leaves. The other Bulgarian and the Rumanian *Tsigane* (Roma) also observed the same festival. Like many Indian supersititious rituals, they would decorate the tree branches thus brought with cloths and flowers and the pregnant women would associate the normal delivery of children with some omens of the falling petals on cloth during the night. In Bulgaria and other portions of South-Eastern Europe as well as Turkey, the *Tsigane/Tschinganes*/Roma would always keep a fire burning in their camp.[40] On the last May of every year, they would go to the bank of a nearby river along with their idols on which they would throw water thrice in order to invoke the invisible *geni loci* to grant their cherished wishes. The elderly and the wisest people of the tribe would prepare a special potion, (liquid) of which they would all take some dose annually.[41] Most interestingly, according to one of the tales, the Roma of Central Asia traced their own origin to *Jandra* (Indra/ Viṣṇu), assuming the human form in Roma/Gypsie who was outcast by the people so as to become a wanderer on earth.[42] However, as against this version, according to the Bulgarian folk-tale, the *Tsigana* (Roma) had to leave their beautiful country (India) owing to the wars, utter destruction and carnage caused by the Muslims (8th, 11-12th centuries).[43] All the above legends, folk tales and rituals of the *Tsigane/*Roman, especially in the Balkan regions, recorded during the 19th century, are by and large in vogue even till this day.

During the 19th century, it was observed that in the social structure, social customs and professional vocations as well, the *Tsigana/*Roma kept up the old Indian traditions. Earlier during the 15th-16th centuries, in many a western country, a tribal chief of the Roma was even recorded in the European terminology as the "King of Rowmais" and at times designated as "Earl" and "Lord".[44] However, in the Balkans, Turkey and Central Asia during the 19th century (even at present), a *Tsigane* chief was called *Thakur* (like a petty Indian chief of North India); and the entire chieftainship was governed by community life.[45] The *Tsigane* were divided into various tribes and sub-tribes. The members of each tribe or sub-tribe, being monogamous, tended to marry among themselves. The *Kris* like the Indian *Panchayat* system served as the base for all social relations.

Though, as already described, the Roma tribes of *Gitanos* and *Sinti/Manus* had mostly settled in West Europe, the *Tsigane/*Roma tribes in Central Europe, South-Eastern Europe and other portions of the Ottoman-Turkish Empire were broadly divided on vocational basis into five classess, i.e., the *Calderari/Kalderash*; the *Lovars*; the musicians, astrologers etc; the pastoral groups comprising the shepherds of goats, sheep and livestock (like the *gaddis* of India); and the agricultural peasantry.[46] In a developing economy, there could not be clear-cut divisions of the *Tsigane* classes, as many a member of the *Calderari* or *Lovar* tribe would also take to agriculture for supplementing the family income.

The *Calderari/Kalderash* were expert copper-smiths, iron-smiths, black-smiths, metal workers, gold-washers and even wood-workers.[47] The Copper-smiths of Hungary and Transylvania travelled across various Western countries for supply of goods, while those following other vocations led a settled life. The Calderari of Bulgaria, other South-Eastern European countries and other parts of the Ottoman-Turkish Empire mostly led a sedentary life and contributed to the economic growth of Empire.[48] The horse-shoes made by them in Macedonia and other regions in South Eastern Europe were unrivalled and even exported abroad. Of the *Calderari* in the Bulgarian

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lands, especially the *Tophansa* (cannon-makers) and *Barutchie* (gun-powder makers) in Macedonia were well known for metal-work trade, and made a tremendous contribution to the military power of the Ottoman-Turkish Empire.[49] The *Calderari Tavoktarash* (metal-sheet makers) of Central Asia also made significant contributions in this regard. Besides metal-work, some branches of the *Calderari* in East Europe were expert carpenters, joiners and turners. They were known for wood-work of various types, especially household wooden utensils, sieves, horns, tubes, troughs, smoking pipe-heads, toys, combs as well as musical instruments. Different branches of the *Calderari* specialised in different items of wood-work; and some of them like the spoonmakers came to be known as *Lingurari* (after the Moldavian word *linger* for spoon and wooden utensils). Some took to basket-making from willow twigs, and winnowing wheat.

Another class comprised the *Lovars* who were traditional horse and mule dealers.[50] They were used to an itinerant life for trade purposes. They were experts in training horses and were good horse-riders. They also possessed adequate knowledge of traditional veterinary science for the treatment of the horses/mules. In fact, the *Calderari* and the *Lovars* as good horsemen made fine soldiers in the army and served the Turkish Empire in this regard. Some branches of the *Tsigane* reared buffaloes/oxen for milk products, ploughing of the arable lands and traction of carts in the rural areas. Mostly itinerants, they were engaged in regular trade in these items in the Bulgarian lands.[51] Other branches of the *Tsigane*/Roma comprised the musicians, astrologers, jugglers, and bear-keepers, etc. Though it is conceded that the Roma of Hungary created the national music, their contribution to cultural life in Bulgaria and other regions of the Ottoman-Turkish Empire was by no means less significant.[52] The performance of the Roma *czardas* and compositions of Bihary, Csermark and *maesteri* would thrill the audiences. The *Tsigane*/Roma were also excellent harpers, violin being their most favourite instrument. Their women were excellent dancers. In all these respects, they made a lasting impact on the culture of these countries.

Not only in their religious beliefs and cultural life, but even in many other social customs, the *Tsigane*/Roma, despite conversion to Islam or Christianity, continued to follow traditional practices especially relating to marriage ceremonies, death, burial and child-birth, etc.[53] These comprised walking of the corpse; burning the deceased person's effects; fasting on the part of their kinsfolk; burning of the deceased's clothes by the well-to-do Roma; renunciation of the favourite delicacy of the dead parent or husband; dropping the name of the dead for further use in the family circle; abstension of a housewife from the kitchen after childbirth for four months, avoiding touching the skirt of a woman (having menses) with the vessels; washing the table-cloth connected with food separately from the other clothes; breaking of a flower-crowned pitcher by the Roma chief at the time of marriage and predicting the future of the bridal couple from the fragmented pieces and flowers; leaving some handfuls of grass or leaves or stone pieces or sticks at the cross-roads for the guidance of strangers of the Roma community, etc. Though it is difficult to identify each one of these customs with the medieval way of Indian life, many of them have much parallelism with the Hindu family rituals in India.

In the Bulgarian territories, by the end of the 15th and early 16th century, social division of labour was fairly advanced in the countryside. Many occupational groups of the *Tsigane* working as artisans and small traders as well as agriculturists formed a productive section of the population and made a significant contribution to the economy.[54]

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However, as distinguished from the other Muslim artisans, except for having an indirect role in the urban economy and foreign market, they mostly catered to the rural economy. All the same, unlike other Turkish Muslims, they did not form a part of an elite or higher commercial class.

It is discernible from the contemporary sources that by the 18th-19th centuries, in the Bulgarian territories, there was an integrated pattern of rural trade which was linked up with the urban trade and international market.[55] The occupational and artisan classes were concentrated in the villages as well as in the *qasbas*. Even though they usually sold their goods in their residential-cum-shop premises, the process of movement of commodities indicates that the trading communities had a net-work of establishments in the urban and rural commercial centres, thereby linking the rural commercial life both with the urban and international trade. Except for the extremely limited phenomenon of a self-sufficient village economy, the villages were not only centers of production but of consumption of imported goods, which excepting the items of luxury confined to the affluent strata of rural society affected the common man of the villages as well. The *targs, pazars* as well as the small *qasbas* accumulated the products of the neighbouring villages, and fed the main markets of the bigger *qasbas* i.e., towns and *shehirs* as well as their *varos* (suburbs). As the local merchants had intimate knowledge of the surplus and demand of the different areas, it essentially led to an integrated network of rural-cum-urban trade and commerce. In fact, the local traders belonging to different ethnic groups, specialising in varying items of production, had a systematic and channelised working system and played a vital role in the import and export of commodities.

During the 18th - 19th centuries, apart from the regular markets in the *qasbas*, small or big, and in the cities (*shehirs*), periodical large fairs or regular local/regional fair-markets were held all over the Balkan territories both in the rural and urban centres, which attracted artisans, itinerant professional and commercial classes, shopkeepers and merchants from most of the neighbouring regions.[56] It is in this realm that the *Tsigane* belonging to different occupational groups played a significant role in the development of the economy. The data of the second half of the 19th century pertaining to the Danube *Vilayet* shows that the commodity-money and market relations, through the periodical or regular fair markets, had reached even the small *qasba* level which brought the immediate producers and the consumers in contact with the intermediary or big *merchants* possessing import or export trade establishments.[57]

The 19th century Aghanam-Asas documents (dated 1869 and 1871 AD) for some of the villages (*qaryas*) record the animal stock (*qayun*/sheep and *kachi*/goats) owned by the peasants and the shepherds as well as the cesses (*rasum*) paid by them in this regard.[58] The documents show three types of villages, i.e., exculsively Muslim, exclusively Bulgarian (Christian), or mixed, comprising both the ethnic communities.[59] The Muslim names can always be easily distinguished from the names of the Bulgarian Christians. However, it is difficult to distinguish the *Tsigane* Muslims from the other Muslim owners of flocks of sheep and goats. So unless covered in the general category of the Muslims, it is difficult to speculate whether the *Tsigane* too formed a part of this rural class. However, when co-related with the other contemporary sources, it seems that apart from the Turkish Muslims, the *Tsigane* too can be reckoned as a part of this category.

A few tribes constituting the *Tsigane* like their Indian (from Punjab/Himachal Pradesh)

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counterparts in Gaddis and Gujars despite all vicissitudes not only preserved their own culture, dialect, dress and customs, but also kept up their vocations for livelihood. Both the Gaddis and the Gujars were of itinerant as well as sedentary nature.[60] The itinerant Gaddis possessing herds of sheeps and goats engaged in trade of wool, woollen products, skins, meat and milk as well as milk products. Those of the Gaddis who took to the sedentary agricultural life in the villages, apart from cultivation of land, also reared sheep and goats for the same purpose. However, the Gujars, like the Jat (*zott*) tribes mostly took to the rearing of the buffaloes and sold milk and milk products, though many a family, in addition to this, would take up cultivation of the waste cultivable land for their subsistence.

During the Ottoman Empire, the *Tsigane* of Anatolia, Rumelia as well as other regions of Bulgaria and Silistra played a significant role in the economic life of the country. They owned large livestock and also engaged in internal trade in some of the specialised items.[61] The *Tsigane* of Rumelia and other Bulgarian regions were adept in cattle rearing and possessed a large number of herds of buffaloes and horses of the best breed. They were the descendants of the original Jats from Sindh and Punjab (India). Even as late as 1875 A.D., the rich Muslim *Tsigane* of Hariupol (Charioupolis) in Rumelia used to move *en bloc* in caravans with their families, household effects and herds of buffaloes, especially during the spring to the moist valleys and sold their livestock and a few other specialised handicraft items *en route*. By autumn and winter, they came back to Hariupol after selling all their goods.[62] Contemporary observers found remarkable similarities in the customs, manners and the way of life of the *Tsigane* of Rumelia, and the tribes of Sindh and Punjab (India).[63] There is evidence to show that in Rumelia, apart from trade in livestock, the *Tsigane* equally took to the production of vegetables, milk, butter, oil and cheese, etc. They sold their goods in the local/regional weekly fairs, in the large fairs at Plodiv and even in distant markets around Edirne in Salonika.[64] As during the later half of the 19th century, Bulgarian agriculture was tied to Istanbul, the Lavantine trade and foreign market, the *Tsigane* along with the Bulgarian Christians, Turkish Muslims, Jews, Armenians, Yuruks and Tatars, contributed as much to the internal economy as to the foreign trade.[65] With the exception of the Bulgarian Christians and the Turkish Muslims, they constituted a higher percentage of the population as compared to the other ethnic communities, but did not enjoy high social status, as particularly the Jews and the Armenians did. Nor did they have large commercial establishments like those of the Turks, Bulgarians and the Jews.[66]

In contrast to the *Aghanam-Asas* statistics, the 19th century Ottoman-Turkish revenue documents dealing with the land holdings (in terms of *dunums*), agricultural production and its monetary valuation, both total and average, also furnish detailed data about the ethnic character and social differentiation of the peasantry for many regions of Bulgaria. As a case study, such documents pertaining to the villages in the *kaza* (and *Sanjak*) of Silistra (North Bulgaria) categorise the peasants as Bulgarians, Turks, Tatars and *Tsigane*-Musalmans.[68] In comparison with the other agricultural ethnic groups, the *Tsigane* have not only a smaller number of holdings; but area wise too, the maximum extent of holding of a *Tsigane* peasant family is only 200 *dunums* as against 3000 *dunums* of a Turkish family, 800 *dunums* of a Bulgarian family and 700 *dunums* of a Tatar family. Under the Ottoman revenue regulations, the rate of land revenue assessment being the same for all the ethnic groups, the *Tsigane* occupied the lowest stratum of the agricultural community. They

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lived on subsistence economy, though most of them supplemented their income by rearing buffaloes for milk products, both for self consumption and markets. Similar data for the *Tsigane*-Musalmans is available for the *kaza* of Shumen (*Sanjak* Nikopol) and Ruse.[69]

Some of the Indian immigrant tribes, especially the Jats, Siklighars and Dhangars had always distinguished themselves in the manufacture of fire-arms, iron guns and cannons of rudimentary character with the simplest means at their disposal. From the 9th century onwards, there are numerous Arab, European and Turkish sources which give credit to the *Zinganis/Tsigane* for the improvisation and on occasions even the manufacture of musket balls, some of iron, others of stone.[70] Even before the use of gun-powder, they were adept in the operation of match-locks and *jinjalls*. The knowledge of the use of fire-arms on their part was considered as their magic power. It seems in the context that the use of Indian rocketry on the part of the *Tsigane* not only made them an indispensable part of the artillery division of the kingdom of Hungary and the Ottoman-Turkish Empire, but quite significantly, they also made a technological impact upon the West-European countries. This was transfer of technology from India to the West through the medium of *Tsigane* settled in West Asia, Ottoman-Turkish Empire and Europe. There are references to the effect that in 865 A.D. the *Zinganis/Tsigane* went up the Tigris and by the 11th century, they had already settled in Constantinople, wherein they often exhibited their magical fire power.[71] During the 15th and 16th centuries, the Hungarian and the Turkish military establishments deployed the *Zinganis/Tsigane* for their professional skill and knowledge of fortification during the war operations in Eastern Europe.[72] In the eventuality of exhaustion of gun powder, the Ottoman-Turkish administration utilised their services for making cannon balls of iron and stone for military operations in the Balkan peninsula. In fact, right till the 19th century, the *Tsigane* settled all over the Balkans, especially the Roumelians (of Bulgaria) and those settled in the other Ottoman *vilayets* constituting the territories of the present day Yugoslavia as well as Romania, contributed tremendously to the making of muskets, lances, swords, bombshells and all other types of armaments required for war.[73]

The Ottoman-Turkish archives at Istanbul comprising the census records and *salnanehs*, despite all their shortcomings, are extremely important for studying the socio-economic life, agrarian relations and the ethnic-demographical pattern of the 19th century Ottoman-Turkish Empire in the Balkan peninsula. Equally significantly, the Ottoman-Turkish documents available at the Cyril and Methodius National Library, Sofia, Bulgaria, throw light on the administrative structure as well as socio-economic aspects of the Bulgarian territories from the 15th century to the third quarter of the 19th century. The Tax Registers of various categories spell out the ethnic character of the populations for many a *vilayet*, even at the *garya* (village) level.

Even though, as compared to the other ethnic settlements, very little data are available on the *Tsigane* population, there is evidence to show that most of the latter people concentrated in the rural areas which had been comparatively less fertile and were deserted. The census records of the Turkish Archives pertaining to the first three-quarters of the 19th century deal only with the male population covering various ethnic-cum-religious communities, i.e. the Muslims, *Ra'aya* (i.e. the local Christians), *Tsigane*, Jews and Armenians. As a matter of fact, these records are rather anomalous and not very scientific in character. They do not distinguish between the Turkish and the non-Turkish Muslims, even though this category of Muslims comprised a substantial portion of the erstwhile local Christian population which had been converted to Islam in due course of

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centuries.[77] This was bound to result in statistical confusion and tension during the ensuing 20th century especially during the post-independence period of the Balkan territories.

The local Christian population is simply termed as *ra'aya*, even though the Muslims, both Turkish and non-Turkish could be equally termed as *ra'aya* in the traditional sense as revenue paying subjects of the Turkish Empire.[78] At the same time, the *Tsigane*, though largely Muslim, were in fact both Muslims and non-Muslims. Even when the *Tsigane* are recorded in a single column as distinguishable from other ethnic communities, the religious differentiation amongst the *Tsigane* themselves is provided only in the supporting references.[79] All the same, the religion of the non-Muslim *Tsigane* is not spelt out. In the summaries of the record books pertaining to the 1831 A.D.Census, of the total population of Anatolia of about two and two and a half million, 7143 male members (i.e.-29%) are shown as *Tsigane*/Gypsies, whereas in Rumelia, of the total pupulation of one and half million, 29,532 male members are recorded as *Tsigane*/Gypsies.[80] As such, in Rumelia, they constituted about 2.155% of the population. For Silistra the total recorded male pupulation was around 3,600,000 male members.[81] It may as well be presumed that the percentage of the *Tsigane*/Gypsies in Silistra and other Bulgarian regions was more or less the same as in Rumelia proper. By 1852 A.D., the population of the Bulgarians stood at nearly 2 million with equal proportionate rise in the *Tsigane*/Gypsy population as against the recorded population in 1831 A.D.[82] Even after the Independence of Bulgaria (1878),[83] the pattern of census recording therein and the other Bulgarian territories still remained the same as in the Ottoman Empire. The *Tsigane*/Gypsies continued to play their socio-economic role on traditional lines.

Like the Jews, the *Tsigane* had to face considerable persecution in Nazi Germany and many other Western countries at the hands of the Fascist regimes between the two World Wars. They had also to face discrimination and hardship in the Balkan territories during the Nazi domination. The 19th century census records show that in the Balkan Peninsula, the *Tsigane* had a higher percentage of population than the Jews.[84] They were equally spread over in the West European countries, as well as Anatolia (Turkey). But unlike the Jews, who because of their separate ethnic entity and various other historical factors have ultimately been able to establish their homeland in Israel (1946), the *Tsigane* despite all invidious ethnic suffering, never urged themselves for ethnic unity on the part of their communities scattered all over Europe, Turkey and other West Asian countries.[85] Nor have they ever aspired for a separate homeland. However, it is only recently that they have established some of their own research institutions and started holding periodical World Romani Congress. They have also adopted the Romani Flag and National Anthem. Of cource, with the establishment of the Socialist states in the East European countries after the Second World War, the *Tsigane* found more humane treatment as citizens of their respective states, and were reckoned as part of civilised societies. The Yugoslavian Constitution guaranteed rights of citizenship and nationality to the *Tsigane* of Macedonia (an erstwhile Bulgarian territory) as well as other regions of the State. In the modern Bulgarian state, the *Tsigane* have kept their traditional linguistic and cultural traits along with their respective professional vocations, even though they have been by and large assimilated into the broad Bulgarian culture. Apart from significant contributions made by the *Tsigane* to many fields of socio-economic and cultural life of the Bulgarian territories in the course of centuries, the most remarkable perhaps are to the world of music, especially singing of songs to the music of a guitar, and folksongs. There is remarkable

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identity and similarity in tone, formation and delivery of the folksongs of the present day Bulgarian people, and those of even the 20th century sung in Sindh, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

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3. *Ibid.* especially Nos. i,iii, v-vi, x, xiii and xix.

4. *Shah Nama Firdusi* (Persian Text), Lucknow, 1884, vol.III, pp.261-262. The Persian text puts the number of the *Luris (Lurian)* at ten thousand (*deh hazar*), whereas Pott, *op.cit.*, No.1, mentions the number of *Luris* as 12,000. Firdusi wrote *Shah Nama* in early 11th century. However, while narrating the past history of the kings of Persia, he mentions that Behram Gour (5th century A.D.) on a special request (to an Indian Chief) received ten thousand distinguished *Luris (Lurian)* from Hindustan. Firdusi praises the handsome appearance and melodious voice of the *Luris* (musicians). But he neither mentions the name of the Chief nor the region of Hindustan from where Persia received the *Luris*. Prior to Firdusi, the Arab historian Hamza of Ispahan had also mentioned the same fact that Behram Gour had received 12,000 musicians from India, who were called (in Persia) "*Zotts*". Here *Zatt* stands for Indians (persons from Hindustan) rather than for any particular racial group from India.(Also see *Infra* Nos. 17-19). In fact, during this age, there was considerable Indo-Persian cultural contact, as Firdusi further mentions (*Ibid.*, Vol.IV, pp.55-57) that later on Naushirwan, the Persian king, received the game of *shatranj* (chess) and the story book, *Kalaila-Damina*, from an Indian Chief (*Rai-i-Hind*) after correspondence with the latter. These facts are later on confirmed by an Arab writer Qazi Sahad Andlasi (d.462 A.H./1070 AD) who mentions (Cairo edition, p.17) that Hakim Barzoya brought *Kalaila-Damina* to Iran for the Iranian king, Naushirwan. Hakim Barzoya also translated the book into Persian, which was later on translated into Arabic by Abdul bin Maqfa during the Islamic Period. The same author (p.21) also refers to the import of the game *shatranj* (chess) from India. Apart from the interaction, according to the Arab sources (Al Bilazuri, *Infra.*, No.18,p.84) the Indians, known as *Zatt* to the Arabic speaking people, had served in the regular armies of the Persian Kings since long. As such, Pott's theory that the earliest batch of the Indian immigrants in Persia were the musicians (*Luris*) whose descendants, in due course of centuries, spread over to West Asia, Central Asia, Egypt and the European countries as 'Gypsies' in blood and race, is completely untenable.

5. De. Goeje, *op.cit.*,No. 1, Macritchie, *op.cit.*, No.I, pp.28-32; Appendix to De Goeje's Treatise, Note H- "The Zotts in the Valley of Lower Tigri", pp.73-75.

6. Groome, *op.cit.*, I.pp.612-613. Groome has quoted various instances from the 15th - 17th centuries European sources in this regard. Also for *Gypsies* and Egyptians based on Ottoman-Turkish Documents, *Infra*, No.54.

7. *Luris* in Persia and Egypt; *Zatt* in West Asia, a section of them *Nowar* in Syria, *Zigeuner/Aegypter/Sinti* (from Sindhi) in Germany; *Bohemians* in France (due to the belief that the Gypsies originated and came from Bohemia), *Gitano; Egyptenaren/Gipten/Djipten* in Holland; *Heidens/Hdeidkenen* ("Heathens") in Northern Netherlands; *Egyptenaren* in Belgium ; "Egyptians" in the French speaking regions; *Czigany* in Hungary; *Tsigane* in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Central Asia; *Tsighan* in Turkey and Greece (also *Gyphtos* in Modern Greek); *Tinker/Tinkler* (12th to 16th centuries), Gypsie in England. It sems that *Tsighan* and *Tsigane*, as mentioned above for some countries, are derived from *Alzigan/Atsigan* used in a contemptuous manner in the earlier centuries. For the Belgian *Egyptenaren, Egyptians, Heiddens / Heidence / Heidenen /* " Heathens"etc., also O.Van Kappen, "A contribution to the History of the *Gypsies* in Belgium", *JGLS*,XL VIII 3-4; for etymology of *Atzigan/atsigan* in Bulgaria, see Groome *op.cit.*, p.612. For *Egyptians*, also *Infra* No.54.

8. *Infra.*, Nos. 54, 61, 67, 69, 70.

9. De Goeje, *op. cit.*, No.1, English tr.by J.Sunijders (Edinburgh) reproduced by Macritchie, pp.52-59.

10. *Infra.*, No.43.

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11. Groome, *op.cit.*,No.I.p.613.

12. *Infra.*,Nos.65,74-76.

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14. *Ibid.*,(viii,xi).

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16. *Infra*, No.60.

17. *Op.cit.*, No.I.(i to viii, x-xi,xiii).

18. Abu-1 Hasan Ali bin Muhammad Al Jili, *Majumalu-T-Tawarikh* (417 AH/1026 AD) vide H.M.Elliot and John Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians—The Muhammadan Period*, London, 1867, pp. 100-105 (henceforth Elliot & Dowson). The latter authors quote the earlier work of M.Reinaud, who asserted that *Majumalu-T-Tarwarikh* by the above mentioned author was not an original work but as stated by the author himself, it was merely a translated version (from Arabic to Persian) of Abu Salih bin Jami's manuscript in Arabic, which by itself was a translated work of still an earlier manuscript in *Hindwani* language (Sanskrit) composed about the commencement of the Christian era. The latter manuscript clearly states, "By the Arab the Hindus are called *Zatt*." However, later on after the advent of Islam, all Indian immigrants, old or new, non-Muslims or converted to Islam came to be known as *Zatt*. For the settlement of *Zatt* families in Iraq, Ahmad ibn Jabil Al Bilazuri, *Futuh-L Buldan* (AH 279/892-3 AD - henceforth Al Bilazuri), Leiden, 1383 A.H./1963-64 AD, pp.162, 376,77, 382, 386,446. Saiyed Sabahuddin Abdur Rehman, *Maqalat-i-Suleman*, Vol.I.Azamgarh, 1966, (hence-forth *Maqalat-i-Suleman*), quotes various Arab source for the settlement of *Zatt* in the Arab countries, Egypt, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, the sources being Al Bilazuri; Tarandi, *Abwab-ul-Misal*; Tabari, Leiden, p.1426 and *Tabaqat-ul Tabha*. However, Al Bilazuri (p.84) while describing the Indians serving in the Iranian army uses varying terms for them, i.e. *Asawara* (Horsemen?), *Sihya Bacha* (Kala/Black men) and *Zatt*.

19. Al Bilazuri, *op.cit.*, No.18; Ibn Hakul, *Askalu-l-Bilad Kitab 1 Masalik-L-Mamalik* (A.H 366/976 AD), Leiden, p.226; *Labin Khurdazba*, Leiden p.180, Also *Infra.*, Nos.23-25.

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21. *Fatahai Nama* alias *Chach Nama* (Persian), ed.Umar bin Muhammad Daud Pota, Delhi, 1939. *Chach Nama* was written in Arabic by Minhajal Din alias Khwaja Imam Ibrahim in A.H.215-255/818-858 AD. Later on, it was translated into Persian by Ali bin Hamid bin Abi Bakar Al Khufi in 1216 AD. This is the earliest Arab source for the history of Sindh, i.e. Jats (*Jatan*), vide pp.132, 139, 173, 216, 218; Meds (*Minhi/ Minyan*). pp.62,68, 132; Bhattis, pp.41, 155, etc. In the above Persian text, Kufi the translator does not use the term *Zatt* but gives descriptions of the *Jatan* (Jats). Also Al Bilazuri, *op.cit.* No. 18, pp. 432-33, 455, Ibn Hakul, *op.cit.*, No. 18, pp. 226, 231, *Ibid*, Elliot and Dowson, pp.32-40; Astikhari, *op.cit., No.*18,pp.176,180; Al Biruni, *Kitab Al Hind*, Leiden, p.101.

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27. Paspati, *op.cit.*, No.1, connects the word Rom with the name of the Indian god Rama (of *Rāmāyaṇa*) while Rishi, *op.cit.*No.1, 'Etymology of the word Rom', pp.10-12, traces its root to the Sanskrit word *ram* (*ramate, r'ama*) (Vedic also *ramati* or *ramti*) from where *rama/ramna* are formed. He quotes Jain sources to the effect that even Lord Rama belonging to the *Kṣatriya* (Warrior) class was also a wanderer for having spent fourteen years in exile. He acquired the meaning of wanderer as the Jain sources held him to be the wanderer in his previous and future lives. However, the above views of Paspati and Rishi require reconsideration.

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37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, also Gratton Puxon and Trajko, St.George's Day, *Roma*, Vol.I.No.3, July,1975.

39. In fact, Khizr has a two-fold meaning. It is the surname of the ancient prophet, reputed to have found and drunk of the water of Life. However, Khizr is also associated with the two saints Elias and St.Geogre, both of whom are called Khizr Elias. St. Geogre's Day (*Roz-i-Khizr*) has nothing to do with the prophet Khizr. At the same time, as distinct from Khizr, *Khazir* means green and *Khazar* means green of vegetation (vide *Turkish and English Lexicon*, ed. James W.Redhouse, Constantinople, 1890, New Impression, Beirut, 1987, pp. 851-52). As during the 19th century, St. George's Day was annually celebrated on 23rd April at the beginning of the summer, some regarded Khizr as a corruption of a *Khazar*, i.e.,greenness of vegetation.

    Thereafter for some period, it was celebrated on 1st May and at present, it is celebrated on 5th May every Year. Rishi (*op.cit.*No.1,p.58) thinks that the Roma legend connects St.George with the Indian God Indra, the killer of the dragon; that the real object of the Roma pilgrimage is not a small orthodox church on St.George's Day, but the little river that flows by the village; and that the Muslim Roma call this day *Khizra Elija Day*, the "Green Dressed God". He further finds an analogy in the worship of *Khijra* by the Muslims as well as a large number of Hindus in Sindh and Punjab (India), as *Khijra* got associated with water in India. This is a little far fetched, for the worship of *Khijra*/holy water in Sindh and Punjab is that of Khizr, the ancient prophet who drank the water of Life, whereas in Macedonia on St.George's Day, there is basically worship of St.George/Green-Dressed God, followed by some superstitious ceremony of

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throwing stream water on the idols like many Hindus in India, as completion of the pilgrimage before going back home.

40. Groome, *op.cit.*, No.1,pp.616, vide *The people of Turkey,* (1878).

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Op.cit.*, No.34.

43. Donald Kenrich and Grattan Puxon, *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies*, Sussex, 1972.

44. Groome, *op.cit.*, No.1, p.612. For England he quotes the entries made in July 1492, 1502, 1530, 1532 and 1540.

45. A.P.Barnnikov, *op.cit.*, No.1.

46. *Infra.*,No 60; also Groome, *op.cit.*, No.1,pp.616-17, divides them into three principal callings.

47. *Ibid.*, also *op.cit.*, Nos.34 and 45.

48. *Ibid.*, Paspati *op.cit.*, No.1, thinks that in Turkey, the nomad *Tchinghianes* outnumbered the sedentary Groome, *op.cit.*, No.1, p.616, rules out such a position, at least for the Gypsies of the other lands. However, as explained further in text, such a statement is true for only the *Lovars* (*Infra*, Nos.50,51) and not for the *Calderari* of Bulgaria and other *Vilayets* of the Ottoman-Turkish Empire.

49. *Infra*, Nos. 70-73.

50. *Op.cit.*, Nos.34,45,46.

51. *Infra*, Nos.61-65.

52. *Op.cit.*, Nos.46, Also Rishi, *op.cit.*, No.1.pp.29-32.

53. *Op.cit.*, Nos.34,45; Groome, *op.cit.*, No.1,pp.616-17.

54. As N.Todorov, *op.cit.*No.28, p.59, deals mostly with the growth of the cities, he quotes documents for the existence of the Turks (being in majority) along with the other ethnic and religious groups in the Turkish capital of Instanbul. He states that apart from the Turks who were in majority, there were numerous groups of Albanians, Gypsies and "Egyptians" (a general name denoting the Arab population), Persians, Vlachs, Serbians, Bulgarians and others, who were all engaged in construction or in occupations connected with feeding the population of the capital. The Turks were also in majority in the suburbs. The non-Muslims lived in a closed society regulated by the state laws.

N.Todorov does not deal with the rural society. However, his association of the "Egyptian" with the Arab population is too general a statement. In fact, the Gypsies and the "Egyptians" formed the same ethnic class of the *Tsigane*. (*op.cit.*No.6). Of course, the *Tsigane*/ "Egyptians" had migrated from the Arab countries and were mostly Muslims by this time. All the same, N.Todorov's statement about the occupations of the Gypsies and "Egyptians" as a sedentary class along with the other ethnic groups in the capital is rather significant. It seems that similar was the position in the other urban centres of the Ottoman-Turkish Empire in the Balkan territories. In the rural areas too, the occupational groups of the *Tsigane* mostly led a sedentary life. For social division and trends in urban growth during the 15th-16th centuries, N.Todorov, pp.61-75.

55. For details in respect of the Bulgarian territories, see N.Todorov, *op.cit.*, 28, pp.91-93, 98-107, 122-124, 130-146, 150-176. For details of similar position in India, B.R. Grover, "integrated Pattern of commercial Life in the Rural Society of North India during the 17th-18th centuries and Pre-Colonial Era", *Indian Historical Records Commission*, 37th Session, 1966, pp. 121-40.

56. *Ibid.*, N.Todorov, pp. 192-98.

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57. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-17.

58. Oriental Department, Cyril and Methodius Library, Sofia (henceforth Or. C & M. Lib. Sofia). Docs, Nos. OAK 181/173 dated 1877 A.D., OAK 181/174 dated 1877 A.D.

59. *Ibid.*

60. For Gaddis and Gujars in the Kangra region of the erstwhile Punjab (at present in Himachal Pradesh), George Carnac Barnes, *Report on the Settlement in the District of Kangra in the Trans Satlej States*, Lahore, 1855, pp. 137, 143; J.B.Layal, *Land Revenue Settlement of Kangra District* (1865-1872), Lahore, 1874, Paras 39, 41; Anderson Alexander, *Forest Settlement Report of Kangra District*, Lahore, 1887, pp. 30, 87; National Archives of India, New Delhi, Foreign Political (1800-1915) A-26-27, February 1867, Foreign Political A. 153-63, August 1871 (Diary of Cunningham, J. 10th to 15th July, 1871), *Punjab Government Record Monograph*, 1888-89, pp. 34-35.

61. For the later half of the 19th century, Paspati gives an eye-witness account of the *Tsigane* in the Turkish territories. The relevant passages translated into English have been reproduced and commented upon by Bataillard. Also reproduced by Macritchi, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 215-21.

62. *Ibid.*

63. Carton Woodville, "In the Plains of Boumelia", *Illustrated London News*, October 3, 1885; also Macritchi, pp. 217-18.

64. *Op. cit.*, Nos. 55-57, 62.

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Op. cit.* Nos. 55-57.

67. OR, C & M, Lib. Sofia. Of the 35 villages in the *Kaza* Silistra, only a few along with the doc. Nos. may be cited, i.e. Azplar, Aisi, Abdaal Ahd, Bazirgjan, Giyuvedze, Gjurgenli, Devedzi, Deli Yusuf Qadus etc., vide Doc. Nos. Polkonk Diyakovo, Si 29/23; Ese Kioi, en Roumanie, f. 119, e.699 respectively. The Docs. cover the holdings of the peasantry incorporating those of the *Tsigane* as well.

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*, in the *Kaza* of Suman, there are 31 listed villages incorporating the holdings of the *Tsigane* as well. For example, of these a few villages namely Ak-jar, Ali bej, Bajram dere, Bedzene, Besevli, Bulaknak, Velibej, Goceri, Dere, Diragova, Eski, Eski Istanbolluk ; Idzik-i-Kabir, etc., vide Doc.Nos.Bijal Briyag, Kg. 43/11; non precise, Kg. 16/17 & Kg. 36/10; Veselnovo, Kg 43/10; f (foud) 121, e (unit), e (unit)1636; Besherli, Kirkovo, Kirilovo, actuellement quarter de la ville de Preslav, Kg. 36/9. Matnitsa, f.121, e (unit) 1664); Vladimirtsi, Milanovo, Kg 37/23; Preselka, f 121, e 1637; Struino, Kg 19/50; Dragoevo, f 121, e.3113 & Kg 36/10; Eski Kioi, Vehto, Vehtovo, f 121, e 1489 & Kg 14/64; Eski Stanbolluk, Preslav, Kg 35/16; Gorni Idjik, Vasil Drumer, Kg 36/10; Dolni Idjik, Ilia Blaskov, Kg.36/10 Dolni Injik, Ilia Blaskov, Kg. 36/10 etc. respectively may be cited. In *kaza* of Ruse, there are 33 villages vide NBKM, Orient Department, f.112, a.e.7932, of which a few may be mentioned, i.e., Bozisna, Brasljan, Bunar Beserli, Bazovca Dzafer ova, Ivan *ciflik* and Ivrahan-i-Kabir, vide Doc.Nos. Ruse, 61/6,f.112, 7392 f.112, e 6487, f.112, e.6657, Ruse 3/29, Ruse 61/6, Ruse 3/29, etc. respectively.

70. Bataillard, *op.cit.*, No.1. gives instances of the improvisation/manufacture of the cannon-balls by the *Tsigane*/gypsies when Thomas Polgar, the Chief of the latter tribe accomplished such assignment on the mandate of Wladislas, king of Hungary (1496) as well as the employment of the *Tsigane* by Mustafa, the Turkish governor of Bosnia in the siege of the town of Crupa (1565 AD) for making cannon-balls. Also Bataillard, *Les Zlotars on Dzvonkars, Memoires de La Societe d'Anthropologie de Paris* (t.i.de la 2e serie), pp. 531-32; Groome, *op.cit.*, I, "Gun Powder", traces the history of fire-arms by the *Tsigane* armed with *jinjal*/*ginjal* at contantinople to 11th century A.D. He also cites G.F.Nott (ed), *Works of Henry Howard,*

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Earl of Surrey, etc. London, 1815, Vol.I.,p.208, for giving other illustrations, and regards the *Tsigane* the principal armourers in certain countries of East Europe. Also Macritchie, *op.cit.*I, pp.204-214.

71. *Ibid.*, Also Macritchie, Note G to Professor De Goeje's Treatise, pp.71-75.

72. *Op.cit.*, Nos. 71-72.

73. *Ibid.*

74. For example, *op.cit.*, Nos.67-69.

75. Also see Peter Benedict, et al. *Turkey, Geographic and Social Perspectives*, Leiden, 1974, pp.19-47; I.Yasa, Hasanoglan; *Socio-Economic Structure of a Turkish Village*, Ankara, 1957; Paul Sterling, *Turkish Village*, 1965, Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey* 1800-1914, Chicago & London, 1980, (henceforth Charles Issawi), pp.11-16.

76. Also Enver Ziya Karal, Osmanli *Imparatorlugunda ilk nufus Sayimi*, 1831, Ankara, 1943, pp.8-13, 20-22; Charles Issawi, pp.17-22.

77. As a matter of fact, there were both individual as well as mass conversions of the Balkan Christian population to Islam. Apart from the imposition of *Jizya*, in many a region there were intermittent mass conversions. The cruel institution of *devshrime* in Bulgaria is a classical example of forcible conversion. As a case study, for the issue of conversion to Islam based upon the deduction of the *Jizya* documents of the 15th and early 16th centuries, see OR, C & M Lib. Sofia, OAK 214/5. An analysis of the *Jizya* documents of the successive centuries shows a similar trend in the rate of conversion right till the 19th century. For an admirable study based on the above mentioned *Jizya* documents, also see Nikolaj Todorov, *Situation demographique de la Peninsule balkanique (fin du xv s.) debut du xveios.)*, Sofia, 1988, pp.5-36,310.

78. OR C & M.Lib. Sofia, Docs No.OAK 83/84 dated 4.11.1491 AD; RI Rujask dated 1067-68 AH (17th century), fol.299; OAK 79/1356 dated 1148 AH (18th century); R2 madina Rujask dated 1111-1113 AH (early 18th century), fol.35 a; OAK 79/1245. fol.lb, 79/1246.

79. *Op.cit.*, No.76.

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ibid.*, However, for want of exact statistical data worked out on scientific basis, this remains more or less a general estimate. Also *Infra.*, No.83.

82. *Ibid.*

83. For the years on the eve of the Bulgarian Independence (1878), Miklosich (*op.cit.*No.I) puts the entire population of the European gypsies at 700,000. While giving fragmentary statistics of the *Tsigane*/ gypsies, he puts the *Tsigane*/gypsie male population of Turkey before dismemberment (1878) at 104,750, Bosnia and Herzegovina (in 1874) at 9,537, Serbia (in 1874) at 24,691, Montenegro (in 1873) at 500, and Rumania at 200,000 to 300,000, according to varying estimates of Crezulesco (1876) and Annuaire general official de Roumanie (1874). Groome, *op.cit.*, No.I., thinks that even though no general estimate can be formed about *Tsigane*/gypsie male population outside Europe, according to the travelogues for Asiatic Turkey (in 1877), it may be put at 67,000. However, neither Miklosich nor Groome provide any details for the *Tsigane*/gypsie population in Bulgaria or the Bulgarian lands, especially Macedonia still retained by the Ottoman-Turkish Empire in 1878 A.D.

84. *Op.cit.*, No.76/

85. Rishi, *op.cit.*,I,pp.17-18, has reproduced the Romani National Flag (on the background of the Jacket of his book) as well as the National Anthem (Opre Roma) in the Romani with English translation.

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Unique Syncretism of the Śuddha-Śaiva and Vīra-Śaiva Sects in Khajuraho Sculptures

R. Avasthi

The sculptural importance of Khajuraho temples cannot be over-emphasized as they represent several rare and unique iconographic forms which remain unparallel hitherto. An attempt has been made in this paper to reveal the iconographic and philosophical significance of two unique images of Sadāśiva at Khajuraho, one of which is preserved in the local museum, while the other decorates an interior niche of the *mahā-maṇḍapa* of the Kandariyā-Mahādeva temple. Both these images have been referred to by scholars, although neither their iconographic details nor their underlying philosophy has received adequate attention.

The first life-size image lying in the museum[1] is four-legged (*chatu śpāda*), six-faced and twelve-armed, though it has also been described as eight-armed by the late Dr. J.N. Banerjea[2]. The front legs are placed in *padmāsana* or *yogāsana*, while the remaining two legs hang down on the pedestal in *paryaṅkāsana*. The six heads are arranged in two tiers of three each one upon the other and are topped by a Śiva-linga at the rear. The heads in the upper tier are smaller in size. The central head in the lower tier is the principal one and the other two are arranged on its sides. The smaller heads in the upper tier are noted for their *jaṭābhār*. The deity is shown wearing *kuṇḍalas*, *graiveyaka*, *hāra*, *kaustubha*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *yajñopavīta*, *mekhalā*, *vanamālā* and anklets. The figure, as pointed out above, is dorned with twelve hands though only two right hands are now extant, the rest being broken, has misled some scholars to suggest that the image contained only eight hands. Of the two hands now noticeable, one rests on the right thigh in *varada-mudrā* and holds an *akṣamālā*, while the other hand hangs down by the side.

Between the legs hanging down on to the pedestal the figure of Brahmā, bearded, his three heads distinctly visible, is shown seated in *padmāsana*. All his four hands are mutilated but two might have been placed in *añjali-mudrā*, while the remaining two that are raised upwards might have contained a *sruva* and a *pustaka*. Beside the left leg, which hangs down, is a miniature seated-figure of a devotee whose hands are also placed in *añjali-mudrā*. A pair of miniature figures of devotees is also to be noticed on the lower corners of the pedestal. A short inscription on the pedestal refers to the image being that of Sadāśiva, which fact has also been noted by other scholars.[3]

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The other image, smaller in size, is almost similar to the first one but is of considerable interest because of certain distinctive features. Like the first one described above, it is also four-legged, the legs being similarly disposed, six-headed and twelve-armed. The *Liṅga* is also present in a similar fashion. Of the twelve hands only one right hand is extant, the rest being broken. The remaining one is disposed similarly in *varada-mudrā* with an *akṣamālā*.

The similarity of treatment, however, does not only end here. The figure of Brahmā almost in a similar manner is also present. Yet certain additional features may be noticed in the treatment of the main figure. A *prabhāmaṇḍala* is to be clearly seen behind the heads of the deity. Also on the upper right and left corners of the *prabhāvatī* figures of Brahmā[4] and Viṣṇu[5] respectively in *padmāsana* poses are to be noticed. A very interesting iconographic peculiarity may also be observed beneath the legs disposed in *padmāsana*; three miniature heads those of a swan, a bull and bearded man are sculptured in a row. These obviously represent the mounts or *vāhanas* of Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively, the bearded human head denoting Garuḍa. Two miniature figures of swans, one on each side of the row of *vāhanas*, are also noticeable. The figures of two male attendants (*Śiva-gaṇas*) are shown standing on either side of the god. The one on the right holds a *triśūla*, and the other, on the left a *khaṭvānga* in one of their hands. Two female figures, perhaps attendants, are also shown standing on either side in the middle of the *prabhāvalī* holding floral wreaths in their hands.

The first image, as stated above, has been noticed by several scholars. Dr. Urmila Agarwal[6] and Sri R. Sengupta[6A] could not, unfortunately, identify it correctly. Dr. J.N. Banarjea,[7] though correctly identifying it, thought that the image had only eight arms, which does not seem plausible in view of the fact that the image has six heads.

The second image too, was noticed by Sri Krishna Deva,[8] who has rightly referred to to it as "a six-headed, four-legged and twelve-armed sculpture of Sadāśiva combining the characteristics of Brahmā and Viṣṇu". Dr. J.N. Banerjea[9], Sri R. Sengupta[10] and also Dr. B.N. Sharma[10A] noted this unique iconographic depiction of Sadāśiva, but its ideological import could not be determined by them.

It has generally been prescribed in all available texts that a Sadāśiva figure should have five heads and ten arms,[11] though *Rūpamaṇḍana*[12] does not lay down any hard and fast rules regarding the exact number of heads. Nowhere is the Sadāśiva or Mahāsadāśiva image stated as four-legged, six-headed and twelve armed, nor has any such image of Sadāśiva be found in any other part of India to the best knowledge of the present writer. Thus these two Khajuraho images are of unique iconographical importance.

A few words about the Sadāśiva and Mahāsadāśivamurtis of Śiva regarding their iconography and philosophy are necessary in order to explain these two images. Generally, such images are taken to illustrate in an esoteric manner "the whole philosophy of the Śuddha-Śaiva school of Śaivism".[13] According to this school, there are three principles, the lord (*pati*), the individual soul (*paśu*) and fetters (*pāśa*). The whole system has fourt parts or *pādas* i.e., knowledge (*vidyā*), action (*kriyā*), mediation (*yōga*) and conduct or discipline (*caryā*). The lord (*pati*) is Śiva and he has a body made of powers, the five formulas (*mantras*) being taken to be the different parts of his body. Again, these five formulas of *mantras* are regarded as his powers and also considered to be his different

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forms. With these, he performs the five actions, *viz.* creation, existence or protection, destruction, concealment and benefaction. The following four are the aspects of Śiva's nature: (1) formulas (*mantras*), (2) the deity presiding over the formulas (*mantrēśvara*), (3) the great god (Mahēśvara) and (4) delivered souls (*mukta*).[14]

It is interesting to note that these five formulas or *mantras* have a hoary antiquity and are enumerated in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X, 43-47) and also in the *Mahānarāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* (17). The commentator considers these to refer to the five faces of Śiva (Sadāśiva), i.e. Sadyōjāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna. These have also been noted as the five forms of Śiva and are identified in a Śaiva treatise with the five elements, *viz.* the earth, water, fire, wind and ether also respectively, and are considered as the creators of these elements.[15]

The aforesaid Khajuraho images may be explained in the above philosophical background. The five heads (leaving the principal one), ten arms and the two legs hanging down on to the pedestal may be connected with the five *mantras*; the principal head, the remaining two hands and the two legs in *padmāsana* would then represent Śiva Mantrēśvara, while the *liṅga* at the top may be taken to represent the Māheśvara aspect of the deity. It should be noted that according to the tenets of the Vīraśaiva or Lingāyata sect the *liṅga* in it regarded to be Śiva himself, and not a mere external emblem of that god. [16]The *liṅga* on each of the two images may virtually be taken as Prasādalīṅga of the Vīraśaivas, for, according to the tenets of this sect, when Śiva essence is permeated with its highest power or *parāśakti*, a principle called *sādākhya* is produced, which is called Prasādalīṅga. The five *sādākhyas* as enumerated in texts are *Śivasādakhya,* which develops into Sadāśiva; *Amūrta*, or not finite, which becomes Īśa; *Samūrta*, or finite, which results in Brahmēśa; *Kartri*, or agent, which becomes Īśvara; *Karman*, or action, which develops into Īśāna. The *Sādākhya* alluded to in the text must be Sadāśiva[17] and the names of these five *Sādākhyas* correspond to the five faces of Sadāśiva noted above.[18]

It would thus appear that the two Khajuraho images represent the unique syncretism of the Śuddha-Śaiva and the Vīraśaiva or Liṅgāyata sects. Since *Rūpamaṇḍana*[19] does not specifically lay down the exact number of heads of a Sadāśiva image and simply states that the image may be multi-headed (*bahurūpa*), the treatment of the images cannot be said to violate any canons of *Śilpa-Śāstra.*

The figure of Brahmā in both the images further emphasizes their syncretic character. The association of Brahmā is quite in keeping with such character of images as the five aspects of Śiva (represented by the five faces of Sadāśiva, *viz.* Sadyōjāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna), known collectively as the Pañcabrahmās.[20]The syncretism is all the more vigorous with the presence of the *vāhanas* of all the three principal deities of Hindu pantheon arranged in a row in the second image. Khajuraho is very rich in syncretic images like Ardhanāriśvara,[21] Hari-Hara,[22] Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha or Dattātrēya,[23] Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha,[24] Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa[25] and Brahmā-Sūrya or Dhātṛ Sūrya[26]; and the two Sadāśiva icons may be taken to add to its richness. Such images truly emphasize the undercurrent of religious syncretism that pervaded the Śiva-worshippers who were not only anxious to express the oneness of their supreme Lord with the other two members of the Brahmanical triad, but also to portray his superiority over them through the medium of art.

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1. Khajurahjo Museum, No. 1098.
2. Banerjea, J.N., *Religion in Art and Archaeology*, pp. 79-80; cf. Sharma, B.N., *Iconography of Sadāśiva*, p. 21, PI.XXVII, where it has been identified as Mahāsadāśiva and the number of its heads and hands have not been mentioned.
3. Banerjea, J.N., *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.
4. The deity is four-armed, bearded and three-headed. One of the hands is placed in *abhaya-mudrā* and the remaining are holding a *sruk*, a *pustaka* and a *kamaṇḍalu* respectively.
5. The figure is four-handed, the two hands being broken. One of the two remaining hands is placed in *abhaya-mudrā* and the other one is holding a *gadā*.
6. *Khajuraho Sculptures and their Significance*, (New Delhi, 1964).

6A. Sengupta, R., "More Sculptures of Śiva-Lingin", *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1962, p. 47, Pl. VII-B, where it has been identified as Trimūrti with *liṅga* on top.

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 79.
8. *Ancient India*, No. 15, p. 61.
9. *Op. cit.*,p. 80.
10. Sengupta, R., *op.cit.*, p.47.

10A. Sharma, B.N., *op.cit.*, p. 6, Pl.V.

11. Cf, Rao, T.A.G., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pt. II, pp. 371-74; Mitra, H., "Sadāśiva Worship in Early Bengal", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. XXIX, 1933, pp. 171-254.
12. IV, 23-24. The deity has been described as multi-faced (*bahurūpa*). Even three faced Sadāśiva image may be seen in Khajuraho Museum (No. 367). In this inscribed image the eight armed deity is shown in *lalitāsana* and the three heads are topped by a Śiva-liṅga.
13. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 361.
14. Bhandarkar, R.G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 124-25.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Sadāśiva = Īśāna ; Īśa = Vāmadeva; Brahmēśa = Sadyōjāta; Īśvara = Aghōra; and Īśāna = Tatpuruṣa (vide Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 366).
19. IV, 23-24.
20. Rao,*op.cit.*, p. 375.
21. Interior niche of the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* of the Kandariyā-Mahādeva temple; Museum No. 550, 553, etc.
22. Avasthi, R., *Khajuraho kī Deva-Pratimāen*, p. 25, Fig. 8.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-29, Fig. 60.

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24. *Ibid.*, pp. 177-81, Figs. 79-81. See also: Avasthi, R., *Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference* (22nd session) Volume II, pp. 249-52, Figs, 1 & 2; *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society* (N.S.), Vol. X, Pt. II, pp. 155-60, Pls. X & XI.

25. Avasthi, R., *Khajuraho Kī Deva-Pratimāen*, pp. 176-77, Fig. 76.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 175, figs. 77 & 78.

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Sāketa — An Important Buddhist Centre

A. Lal

Sāketa, one of the seven great cities of Jambūdvīpa during the sixth and fifth centries B.C.[1], was not only a famous trading centre, but it was also a famous centre for religious activities. Though many historians have tried to identify Sāketa with modern Ayodhyā in Faizabad district of Uttar Pradesh, it does not seem to be correct, because the Pāli Buddhist literature describes Ayodhyā (Ayujjhā)[2] as only a small town where the Buddha preached *Dārukhanda Sutta*[3] and *Feṇūpiṇḍupama Sutta*.[4] Thus Sāketa and Ayodhyā were two different cities existing at that time. Therefore scholars like Rhys Davids[5], Malala Shekhar[6], Führer, Dutt and K.D. Bajpai etc. have identified the ancient city of Sāketa with the large mound of Sañchāna Koṭa district Unnao (U.P.) spread over about 500 acres, on the right bank of Sai river. It lies on the road leading from Bangarmau to Sandila. Here General A. Cunningham had discovered an Aśokan Stūpa and Buddha's relics casket during his archaeological survey in the later half of the 19th century A.D. The excavation of the mound will certainly throw new light on the history and culture of ancient India, hence the Archaeological Survey of India is requested to take up the excavation and protection of the mound of Sañchāna Koṭa, the ancient city of Sāketa.

Early Buddhist texts give a vivid description of the *vihāras* and *ārāmas* of Sāketa, where not only reputed monks and nuns were living, but the lord Buddha had himself stayed and preached his religion to the citizens of Sāketa. Among the monasteries of this place *Añañjana vana*[10], *Añjanavana mṛgālaya,*[11] *Kaṇṭakīvana*[12] *(Vihāra), Tikaṇḍevana*[13] and *Kalakārāma*[14] are notable. Viśākhā, the daughter of *Sethi Dhanañjaya* of Sāketa who was to married the son of *Sethi Mrigāra* of Śrāvastī (Savatthī) had constructed *Pūrvārāma* Vihāra at Sāketa too. [15]

Lord Buddha had spent16 (or 6) years at Sāketa[16], which shows his affection towards the people of this city. He preached *Kuṇḍalīya Sutta* to an eminent *paribrājaka* named Kuṇḍalīya at Añjanavana Vihāra, who listening to the sermon prayed to the Buddha to accept him as his disciple.[17] *Saṁyutta Nikāya* further tells us that Tathāgata preached *Sāketa Sutta*[18] to the *bhikkhu* at Añjanavana of this city. Here at this very *mṛgadāva* we find a discussion between the Buddha and Kakudha devaputra *yakṣaputra)* on happiness and sorrow, and the latter being convinced

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became his disciple.[19] Mahallak, a brāhmaṇa, attained *Anāgāmiphala* by listening to his other sermon [20]

Thus the mahāśramaṇa, Buddha himself had graced the city many a time.

Sāriputta, Mahāmoggalāna, Ānanda and Anuruddha were largely associated with the vihāras at Sāketa. Pārājika under the *Vinaya Pitaka* reveals that once the Buddha prohibited the monks from having more than one extra set of '*cīvara*'. At this time Ānanda had more *cīvaras* and he wished to give the same to Sāriputta who was on his charika to Sāketa (*Sāriputta Sāketa viharati*).[21] In *Saṁyutta Nikāya* we find him (Sāriputta) with Mahāmoggalāna and Anuruddha Kaṇḍakīvana (vihāra) of that city.[22] *Padesa Sutta* reveals Sāriputta and Mahāmoggalāna asking Anuruddha about *'Śaikṣya'* and *'aśaikṣya'* at that vihāra.[23] The first *Kaṇḍaki Sutta* are devoted to their questions and answers.[24]

Gavāmpati bhikkhu of Sāketa had such a *ṛddhibala* even to control or divert the flow of the river.[25] Añjaniya bhikkhu was named so because of his residence at *Añjanavana vihāra* of Sāketa, though he was born at Vaiśālī.[26]

Well known Ācārya Aśvaghosa, the great poet and logician was born at Sāketa from the womb of Ārya Suvarṇākṣī as it is evident from the colophon of the *Saundrānanda*.[27] According to Rahula Sankrityayana, he was the pioneer in the field of drama-writing in Sanskrit literature and *Urvaśī Viyoga* was the first of his dramas.[28] *Rāṣṭrapāla*, and *Sāriputra prakaraṇa* (or *Sāradvatī putra prakaraṇa*) have already been known to the world.[29] Lüders had discovered a few leaves of his three dramas from Turfan in central Asia.[30] Winternitz[31] and Keith [32] regard him as one who paved the way for Kālidāsa not only by his writing of dramas but by composing *Buddha-carita* and *Saundṛananda mahākāvyas* also.

The Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang had described Arhata Devasrama, Arhata Gopa and Bodhisattva Dharmapāla as staying at different monasteries at Viśakhā identified with Sāketa.[33] A Tibetan historian Lama Tārānāth mentions *Bhikkhu Mahāvīra* at Sāketa who was contemporary to *Mahābhadanta* Buddhadeva of *Vāranasī* and *Mahācārya Bhadanta Śrilatha* of Kaśmīra.[34]

Among a few *upāsakas* of Sāketa Kuṇḍaliya Upāsaka was the most famous person. He was a *Paribrājaka* and later on he embraced Buddhism and became a monk.[35] Mahallaka, born in a Brāhmaṇa family of Sāketa became the disciple of Buddha and attained *Anāgāmiphala*.[36] Another *Brāhmaṇa Upāsaka* of the city had attained *Sotāpattiphala* pondering over the contents of *Jarāsutta* preached by the Buddha.[37]

The monasteries at Sāketa also witnessed the activities of renowned Bhikkhunis as Isidāsī,[38] and Thullabhadrā.[39] The latter was invited by Bhadrā Kapilāyin to Śrāvasti.

Viśakhā and Sujātā the daughters of Seṭhi Dhanañjaya of Sāketa are well known *Upāsikās*. Viśākhā had constructed a *Vihāra* at Sāketa known as *Pūrvārāma vihāra* probably so called because of its location in the eastern part of the city. She was married Prajñavardhana, the son of Sethi Migāra of Śrāvastī. Due to her wisdom, Migāra, the father-in-law, accepted her as the venerable mother; hence she was called Migāramātā in the Buddhist literature. She had constructed another *Pūrvārāma vihāra* at Śrāvastī also.[40]

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Sāketā upāśikā (so called because of her residence at Sāketa) had also attained *Sotāpattiphala.*[41] Cullasubhadrā (Subhadrā) upāsikā was the daughter-in law of Sethi Uggaha of Sāketa[42] who was the follower of Mahāvīra Swāmī. But Cullasubhadrā had converted him to the Buddhist faith. It has to be pointed out that *Cullasubhadra* was the daughter of the famous *Sethi* Anāthapiṇḍika of Śrāvastī.[43]

Thus the Buddhist literature has given a detailed account of the Buddha and his disciples, *Bhikkhus* and *Bhikkhunīs* at the various *vihāras* of the great city of Sāketa. It had also seen the activities of *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*. *Jīvaka*, the great physician of his age had also happened to be at Sāketa.

Thus it is evident that the Buddhist literature contains many stories and episodes connected with the Buddha and his disciples living in the different monasteries of Sāketa, which was an exalted centre of Buddhist culture. This is to throw light on the antiquity and the celebrity of this place, which urgently needs an archaeological spade. Only excavations can bring out the antiquities and relics which would throw authentic light on the history of Saketa which also formed part of the early Gupta empire.

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Purāṇā and Indian Culture

A.B.L. Awasthi

Eighteen *Purāṇas* and similar number of the *Upa-Purāṇas* comprising more than four lakhs of verses represent an Encyclopaedia of ancient Indian history and culture. *Purāṇas* deal with geography, polity, social institutions, economic life, religious movements, philosophical doctrines, art and iconography, *tīrthas* along with *Deva-kulas* (temple complex) as well as history of ancient *Ṛsis* and their hermitages which were centres of education and learning.

The first or the *Ādi Purāṇas i.e. Brahma Purāṇa* glorifies Adideva (*Puruṣottama*) and Ādi-Kṣetra (*Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*) of Utkala (Orissa) — land of light, learning, and spiritual culture of Bharata based on *Savitṛī-Śakti*. The *Brahma Purāṇa*, thus, glorifies the East or *Prācī*, which has spread its cultural lustre over the dark regions of the world. Here on the sacred Koṇagiri stands Koṇāditya (Koṇārka), which reminds the Brāhmaṇas, not to neglect *Sandhyā, Gayatrī* and *Śvādhyāya* (Vedic Study).

While dealing with the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Prof. Wilson held that there is no reference to any Viṣṇu-temple[1] there. But, while dealing with the life of an exalted ascetic named Kaṇḍu (*Kaṇḍucarita*) the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* refers to the famous '*avatana*' (temple) of *Puruśottama*[2] situated at Samudratata-Puri (or Puri) in Orissa. Kaṇḍu had gone to Puri from Naimiṣa where he was performing penānces on the bank of the Gomati. The *Brahma Purāṇa* also describes the *Kaṇḍu-carita*. The great sage had lived in the Puruṣottama *Kṣetra* and performed penances at a place, where stands the glorious temple of Koṇāditya. Sāmba, son of Bhagavan Kṛṣṇa had also performed penances here in the *Prācī-kṣetra* of Mitra-vana. Mitra denotes the Vedic god.

The *Brahma Purāṇa* also glorifies the river Godāvarī (Gautamī) as the Ganga of South—in 175 chapters. It is in itself a book of religion, art and culture, which was developed in the valley of the Godāvarī from Tryambaka (site of a Jyotirlinga) to the sea-shore where it joins the sea (Bay of Bengal) marked by the Shrine of Bhīmeśvara (another Jyotirlinga) at *Sapta-godāvara tīrtha*. It was Daṇḍaka forest where Rāma had lived. Gautamī Māhātmya also represents the Māhātmya of Gautami (Balaśrī) pious mother of Rājā Gautamīputra, whose age is represented by the glory of sacred places named Nāsikya (Nasik and Govardhana):

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Nāsikyaṁ ca Mahātīrthaṁ govardhanamataḥ paraṁ[3]

Similarly Dhānyaka—asacred palce on the Godāvarī represents *Dhānyakaṭaka*, another important cultural centre of Āndhra-Sātavāhana Age.

The *Brahma Purāṇa* also mentions *Vaṁśagulma* sacred place which was one of the branches of the Vākāṭaka rulers of Vindhyavana. The caves of Ajanta have preserved the role of the *Vākāṭakas* in this region. Thus this *Ādi Purāṇa* remained nucleus for the development of cultural and religious movements in the other *Purāṇas* like the *Viṣṇu* and *Padma*.

Padma Purāṇa comprising 55 thousand verses is inferior only to the *Skanda Purāṇa*. It had inspired the poet Kālidāsa to compose his immortal *Kāvya-Raghuvaṁśa*. Its geography influenced the geography of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. It is the mine of cultural data relating to religion. It deals with the *Māhātmyas* of *Gītā* and the Bhāgavata. It contains the account of *Rāmāśvamedha* and *digvijaya* by Śatrughna.

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, third in number, is a very important source of *Viṣṇu* (Vāsudeva Bhakti). It deprecates heretics. It has borrowed *Kṛṣṇa-carita* (Book V) from the *Ādi Purāṇa* (Brahma Purāṇa). Its sixth *aṁśa* (or Book) also glorifies *Tīrthas*, particularly Mathurā.

Śiva Purāṇa (the fourth) opens with the religious conference at *Prayāga*, which represents the age of Samudragupta.

Śiva Purāṇa has inspired the poet *Kalidāsa* in the composition of his work named *Kumārasaṁbhava*. He had borrowed words and phrases from the *Purāṇtic* text and then he polished it with his colourful *Kāvya*.

In some of the lists of the *Purāṇas* we have the name of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* in place of the *Śiva Purāṇa*.

Śiva Purāṇa opens with the prayer to *Ārya Ambikeśa* who is always (and every where auspicious, sadāśvia, even in the *Śmaśānabhūmi* his favourite ground of meditation). He is Īśa, free from old age and death; He is *Ātmadeva*; He is devoted to *Samāna-bhāvam*[4] (Yogī; '*Samauddhiḥ viśiṣyate*',[5] *Samatva*' is also called *Acyutārādhanā*[6] and Śiva was devoted to *Viṣṇu*).

Then we join a conference of sages, saints and scholars at *Prayāga* in the course of Mahāsatra held there.

Paurāṇika Suta also arrived there. A picture of *Kali* characterised by social and religious crises caused by *Nāstikas* (*Veda-nindakas*) — *Buddhists*, is focused. *Brāhmaṇas* and *kṣatriyas* also did not adhere to their '*sva-dharmas*'. Brahmans were devoted to greed and they were haughty in nature devoted to *Śāstrārtha* debates because they thought themselves to be '*Panditas*' (very learned). Kṣatriyas fled from the battlefied.Thus they were '*araṇaḥ*' and '*asuraḥ*'. Hence they were called Śūdras or Vṛṣalas). It was a national gathering (*samāja*) in the *Dharmakṣetra* of Prayāga, where Samudragupta had performed the Horse-sacrifice proclaiming *Dharma* to be the real ruler of the country—*Dharma-prācīra-bandhaḥ*. *The Matsya, Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇda* are well-known *Purāṇic* texts for their historical and cultural importance. Unfortunately the scholars have neglected these texts. They did not care about the use of the word *niṣkaccha* found in the *Matsya*.[7] It denotes *Turuṣka*

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(Turk). All these texts glorify the king Pramiti who is mentioned as the saviour of culture against the notorious Vṛsalas and destructive role of Kālayavanas and Turks called (*Mlecchas*). It was not the golden age of Candragupta II; it as the evening of Indian culture, *Sandhyāṁśa* which was followed by the *Ragani Parābhavaṁ.*

Yavanas (Arabs) had already occupied Sind and later on *Gajanakas* also raided the country, when Pramiti stood as rock of defence to the sanctity of Madhyadeśa.

Kālayavana invasion of Mathurā described in connection with the life of Kṛṣṇa denotes Muslim invasion upon Mathurā.

The *Garuḍa* and the *Skanda Purāṇas* had witnessed the collapse of Hindu sovereignty at the a hands of *Lumpadhipa*-Lord of Lampaka, who was also the lord (chief) among those who destroyed the roots of culture *viz.* temples (cf. the word *Lumpa*, to destroy).

Thus Indian culture had to face a grave and great challenge for its survival.

PURĀṆAS AND VARIOUS SUBJECTS DEALT WITH

Purāṇas are sacred books which were recited at sacred places or in the temples for the growth of piety in society. As such these sacred books dealt with Varṇāśrama-dharmas, Dandadharmas, Tīrthas and Rājdharmas, Vratas, Vijavahara, and Deva-Pūjana in addition to Pañcalakṣaṇas, sarga, Manvantara, as well as Vaidyaka and (Roga)-nidāna.[8] Tīrthas and Bhuvanakośa are also the pet subjects of the *Purāṇas*. The *Brahma, Padma, Vāmana, Śiva*, (Saiva), *Bhāgavata, Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇda, Kūrma,* and *Liṅga* as well as *Garuḍa* and *Agni* deal with the account of *Tīrthas*. The *Skanda Purāṇa* is a vast *Tīrtha saṁhitā,* which glorifies *Tirthas* and *Kṣetras* from *Kalpagrāma* (Central Asia), Kedāra-Badri in the north to Kumārīpura (Cape Commari) and Setu in the South. There are also references to *Tīrthas* situated in Dvīpāntara where the *Vāmanapurāṇa* refers to Kathaha (Keda in Malaya).

Polity or *Rājadharma* is also a very popular subject of the *Purāṇas* as is evident from the separate sections dealing with *Rājadharma* as we have in *Matsya, Garuḍa,* and *Agni Purāṇas*. Other texts of the class also contain certain *ākhyānas* like that of *Veṇa, Rāmāśvamedha* (*Padma Purāṇa*), *Bhoja-Vṛttānta* etc., which also throw valuable light on the political life and institution of kingship in ancient Indian polity.

Śruti and *Smṛti* had influenced the *Purāṇas* from the very beginning; for the role of the *Purāṇas* was to preach *Dharma* based on *Śruti* and *Smṛti*. It cannot be accepted, as Wilson propounded and Hazra developed his thesis, that *Dharmaśāstra* material was added later on. Wilson had held this view just to show the late character of *Purāṇas* and Hinduism which are posterior to Christian era and so also Christianity. Hinduism cannot be divorced from Vedic religion. *Purāṇas* and *Paurāṇika* sages as well as Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas had been struggling for the preservation of *Vedas*, Vedic religion, and Brāhmaṇas were specially patronised by the consecrated kings who had to suppress heresy. *Vaiṣṇavas* launched a vigorous movements against the *Pāsaṇḍ* (Buddhists and Jains) called *Nagnas*. *Padma Purāna* asserts the problem:

Māyāmoha Nirāsaśca vaiṣṇavaiḥ Kriyate and Kathaṁ

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Māyamoha denotes the Buddha and Buddhism.

Śaivas also did not spare the heretics. One of the greatest Śaiva-yogīs was Ādi-Śankarā-cārya styled *Māyāvādin* and *Vedāntin*, who was mainly instrumental in the annihilation of Buddhists.

Paurāṇika religion had assimilated most of the ideas of the Buddha who was himself inspired by the Upaniṣads. *Purāṇas* also describe the human life full of pain and suffering from conception to cremation.

RĀJADHARMA AND HERETICS

Veṇa was Nāstika[9] and irreligious opposed to *Rājadharma* and *Dharma-Maryādā*. Hence he was removed from the throne. It was not the solitary case of class. Cāṇakya had done the same by destroying the Nandas of Magadha. Even before Cāṇakya, Kākavarṇa, son of Śiśunāga, a heretic was murdered (cf. *Harṣacarita*). Bṛahadratha was disposed of by his Brāhmaṇa *senāpati* Puṣyamitra Śunga. Thus Brāhmaṇas took keen interest in political affairs.

Removal of Veṇa and birth of Pṛthu marks the dawn of Indian culture and civilisation. Pṛthu is styled Viṣṇu in human fom (*Viṣṇormanuṣa-rūpa-dhṛk*).[10] It represents the divinity of kingship, based on divine function of *Pālana-karma*', which was the work of Viṣṇu as the member of *Trimūrti*. The creator is also mentioned to have appeared on this earth in the form of Manu to give protection to people.[11] *Tato Brahma Tmasambhutaṅ Pūrva Svāyambuvaṁ prabhuḥ. Ātmānaneva Kṛtvān Prajapalyenanuṁ Har.*

Manusmṛti also holds the same view.[12]

Thus *Rājadharma* is also an importnat subject dealt with in the *Purāṇas*, particularly in the *Matsya*, *Agni* and *Garuḍa* and also in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (an Upa-Purāṇa).

Sūrya Nārāyaṇa, Hari, Śiva-Rudra, Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī-devī[13], Kṛṣṇa (Puruṣottama) and others were the popular deities of *Paurāṇika-dharma*[14]. *Devārcanam*, an important daily duty of *Pūjā* comprised worship of all these deites in addition to one's own *Iṣṭa-devatā*. There was nothing like sectarianism.

Stories dealing with such rivalry among different deities conclude with deprecation of such *bheda-dṛṣṭi*. The *Matsya Purāṇa* (Ch. 52) upholds the glory of 'Abheda' in realising all deities to represent the *Vibhūtis* of Vāsudeva.

ART AND ICONOGRAPHY

Mostly scholars engaged in the *Purāṇic* studies did not pay attention to *Purāṇic* data relating to architecture, painting and iconography. Only Dr. P.K. Acharya had pointed out the importance of *Purāṇas* in the history of art and iconography. Prof. Stella Kramrisch, who translated *Viṣṇudharmottara* in English, discussed one hundred temples mentioned in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (cf. *Hindu Temple*-2 volumes). There is very important data in the *Purāṇas* relating to *vāstu*, specially *Prasāda-lakṣaṇas* (in the *Garuḍa* I, Chapter 47, and *Agni*) as well as in the *Linga* and *Skanda Purāṇas*.

Linga Purāṇa clearly mentions three main styles of temples, namely

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(i) *Nagara.*

(ii) *Draviḍa* and

(iii) *Kesara.*

Vesara has created confusion in the mind of those who dealt with temple architecture. *Vesara* was a wrong reading in the epigraph mentioning these three three styles. *Kesara* is correct and appropriate title of the temple-type (cf. *Aparājita Pṛacchā,* Kesaryadi group of temples).

The *Skanda Purāṇa* mentions this group of twenty five temple.[15] Meru type of *Prāsāda* called *Prāsāda-rāja* comprised one hundred miniature *Śikharas* (*śataśṛṅga samāyukto Meruḥ prāsāda uttamaḥ*).[16]

Erection of temples was an important act of piety as a part of *Iṣṭapūrātadharma.* Alongwith the construction of temples, the images of gods and goddesses were also constructed and placed in the temples where these deities were worshipped. This *Devārcanam*[16] required images and temples as well as ponds and wells to be constructed in the *Deva-Kula-kṣetras. Devārcanā* (*Secrarcana*)[17] was one of the *dharmas* of *Grahasthāśrama* (house holders). It was a *viśeṣa-dharma* of Brāhamaṇs.[18]

Purāṇas are the store-house of ancient cultural traditions associated, with geography, polity, social and economic institutions, religion, philosophy, art (architecture, sculpture, painting, music) and iconography. None of the Purāṇic studies assessed the importance of *Purāṇas* in the history of ancient Indian art and iconography. Only Dr. P.K. Acharya, Prof. V.S. Agarwal and Prof. J.N. Banerji touched the subject in general. Prof. Stella Kramrisch discussed one hundred temples mentioned in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* in her monumental work Hindu Temple (2 Vols.). Dr. Priya Bala Shah translated *Viṣṇudharmottara* and it had been translated by Prof. Kramrisch also.

Undoubtedly *Purāṇas* are the most valuable source of ancient Indian religion and religious rites (*dharma-kriyāḥ*).

These are *Snāna* (*tīrthānusaraṇa*), *Dāna, Vrata* and *Upavāsa.* All the *Purāṇas* mention these rites, which find prominence in the *Matsya, Garuḍa, Padma, Bhāgavata, Śiva, Vāmana, Varāha, Linga,* and *Skanda. Viṣṇu Puṛāna* contains a few references to *Vrata-upavāsa.*

Similarly Pauranic Dharma based on Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Śakti-cult, cult of Brahmā, Solar-worship and other minor cults are also described in the Purāṇas.

The *Brahma Purāṇa* deals with Vaiṣṇavism (Puruśottama-cult) Śaivism (mentioning the glory of Ekāmra Śiva-kṣetra, i.e. Bhuvaneshwar) and sun-cult of Mitravana. Thus there is no sectarianism. For religious harmony between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism the *Padma Purāṇa* names the glory of *Kūrma Purāṇa* which represents *Maheśvara-yuga* (the age of Ādi Śankarācārya).

Kūrma Purāṇa also mentions one thousand names of *Devī* (*Devi-sahasranāma*) which is a very important document for *Sakti-worship.*

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The Matsya, Vāyu and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* mention important *Śakti pīṭhas* of Bhāratavarṣa.

Agni Purāṇa gives a list of *Vaiṣṇava-Kṣetras* along with names of Viṣṇu associated with these sacred places.

Padma and *Skanda Purāṇas*, are vast stores of such religious centres adorned with temples dedicated to different deities. These were called *Devakulas*.

The river banks, particularly the confluences (*Sangamas*) of rivers were very sacred *kṣetras*. Historically speaking Bhitari (near Saidpur, district Ghazipur, U.P.) marked by the *Sangama* of the Ganga and the Gomati was called Bhartṛsthān. It was an extensive Devakula. But the archaeologist who excavated the site (Prof. K.K.S.) did not know the glory of the place. The Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta has preserved, like a taperecorder, the sound of joy expressed by the two sacred rivers: *Śrotreṣu Gaṅgadhvaniḥ* . . .

Epigraphists like D.C. Sircar did not realise this *Gaṅgādhvani* which one hears even at the Railway station of Saidpur (on Varanasi-Sarnath-Ghazipur line of NR-previously NER).

Vālmīki, before he was transformed from a *Dasyu-Brāhmaṇa* to a sage-ascetic, performed penances in the sacred forest called *Vidiśā-Kānana*. The spot lies on the *Dakṣiṇāpatha* and it was a *Rudrakṣetra*. The Ekādaśa Rudras *gyāraha* or (eleven) gave their name to the place called Gyaraspur (M.P.). Here , a monumental image of Siva was found in the year 1979 near a *vāpi* and a temple. Below the hill, we have the temple of Mātādevī.

Thus Purāṇas have preserved the names of ancient cultural centres.

Tīrthas represent the pillars of light which adorn the road of life to destroy the dark patches of mind and heart. It is for this reason the *Purāṇas* refer to *Manasa-tirthāni*[19] and *Ātma-tīrtha*.[20] *Tirthānusaraṇaṁ* or *tīrtha-sevā* (pilgrimage) was an important religious institution which is important even today. Temples as well as *āśramas* were set up there. Inconoclastic fire destroyed the *tīrthas* and temples. But *Paurāṇikas* have preserved their names with the spirtual lusture of the past associated with gods, goddesses and saints. *Tīrthas* were *kīrtistambhas*.

Tīrtha-sevā involved *snanā, dāna, japa, pūjā,* and *dhyāna*, etc. The Great Bath of Harappa-culture was an *Udpāna* or *jalasya tīrtha* of *Saindhavāraṇya* — a *tapovana*. The recitation of sacred texts (*Purāṇas*) and *'samājas'* were also held there.

Modern historians cannot explain as to why Samudragupta selected the Aśokan pillar at Prayāga to get his inscriptions engraved. Aśokan pillar is called 'Dhamma-thabha' (*dharmas-tambha* in which contains his *Dharma*-edicts. The court-poet of Samudragupta also glorified the Ganga and Gangādhara (Paśupati) as well as Pāṇḍu Gangā-payaḥ (Gangājala of Gangotrī or Gomukha). It glorifies *'Anugangā-prayagam'*. *Purāṇas* comprise the lists of *tīrthas* which throw valuable light on the *Purāṇic* archaeology. These lists give us the names of important places or ancient sites known to use from epigraphic and other sources. It is our sacred duty to explore them properly before we begin excavations.

Malhar (Bilaspur district, M.P.) represents Kānti which was 'Apara Kāśī or the Kāśī' of the South. Here was born the Nāga Scientist and Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva, the founder of Śūnyavāda.

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The Images of Aṣṭādikpālas from Haryana

Chanderpal Singh

Since very beginning, Indian literature had mentioned the Dikpālas, the guardians of the quarters. The *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda*[1] gives the list of the six quarters and their guardians and wardens. These deities are Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Yama, and Bṛhaspati as the respective regents of the eastern, southern, western, northern, fixed and upward quarters, while the Nāgas—Asita, Tirasciragi, Pṛdaku, Svaja, Kalmāśgrīva and Svitra—are the wardens of these quarters, respectively. The *Atharvaveda*[2] also describes only six quarters (four major ones, the two other ones being the fixed quarter and the upward quarter) and their size regents and wardens, but in the list of their names Viṣṇu is described in place of Yama. But the *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*[3] tells us the names of the ten regents of the ten regions, Indra for east, Vāyu for south -east, Yama for south, Pitaras for south-west, Varuṇa for west, Mahārāja for north-west, Soma for north, Mahendra for north-east, Vāsuki for downwards, and Brahmā for upwards in the sky. The *Rāmāyana*[4] mentions only four lokapalas, Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and Kubera, whereas the *Mahābhārata*[5] says that in the east Agni is the leader of gods, in the South Yama guards the Pitras, in the west Varuṇa guards the gods, in the north guards are Bhagavat 'soma and the priests. The *Manusmti*, mentions the eight Lokpālas Soma (Chandra), Agni, Arka (Sūrya), Anila (Vāyu), Indra, Vittapati (Kubera), Apapati (Varuṇa) and Yama. The *Hindu Mythology* describes the name of eight Dikpālas with their respective jurisdiction, as follows: Indra, the lord of the east, Yama of south, Varuṇa of the west and Kubera of the north, Agni, Nirṛtri, Vāyu and Īśāna are the respective guardians of the south-east, south-west, north-west and north-east.[7] The Jaina [8] literature refers to groups of the Dikpālas in which the names of the eight regents and wardens are the same as mentioned in the Hindu mythological texts and two more names Brahmā for upper region and Nāga for lower region are also given there. In Buddhist mythology too we find a group of four divine beings associated with the four principal quarters, and Sanskrit Buddhist texts give us a stereotyped list of four : they are Dhṛtarāṣṭṛa, the Gandharva king (east), Virūḍhaka, the king of the Kumbhāṇḍas (south),[9] Virūpākṣa, the Nāga monarch (west) and Vaiśravaṇa, the Yakṣa king (north). They are the Catur-Mahārājas of some Buddhist texts, and Pāṇini seems to have had them in his mind when he referred to their *bhaktas* in one of his *Sūtras* (cf. *Supra*, p. 85). The Jaina literature[10] refers to a group of the Dikpālas in which the names of the

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eight regents and wardens are the same as mentioned in the Brāhmaṇical mythological texts and two more names Brahmā for upper region and Nāga for lower region are also given there.

I. *Indra*

In the *Ṛgveda*, the most prominent of the gods is Indra, but in the later period, he had to be satisfied with the mode position of the guardian of the eastern quarter. In the *Ṛgveda*,[11] Indra is mentioned as the holder of the thunderbolt and slayer of Vṛtra,[12] the demon of drought. In the epics, Indra is an important deity, but is no more as splendid as in the *Ṛgveda*. According to the *Mahābhārata*,[13] he has become the merry-making and committed an immoral act. At this, he was cursed by a sage to lose his manhood[14] and be defeated by Indrajit.[15]

An image of Indra (Fig.1) made of grey sandstone reported from Bhima Devi Temple, Pinjore, Ambala, is housed in the Haryana State Museum.[16] The image (41x25x19 cms.) of the eastern region's guardian is shown seated in *ardhaparyanka* pose on his mount, elephant. The elephant is depicted half-knelt. In his four arms, the image of Indra carries a goad in right back hand, *Vajra* in the left back hand, a *Kamaṇḍalu* in the left front hand and the right front hand not shown in *Varada* pose. The head and face are broken, but the ear-pendants, *dhoti* and *Vanamālā*, despite the coarse condition of the image, are visible. The image is carved in high relief in a niche of a door jamb. On the right side of the niche the images of *Śārdūlas* and *Gajamukha* are executed. The iconographic details of the image partly correspond with the *Skanda-Purāṇa*.[17] On the basis of style the image may be dated to 9th-10th Century A.D.

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II. *Agni*

After the popularity of Indra, Agni is considered to be a prominent deity of the Vedic period.[18] Indra, Sūrya and Agni formed a triad during that period, but in the later period,[18] he was identified with Śiva or Rudra and became the father of Kārttikeya. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[19] mentions Agni and Gaṅgā, the parents of Kārttikeya. But *Vanaparvan*[20] says Agni and Svāhā were the father and mother of Kārttikeya. The Vedic and the epics accounts do not describe the anthropomorphic form of Agni, but give metaphorical imagery.

The image made of grey sandstone (Fig.2) measuring 60x51x18 cms hails from Bhīmā Devī Temple, Pinjore, Ambala, and is now exhibited in the Haryana State Museum.[21] The image of Agni is shown standing in *dvibhanga* pose. In his four arms, he carried clockwise rosary, spear, lotus, and water-vessel. A flamed halo is carved behind his head and a knotted-beard on his face. The image is adorned with *jaṭāmukuṭa*, beaded necklace, three-strīnged *Yajñopavīta*, *Śrīvatsa* on the chest, bracelets, *dhoti* tied with a scarf, a long *Vanamālā* and bulging belly. Below, on the right side of the deity his mount, arm is shown standing. On either side of the deity a female is standing in *tribhaṅga* in each pillared niche. The right side female figure is shown holding a flower in her left hand and a scarf in the right one. The image of the lady is embellished with beaded necklace, *ekāvāli*, armlets, bangles, transparent *Sārī* and a big *jūḍā* on the back of her head. The left side lady is shown in a slightly side pose carrying a child in her left lap and looking at the baby with admiration. Her beautiful armlets, *Kaṅchukī*, fine *Sārī* and big embellished *jūḍā* are prominently visible. Though all the three images are supple, and with elongated tubular legs, yet the portion below the navel of the females is bigger in size than that of the image of Agni. The features are tall and slender, having

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plasticity and elegance, showing rhythmic movement and thus may be dated to *c.* 9th-10th century A.D.

III. *Yama*

In the *Ṛgveda*,[22] Yama is mentioned as the son of Vivasvān by Saranyu, the daughter of Tvaṣṭri. Here Yamī is described as his twin sister. They are mentioned also as off-spring of the Gandharvas.[23] These two, Yama and Yamī are viewed as the primaeval pair, the parents of mankind, and this concept is identical with the Persian Yima and Yimeh (children of Vivasvat) in the Avestan literature.[24] Yama is said to be the first amongst the mortals to have died and reach heaven.[25] Therefore, he is called a king or the assembler of men and ruler over the departed fathers in heaven.[26] In the epic period, Yama is presiding over a region of departed souls, a complicated system of hell; and appointed as the judge of the wicked and in this position, he is called Dharmarāja.[27] The *Mahābhārata* calls him Pitṛ-rāja, as he rules the region of the dead, *Pitras*[28] or the forefathers. The same work speaks of his kingdom in the South[29] — the south being called the second door of Yama.

The buff sandstone image of Yama (Fig. 3) reported from Sikandarpur, Sirsa was taken into custody by the Haryana State Museum.[30] The image measuring 71x44x22 cms. shows the deity standing in *tribhaṅga* pose. The two-armed image holds a *Khaṭvanga* or staff in his right hand and the left one which might have held the noose, is broken. The image is decked with a crown, *kuṇḍala* in right ear and ear-pendant in the left ear, a necklace, *Yajñopavīta*, a fine *dhotī* tied with waistband, *Yogapaṭṭa* and a long *Vanamālā*. At the bottom behind the legs of the deity a buffalo, his mount is carved out standing. The front portion of the buffalo is completely broken; only the hind portion is intact and visible. The face of the deity is shown of terrific look. The image is executed in a pillared niche. On either side of the deity in the bas-relief the images of *Vyālas* are shown. The iconographic details bear similarity with that of the *Matsya Purāṇa*.[31]

IV . *Nirṛiti*

In the *Ṛgveda* Soma and Rudra are invoked to drive away that disease which has entered into their house and to chase *Nirṛiti* far away from them. Thogh *Nirṛiti* is mentioned in Vedic as well as in later literature, yet they throw meagre light on it; and it is conceived as a god of evil. In the dictionaries *Nirṛiti* is said to be Alakṣmī (Jyeṣṭhādevī), a *rākṣasa*,[32] etc. In the later mythology, he becomes the guardian of the south-western quarter.

The image of *Nirṛiti* (Fig. 4) is worked out on a pillar within a niche made of buff sandstone and is housed in Haryana State Museum.[33] The deity is shown seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* pose on a lotus seat placed on a lion, his mount. The mount is shown seated. In his two hands, the deity holds a sword in the right and a shield or noose in the left hand. He is shown with a crown, but raised hair are also depicted behind the crown. The image is adorned with *kuṇḍalas*, necklace, *dhotī* tied with a scarf. Though the image is corroded and mutilated, yet the present details of the image correspond with the description given in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. This rare image of *Nirṛiti* seems to be the production of *c.*9-10th century A.D.

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In the Vedic period, Varuṇa is mentioned as an important deity and is a member of the triad, Indra, Varuna and Agni. In one context Varuṇa is called with Mitra Sindhu-pati.[34] He is said even to be the mother of Agni.[35] In the Vedic[36] literature, Varuṇa is associated with the waters of the atmosphere and the earth. In the epics, he is described as lord of waters, Ambhupati, Salilendra, Udakapti, etc.[37]

The icon (Fig. 5) of Varuṇa in grey sandstone is carved in a niche of a big capital and is displayed in the Bhima Devi Temple, Pinjore, Ambala.[38] The image is shown standing in *tribhaṅga* pose and carrying a rosary in right front, broken but the traces are there, a noose in the right back, left back hand broken (probably holding a lotus) and *Kamaṇḍalu* in the left front hand. The image is adorned with a conical crown, a ear-pendants, a torque, necklace, holy-thread, armlets, bracelets, *dhotī* tied with waistband, *Yogapaṭṭa* and *Vanamālā*. A *makara* with side tusk is depicted on the left side of the deity. A female standing to the right side of the deity at the bottom is shown looking towards the god. At the top, on either side of the bas-relief, an erotic couple is worked out. Profously ornamented enage corresponds with the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and might have been executed in *c.* 10th-11th century A.D.

VI . *Vāyu*

Vāyu the god of the wind and guardian of the northwestern quarter of the universe is referred to in the *Ṛgveda*. In the *Puruṣa-Sūkta,*[39] Vāyu is said to have sprung from the breath of Puruṣa, and elsewhere, he is described as the son-in-law of Tvaṣṭri.[40] He is said to move in a shining car, drawn by a pair of red or purple horses.[41] Indra and Vāyu frequently occupy the same chariot.[42] In the *Mahābhārata*[43] Bhīma, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers, is said to be a son of Vāyu.

The image of Vāyu made of grey sandstone is exhibited (Fig.6) in the Haryana State protected monument, Bhima Devi Temple, Pinjore, Ambala.[44] The deity is depicted standing in *tribhaṅga* pose with his left leg slightly bent. The three out of his four hands are broken and in the left upper hands, probably a banner is shown held. The image is decked with a concial crown, *kuṇḍalas*, necklace, torque, *Yajñopavīta*, armlets, bracelets, *dhotī* tied with waistband, and a *Vanamālā*. A stag, the mount of the deity, is worked out below near the right side of the god's feet. The image is worked out on the basis of the norms emphasized in the *Rūpamaṇḍana*.[45] At the top on either side of the deity one couple in erotic pose is shown. The image is executed on a big frieze of temple architecture. The icon might have been created during c. 10th-11th century A.D.

VII . *Kubera*

Kubera, the king of the Yakṣas, is regarded as the lord of riches and the guardian of the northern quarter of the Universe.[46] Though he does not find mention in the *Ṛgveda*, his concept goes back to the *Atharvaveda*, where he seems to be associated with riches (also called Dhanapati, Nidhipati)[47], and is mentioned as the chief of the evil beings or spirits of darkness. In the *Mahābhārata* he is the lord of riches and regent of the northern quarter; and his kingdom is at Mt. Kailāsa well known as Kuberāchala and Kuberādri, Kubera's hill, and Alakā is called his capital. In the Pāli *Āṭānātiya suttānta*, he is described as the sole monarch of Uttarakuru with Vaisāṇa, Alaknandā or Alakā as its capital.[49]

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Fig. 1. Indra

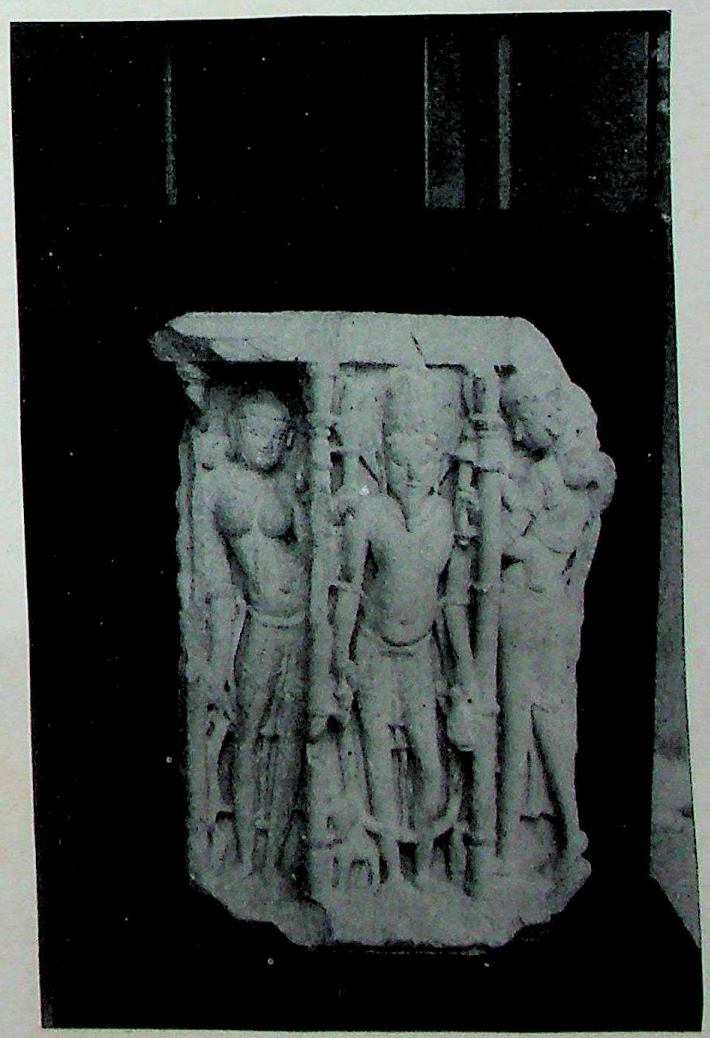

Fig. 2. Agni

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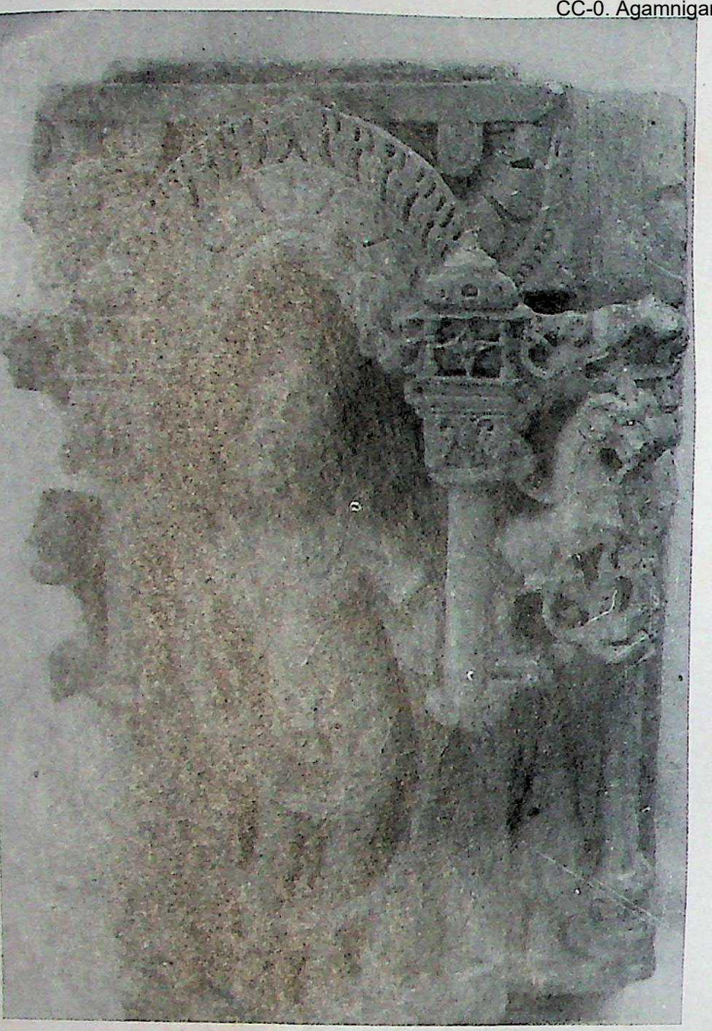

Fig. 3. Yama

Fig. 4. Nirrti

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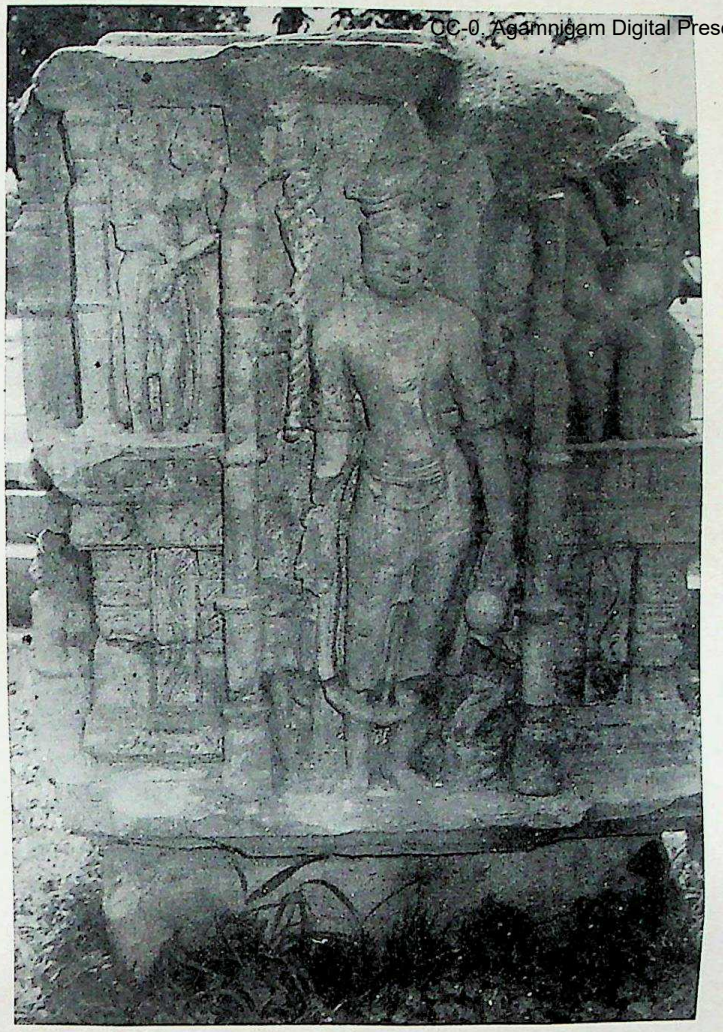

Fig. 5. Varuṇa

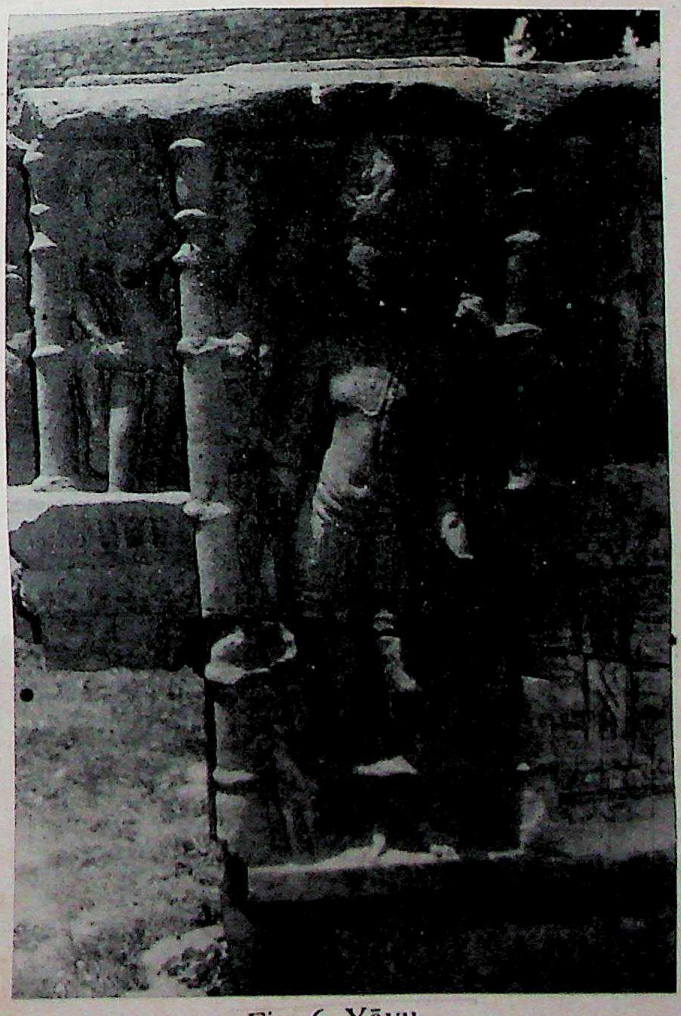

Fig. 6. Yāyu

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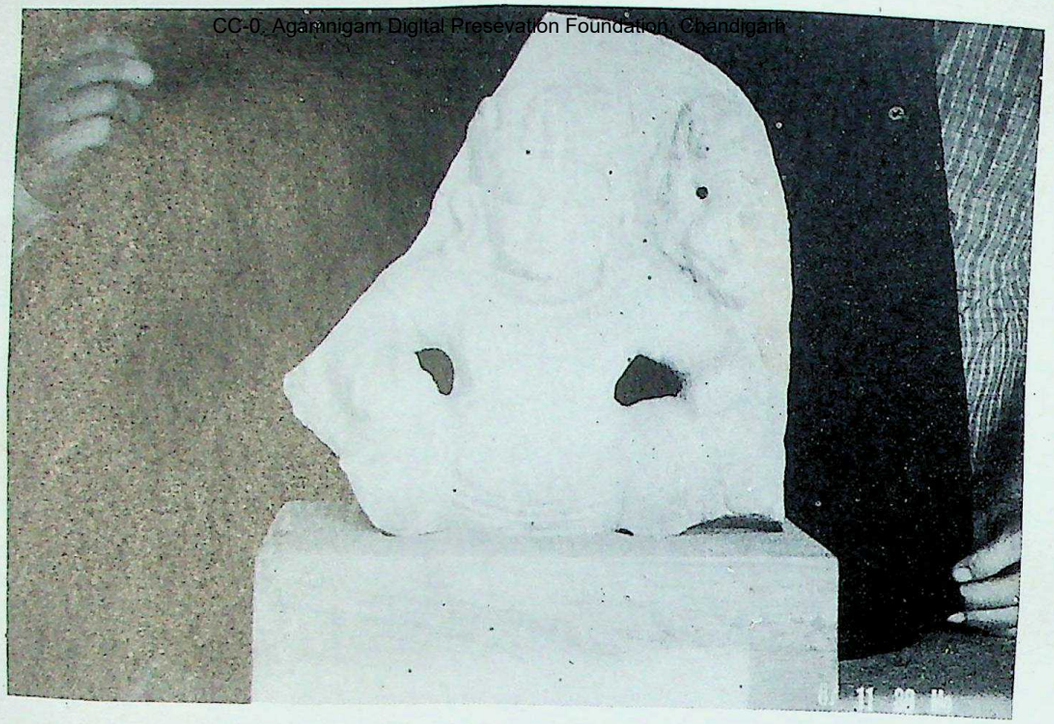

Fig. 7. Kubera

Fig. 8. Īśāna

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An image of Kubera made of buff sandstone (Fig.7) comes from Thanesar, Kurukshetra, and is inhibited in the Kurukshetra University.[50] The image (29x29 cms.) is completely broken below the waist. In his right hand, the deity holds a purse and an indistinct object in the left one. The image is embellished with a pearl diadem, pearl earrings, necklace, armlets, braclets, an ornament tied above the pot-belly and a girdle. A flying figure, probably Vidyādhara, is carved on the left side of the deity near the head. The image gives a fierce look and resembles the image of Yakṣa. The image may be dated to *c*. 7th-8th century, A.D.

VIII : *Īśāna*

Īśāna, the gurdian or warden of the north-eastern quarter, is a particular aspect of Śiva. The god made Īśāna the archer (to be) his deliverer from all the intermediate regions, etc. [51] Describing the birth of Rudra, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[52] mentions Īśāna (the ruler). Brahmā as meditating on a son similar to himself; there was manifested in his lap a boy of a blue and red colour. To pacify the weeping boy, the progenitor (Brahmā) called him Rudra, Bhāva, Śarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Bhīma, Ugra, Mahādeva.[53]

The image of Īśāna in grey sandstone (Fig.8) hails from Bhima Devi Temple, Pinjore, Ambala and is now exhibited in the Haryana State Museum.[54] The iamge (68x56x23 cms.) is worked out in a pillared niche; the stele is probably an architectural member of the temple. The god is shown standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose in the central niche. In his four arms, he carries a *Kamaṇḍalu* and an *akṣamālā* (possibly) in the front left and right hands, respectively, and in the right upper a *triśūla* and in the left upper a *sarpa*. The image is embellished with *jaṭāmukuṭa, kuṇḍala*, necklace, armlets, bracelets, torque, *yajñopavita, dhotī* tied with waist-band and a long *Vanamālā*. Bull, the mount of the deity is beautifully carved to the right side of the deity at the bottom and gazing at his master's face. One female attendant holding a lotus in one hand and a hanging scarf in other is standing in *tribhanga* pose in the pillared niche, on either side of the deity. Both the females are adorned with beautiful *jūḍā*, necklaces, *ekāvali*, armlets, bangles, and fine Sārīs. The supple body and full-breasts of the females show femine beauty. All the three images on the slab are worked out elongated, graceful, thin and attenuated. The image might have been chiselled during *c*. 9th-10th century A.D.

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48

Biography of "An Autobiography"

Rashbehari Choudhuri

Jawaharlal Nehru wrote his autobiography, nine hundred and seventy-six pages of manuscript, in eight months (June 1934 to February 1935) during his prison days in Almora jail, and gave it a tentative title, "In and Out of Prison". He was so much involved in its writing that on the day he finished it he felt highly relieved. He noted in his prison diary, "In and Out of Prison has absorbed my attention... during the last 12 days I wrote 92 pages, and to-day, at last finished it! 976 pages of manuscript in all. I feel as if a weight was off me...."[1] The autobiography contains long quotations from Gandhi's statements, Congress resolutions and number of references to and excerpts from several English and French books. This sometimes creates suspicion that the book was long in making and Nehru gave it the final shape during his imprisonment in Almora jail. But Nehru claimed to have written it entirely during his prison days in Almora.[2] There is no reason to disbelieve Nehru. He was a prolific writer, and was getting in jail all the books, magazines and newspapers he needed.[3] Nehru wrote *The Discovery of India*, an equally fat book in less than five months (13 April to 7 September 1944) during his incarceration in the Ahmednagar Fort. The utmost one can speculate is that the framework of the autobiography existed in his mind, which he converted into black and white during his jail term in Almora. At Badenweiler in Germany he added a small postscript before sending the mansucript to the press; and after five years, i.e., 1940, at the request of the publisher added a chapter "Five Years Later" to update the story. In 1941 when he was arrested during the Individual Satyagraha movement and was lodged in Dehradun jail, he started writing the second volume of his autobiography. But he did not feel satisfied with the draft and rejected it as unfit for publication; however, he incorporated some portions of it in his *Discovery of India* which he later wrote in the Ahmednagar Fort jail.

Nehru wrote the story of his life with detachment and frankness. Unlike Gandhi's autobiography which is a statement of his confessions, Nehru's account is undemonstrative and free from exhibitionism. He was introspective and honest in his self-criticism without being apologetic, and uninhibited but polite in his criticism of those with whom he differed. While describing his public role he maintained a low profile and never projected himself as the knight-errant of the nationalist politics. He did not bother his readers with details of his family and marital life. It was only towards

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the end of the book that he frequently and feelingly referred to his wife Kamala. Probably he had started feeling remorse for the long spells of neglect he had shown to her because of his great pre-occupation with public life and also the difference in their intellectual horizons. His father Motilal and Gandhi were the only chief character of his story, and he was conscious of his debts toward them. Motilal's personality, spirit of independence and courage always impressed him. Gandhi's intense humanism, fearlessness, programme of action, political acumen and sagacity immensely attracted him, and he became his protege and a devoted follower. Yet he openly disagreed with Gandhi's socio-economic vision and did not hesitate in boldly criticising it.[4] He ignored the right-wingers of the Congress, rarely mentioning Patel, Rajendra Prasad and Rajagopalachari. He was forthright in his scathing criticism of the Liberals and the Responsivists. He asccused them of political opportunism and sycophancy to the rulers to the extent of even supporting their ruthless suppression of the nationalist movements.[4a] In his denunciation of British imperialism he was never bitter against Britain or the British people. He denounced the imperial system, not the nation[5]. He had a definite vision for India's future, and passionately believed that the remedy of India's malaise lay in freedom, industrialization, and socialism but not of the Soviet variety. As a matter of fact he wanted to save India from British imperialism, Soviet Communism, and from Gandhism as well.

The significant aspect of his writings was his use or idioms and concepts intelligible to the West.[6] His language was clear and candid, and style almost verging on a novel. This made the book extremely readable in the western countries. The elegance of his prose elicited admirations from the connoisseurs of literature, though an eminent linguist pointed out several mistakes of grammar and misuse of idioms.[7]

Nehru was suddenly released from jail on 4th September, 1935, to enable him to be by the side of his critically ill wife undergoing treatment at the Badenweiler Sanatorium in Germany. The very next day he left by air for Germany, and carried with him the manuscript of his autobiography. He left a copy of his manuscript for Gandhi's perusal, which Mahadev Desai brought to Wardha from Allahabad. Gandhi read it in his water-closet; the only other book which enjoyed this privilege of finding a place in his watery 'Library' was Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.[8]

Gandhi read the 'chapters' with 'absorbing interest'[9] and dictated his comments from his sickre bed to Mahadev Desai, who communicated them to Nehru. Gandhi found it "a brilliantly written book, and a great literary production." However, there are portions where he had fundamental 'disagreement' with Nehru's opinion, but refrained from criticizing them or preferring any advice for their modification. His only suggestion to Nehru was to tone down his vitriolic attack on the Liberals. "The attack on the Liberals", he pointed out "seems to have been overdone.... Not that there is any venom in anything that you have said; far from it; but you should not be unconsciously guilty of doing an injustice to them.... These friends served the country in their time according to their lights, and whilst we may have our serious differneces with them we do not exactly serve the cause of the country by publicly pilloring them."[10]

The winter of 1935-36, when Nehru was painfully watching the rapid ebbing out of Kamala's life, also found him frantically searching a reputable publisher in Engalnd for his autobiography. The Indian publishers had not done justice to his earlier books. His earlier books, *Letters from a Father to his Daughter*, *Soviet Russia*, and *Glimpses of World History* which had been published

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in India, were of very poor printing quality. *The Glimpses of World History* published by Kitabistan of Allahabad was so "chock-full of errors and misprints" that Nehru felt highly embarrassed, and lamented, "It is really shocking how badly it has been supervised. Evidently care was not lacking, but what is one to do with sheer unadulterated ignorance? I feel ashamed that such a product should be associated with my name."[11] Perhaps, he might also have feared the banning of his autobiography in India. Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* had been banned in 1910, and in 1936 Pattabhi Sitraramayya's *History of the Indian National Congres* was seriously considered for proscription. But the real reason was that this time he was seeking a wider international readership for his book by publishing it in Europe. This he later disclosed to one of this friends, "....I wanted a world audience and the only possible way of getting it was to get it published in Europe."[12]

Nehru, however, was disappointed to find that the British publishers were not very keen to take up this job. His personal friend, and historian, Edward Thompson offered his help in finding a suitable publisher.[13] Nehru, finally, entrusted this task to V.K. Krishna Menon in London and wanted "the book to appear as early as possible. It has a certain political significance for India at present, but later on it may be a little stale...."[14] Allen and Unwin which had a causal record of publishing a few books on India evinced some interest, but offered very miserly terms. Nehru not a "stayagrahi pledged to living on Rs. 12 a month" wanted to bargain for much better terms. Luckily, another publisher, John Lane, Bodley Head, offered more attractive terms which he accepted. But the entire negotiation proved highly distasteful to him. He complained to one of his friends in India.

"One of my recent trials has been an attempt to come to terms with a publisher in London. I realised for the first time the difference in the mentality and outlook of a publisher and the author, and how the two clash. I would of course have been worsted in the duel, but the idea that I might be exploited by the publisher irritated me. I saw no reason why the publisher should profit handsomely by my efforts and I should remain in the outer darkness."[15]

At one time he was so much disgusted with the bargaining that he "felt like hurling the manuscript into the fire."[16]

The other problem that engaged Nehru's mind was the selection of a title for the book. Originally he had selected a picturesque title, "In and Out of Prison". But he was ready to change it if the publisher so desired. Nehru asked Krishna Menon, "what about the title of my book? If you or Lane cannot think of a better one, I suppose, 'In and Out of Prison' will remain."[17] But finally, a more sedate title, *Jawaharlal Nehru : An Autobiography*, was selected. The publishers did a quick and splendid job. By March 1936, proofs were ready, book-traders were informed of the publication, and by early April advance copies were sent to the reviewers to gauge the response of the reading public. By May the book was in the market.

Kitabistan, a publisher and book-trader of Allahabad, wanted to import a large consignment of Nehru's autobiography, but there was considerable apprehension of the book being banned in India. As a cautious trader the proprietor of the firm M.K. Rahman wanted to be sure of the fate of the book before placing the indent. Hence he drew the attention of the Home Department of the Government of India towards the trade announcement made by the London publishers of Nehru's autobiography, and wanted to know if the Government considered the book "not objectionable", and that it "will not be proscribed".[18] Till then the Government of India had no official information

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about the publication of the book, hence it was not in a position to give any categorical reply to the proprietor of Kitabistan. It immediately requested the India Office to send a copy of Nehru's book by airmail.[19] A Labour M.P. and Nehru's friend, Miss Ellen Wilkinson in her letter of 22 March informed Nehru of the receipt of a complimentary copy of his autobiography from the publishers, and also conveyed to him their apprehensions regarding the Indian Government's attitude towards the book. She had a hunch that the Government of India might not think of banning the book under the illusion that Nehru's criticism of Gandhi might "help to cause dissensions in Congress"; but she could hardly hazard to guess the behaviour of British official mind in India. It would be, she wrote, "particularly disgraceful" if they banned the book, but if they did that "will make the most magnificent advertisement for it in England and U.S.A.", and would provide her with a grand opportunity of creating hullabaloo in the House of Commons.[20] This letter was intercepted by the United Provinces C.I.D. This alerted the government.[21] Meanwhile, rumours were afloat that Nehru's autobiography was very likely to be proscribed. Important national dailies published the news that an advance copy of the book sent to Nehru by air-mail had been detained and several packets containing the book had also been confiscated by the Bombay Sea Customs.[22] But such rumours were baseless. The Government of India had not yet decided anything in this connection, and no such confiscations had been done.[23]

The Government of India had now to make a quick decision. Nehru was a nationalist leader of high standing, second only to Gandhi in popularity and importance. Any government action on his book was bound to have political fall-outs; hence the decision needed a very careful consideration. Maurice G. Hallet, a diehard Conservative with unconcealed hostility to Indian nationalists was then Secretary to the Home Department. He had played a key role in evolving and implementing the policy of ruthless suppression of the nationalist movement during Willingdon's administration. He went through the book very carefully and prepared a long review. Unexpectedly, his review was objective and free from rancour. He was of the definite view that the book was not a political polemic to excite cheap sensation or create disaffection amongst the readers against the British rule. "Nehru" Hallet wrote, "is a clean and honest fighter... and one point which struck me about the book is that it is written without any bitterness."[24] Hallet cited several passages from the book to show how Nehru's accounts of events and incidents including that of Jallianwala Bagh and the forcible dispersal of peasants at Rai Bareili, etc. were balanced and free from exaggeration. He was particularly impressed by Nehru's charitable and "honest" comments on government methods of dealing with the nationalist movement. To prove his point he quoted Nehru's statement in his book, "If we (Congressmen) choose to adopt revolutionary direct action methods, however non-violent they might be, we must expect every resistance." Hallet picked out several passages from the book which could possibly be considered objectionable from the official point of view, and analysed how harmless they were because of the very qualified sense in which those comments had been made. Moreover, such passages were very few when the breadth and sweep of the book were taken into consideration. Hallet pointed out how Nehru was free from antagonism to English people. He was bitter to the British imperial system, not to the British people. To support his argument he again quoted Nehru, "I do not find any anger against England or the English people, I dislike British imperialism and I resent its imposition in India. I dislike exceedingly and resent the way in which India is exploited by the ruling classes of Britain. But I do not hold England or the English people as a whole responsible. They are as much the victims of circumstances as we

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are (Chapter. 42)". Finally, Hallet expressed his firm opinion that there was no ground for banning Nehru's autobiography.[25] The Home Member Henry Craik made no immediate comment on the merits of the book, "I have kept the book to read but it will, I fear, be sometime before I finish it", he wrote; however, he approved Hallet's view that the book should not be banned.[26] The Viceory Linlithgow had already gone through the book "from cover to cover" and had "found it very dull".[27] Hence the Home department decided not to proscribe the book in haste and also warned the provincial governments against any such precipitate action.[28] Kitabistan of Allahbad too was informed that "there is no intention on the part of the Govenment to proscribe" Nehru's autobiography.

But Linlithgow's estimate of the book proved wrong. The book received an amazing response in England, and at once became a best-seller. In the month of May itself when the book first hit the stands, three impressions were out; June saw two more, and by the end of the year two reprints were issued. The Indian question was foremost in the political debates then. The Civil Disobedience movement in India and the Round Table Conference in England had recently ended. The constitutional reform of 1935 had just been enacted and was to be implemented soon. Hence, a memoir by a leading nationalist leader was bound to excite curiosity, and the book was widely read by both friends and foes of Indian nationalism. Horace Alexander, Edward Thompson and H.N. Brailsford hailed it as a basic utterance of one of the few great men of the time. Labour M.P. Ellen Wilkinson was thrilled, and read the entire book in one sitting "right through one night" and found it "indispensible to any understanding of the present situation in India."[30] She admired Nehru's revolutionary spirit and political maturity, his self-pride and gentleness, and his lack of bitterness and hate towards his enemies and opponents. She wondered at the amount of popularity he commanded even in the remotest of villages in India. Though a protege of Gandhi and his sure successor, Nehru had the courage and honesty to differ from him on several issues. She predicted that Nehru "is certainly the one with whom the British empire is going to have the most trouble".[31] *The Economist* echoed the views of Wilkinson, "Any understanding of the period would remain incomplete without it."[32] Horace Alexander hoped that the book would "rectify the distorted view on Anglo-Indian relations held by a large number of Englishmen and women".[33] Brailsford expected that the English readers would easily grasp and appreciate the book as it was written by a man "who is one of us, by his culture, his humanity and his scientific vision."[34] Even the Conservative journals generally hostile to the Congress and its leaders conceded that the book was remarkably free from bitterness and rancour. *The Spectator* wrote, "he is not anti-British. He himself is in many ways a product of British education — but he is opposed to the rule of nation by nation or class by class ... It (book) gained immensely from the enforced leisure (in jail) which made it possible for Mr. Nehru to think and write clearly of the fundamental problems not only in India but of the world."[35] In the same journal the noted political commentator Stanley Reed described the book as an exceptional one.[36] The prestigious *Times* wrote, "It is a sincere book written in easy, almost conversational style, a book to be read, however much one may disagree with the outlook of the author."[37] But *The Sunday Times*, burst out, "Mr. Nehru is a good hater and seems to enjoy the procedure of verbal flagellation."[38]

As was natural, the book was a tremendous success in India too. The poet-saint Rabindranath Tagore hailed it as a "great book" and wrote, "Through all its details there runs a deep current of

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humanity which overpasses the tangles of facts and leads us to the person who is greater than his deeds and truer than his surroundings."[39] The left-wingers in the Congress applauded the book, specially relishing Nehru's derision of the Liberals.[40] The right-wingers were piqued by Nehru's indifference to them. Their annoyance was reflected in K.M. Munshi's review of the book wherein he described Nehru as completely out of tune with the "soul of India", and criticised his foolhardy insistence on complete independence, socialism and similar unrealistic programmes and slogans which time and again destroyed the possibility of immediate political gains.[41] The bitterest attack, however, came from the Liberals and the Responsivists which was reflected in the sarcastic heading. "Bad Politics and Worse History" given by C.Y. Chintamani to the review of the book. M.R. Jaykar damned it as a "insufferable book, full of self-laudation", and poured out his venom in his letter to T.B. Sapru, "These is nothing in that book which is illuminating or exalting ... The vapourings of a half-baked politician."[42] He displayed similar fretting and fuming in his letter to British attorney and Gandhi's friend Henry Polak : "the conceited vapourings of a fretful child spoilt in early life by a doting father."[43] N.C. Kelkar took serious objection to Jawaharlal's making fun of the Responsivist Party. He challenged Nehru to give "specific instances about Responsivists cooperating with government by supporting repression."[44]

Jawarhalal took the criticisms and condemnations sportingly. He very cogently and politely answered each of his major critics. He pointed out that he had never claimed his account of the course of Indian politics to be wholly objective or definitive. His autobiography was not meant to be a "record of all the events of the past few years... It is a record of my own thoughts and moods and how they were affected by external happenings. I endeavoured to make this a truthful record of my own mental development... the important thing is not what happened but how it struck me and what impression it produced on me."[45] He entreated his critics to "rise to high plane and consider and criticize principles and not individuals."[46] He felt satisfied to find that the English critics who were wholly opposed to his politics had appreciated his ideas better and had gained "a certain psychological insight into the mind and soul of our national movement."[47] Nehru felt, though he wrote as an individual about an individual, he "represented the mental conflict of a large number of others, who had been in the freedom movement", and begged that his book be "considered primarily from this aspect; all others are secondary."[48] He further explained that "in a great country like India and during a powerful nationalist movement, various sets of ideas emerge and fight for mastery. These ideas are bigger and apart from the individuals as leaders who express them... Thus in our political movement during the past few years there was a certain Congress ideology, a Liberal ideology, a Responsivist ideology as well as others..."[49]. Nehru was categorical that the Liberal and Responsivist ideologies were definitely reactionary and harmful, and they inevitably involved a cooperation with the British imperialism.[50] In his specific reply to Kelkar Nehru asserted that acceptance of high offices, executive councillorship, ministries and the like inevitably resulted in cooperation with and support to the imperial system. It also meant cooperation in the repression of the freedom movement. He gave specific instances as to how through their statements from time to time Kelkar, Jaykar and others had directly and indirectly given moral support to repressive measures of the government.[51]

The Indian response to the book was generally of the personal attack or admiration rather than a serious discussion of the issues raised. This dismayed Nehru. He lamented that even the educated

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Indians genrally lacked the habit of book reading, and some of his friends had not even cared to read his earlier books. On his instruction his publisher had sent complimentary copies to a number of his friends and colleagues. But reactions from them were not many. He vented his annoyance at his Cambridge days' friend Syed Mahmud, "I wonder if you have had time or have cared to read it. You often ask me questions and love to talk at length..... I was sorry when you told me that you had not read, as a whole, my *Glimpses of World Histroy*. I find in India there is no habit or desire to read or think. We live superficially on the surface, or rather in the ruts. It is an astonishing country."[52]

The publication of the *Autobiography* proved a commercial success, but unfortuanely the publisher John Lane, The Bodley Head, soon went into liquidation, and Nehru's royalties, as a consequence, were stopped. Krishna Menon advised Nehru to go to the court, but Nehru detested the idea and did not like to "risk a legal contest". He was prepared to share the fate like other authors in a similar situation. He wrote to Menon, "I think definitely that invoking the law would mean great trouble for me and you, and might mean throwing good money after bad. Then again there are political consequences which are not desirable ...."[53] He, however, authorized Menon to take "whatever other steps you considered desirable, apart from going to a court of law."[54] Luckily, the Bodley Head was taken over by new proprietors and the problem of his royalty payment was sorted out, and Nehru started getting his usual royalties.

In January 1941 an American edition of the autobiography under a new title '*Toward Freedom*' was published by John Day & Co. of New York. In this edition two chapters which were originally in the middle of the book were transposed in the beginning. Nehru also added an epilogue entitled "Parting of the Ways" to update his account of Indian politics, and an American commentator Richard Walsh wrote a foreword to this edition. These two additions again created a furore in the Home department of the Government of India triggering a fresh debate on the question of banning this American edition of Nehru's autobiography. The Additional Secretary viewed that since that text had been considerably altered, the issue of banning of the book should be considered afresh.[55] The Director of Intellignece Bureau agreed that the new book had lost much of its scholarly character in the process of 'Americanization', and Richard Walsh's foreword was anti-British in tone. But he believed that "no harm would be done by permitting release of the book in India where it is unlikely to find many buyers as most of those who are interested already possess copies of his Autobiography."[56] The Press Advisor to the Censors was also of the opinion that the newly added epilogue was somewhat bitter in tone and some of the criticisms of the British policies were objectionable. But such descriptions and sentiments existed in the original edition of the book and Indians were fully familiar with them. The book as a whole had not undergone any such metamorphosis as to require proscription. The general consensus in the Home department was thus not in favour of banning the entry of the American edition of the book. The Home Secretary, Richard Tottenham agreed with this view and wrote, "I think we had better take no steps against this book inspite of the many obviously 'undesirable' passages in it."[57]

Thus the *Autobiography* inspite of government frowns, critics, baiting and threatened financial collapse survived to remain as the "first-hand account of the modern phase of Asian nationalism" and a fine specimen of Indo-Anglian literature.

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4. See *Autobiography*, Chapter LXI-LXIII.

4a. *Ibid.*, Chapt. LI.

5. *Ibid.*, Chapt. LII.
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53. Jawaharlal to Krishna Menon, 7 Aug 1936, *SWJN*, Vol. 8, p. 293.
54. *Ibid.*
55. Additional Secretary's note, 6 March 1931, Home (Pol.) Deptt., File 41/10/41.
56. Director, Intelligence Bureau's note 11 March, 1941, *ibid.*
57. Home Secretary's note, 19 March 1941, *ibid.*

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